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# AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY.

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VOL. III.

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## I.—NONIUS MARCELLUS.

### I.

The name of Nonius Marcellus is associated, in the minds of most persons who have thought it worthy of remembrance at all, with grammatical dulness and ignorance. At the same time his work *De Compendiosa Doctrina* is, in its way, of such importance, if only on account of the numerous quotations from ancient Latin authors which it contains, that no student of Latin can afford to ignore it. More than this, it is incontestable that many among the notes of Nonius are of great value in themselves, and many again deserve notice, if not from their intrinsic merit, at least as illustrating a particular phase of philological criticism among the ancients. But it is not only in detail that the *De Compendiosa Doctrina* deserves attention and requires a correct appreciation. Nonius occupies an important position, not only in the history of Latin grammar and criticism, but in that of Latin literature, so far at least as his work can be shown to stand in organic connection with the literary tendencies of the age in which he lived. It is mainly in this light that I propose, in the following remarks, to consider the work which bears his name.

The flourishing province of Africa, an account of which and of its organization is given by Mommsen at the beginning of the eighth volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum*, contributed, from the end of the first century A. D. and onwards, many names of mark

to the history of Roman literature. Juvenal calls it in his time *nutricula causicorum*; had he lived two centuries later he might have called it the nurse of professors. It is true that Africa cannot rival Spain in the lustre of her literary renown; she can show no Seneca, or Martial, or Lucan, or Quintilian. To have accomplished as much as this would have been impossible to writers so far removed, in point of time, from the age of the republic and the early empire. But, to say nothing of the Christian authors, Tertullian, Cyprian, Arnobius, Lactantius and Augustine, Africa produced several men eminent, as eminence went in that age, in science and the higher philological criticism. Caelius Aurelianus, the writer on medicine, was, like Arnobius, a native of Sicca; Fronto, the tutor of Marcus Aurelius, came from Cirta, the scholar and poet Sulpicius Apollinaris from Carthage, Apuleius, the able sophist and devoted student, from Madaura, and Nonius Marcellus from Thubursicum in Numidia. Thus the study of the ancient Roman literature was early domesticated in the province of Africa.

Of Nonius himself we know no more than what is told us by the title of his book and by an inscription found at Thubursicum. The title of the book is *Nonii Marcelli Peripatetici Thubursicensis De Compendiosa Doctrina ad Filium*. The work then is educational, and intended by its author for the benefit of his son, like the metrical treatise of Terentianus Maurus, and the commentary of Tiberius Claudius Donatus on the Aeneid. From the addition *Peripatetici* it would appear that Nonius was a pronounced Peripatetic, just as Apuleius of Madaura in the second century was a pronounced Platonist. The word *Thubursicensis* brings us to the inscription found at Thubursicum, and published first by Renier and recently by Wilmanns and Mommsen in the eighth volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (No. 4878): *Beatissimo sa[eculo d. n.] Constantini Ma[ximi] semper Aug. et [Crispi] et Constantin[i] nobb. Caess.] plateam veterem [omni] lapide spoliatam Nonius Marcellus Herculi[us] so[lide] constravit [et ther]mas et ce[tera] rui[na] dilap[s]a aedificia]. The stone belongs then to the year 323 A. D., and Mommsen very naturally identifies Nonius Marcellus Herculi[us] with Nonius the scholar. If we may rest content with a strong probability, we may infer that Nonius, besides being a scholar and the professed adherent of a philosophical school, was a man of some wealth and social standing in his own city. His assumption of the title *Peripateticus* justifies us in con-*

cluding further that he was not a Christian; the contents of his book prove that he was an eager student of ancient and classical Latin. He may fairly therefore be classed, for literary purposes, among the non-Christian scholars and antiquarians of the fourth and fifth centuries; with Servius the commentator on Vergil, Macrobius, and the elder Symmachus.

As I have elsewhere<sup>1</sup> observed, the work of Nonius contains only a very few quotations from any author later than the Augustan age. The exceptions to this general rule only tend to prove it, for one of the later citations is from Apuleius, and the others are from Septimius Serenus, both Africans, and both almost pedantic students of antiquity. It is worth while to trace, so far as is possible, the course of this curious reaction in favor of the past, which is a notable phenomenon in the history of the later Latin literature. Suetonius tells us<sup>2</sup> that the memory of the ancient writers had perished at Rome by the middle of the first century A. D., though it still survived in the provinces. This fact may have been in great measure due to the success of the Augustan writers, Vergil, Horace, Livy, and Ovid, in the field of literature, and still more in that of education, where Vergil and Horace soon drove out the older poets from the curriculum of study. But a reaction set in during the latter half of the first century, which was favored partly by the tendencies of literary taste, and partly also by the growth of the science of grammar and criticism. Of the literary tendency we have a suggestive record in the *Dialogus de Oratoribus* of Tacitus, which shews that a large party among the *litterati* of Italy preferred the ancients, meaning by them Cicero, Caesar, Lucretius and their contemporaries, to the Augustan authors. The way in which Tacitus speaks of the orators of the Ciceronian age confirms the already quoted statement of Suetonius. *Nescio an venerint in manus vestras haec vetera, quae in antiquariorum bibliothecis adhuc manent, ac cum maxime a Muciano colliguntur, ac iam undecim, ut opinor, Actorum libris et tribus Epistularum composita et edita sunt.*<sup>3</sup> It is clearly implied that the works of the ancient orators had, until quite recently, lain comparatively neglected in the libraries of the *antiquarii* or lovers of antiquity. Among these apparently we must reckon Mucianus, the able and accomplished, but profligate friend of Vespasian. These speeches were now, however, being edited in an accessible form, a fact which

<sup>1</sup> "Verrius Flaccus," II, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> De Illustribus Grammaticis, 24.

<sup>3</sup> Dialogus 37.

seems to indicate the existence of a revived interest in them in literary circles.

The style of the *Dialogus* of Tacitus, written about 80 A. D., shews that he at that time belonged to the antiquarian party; and the same literary tradition was continued by Quintilian. Meanwhile the critical study of ancient texts was started and considerably furthered by an elder contemporary of Tacitus, M. Valerius Probus of Berytus in Syria, who, if Jerome may be trusted, had won a reputation in Rome as a scholar at about the time when Tacitus was born.<sup>1</sup> The main results of his work were revised texts of ancient writers, notably of Terence, Lucretius, Vergil and Horace,<sup>2</sup> with commentaries on some of them, and a *Silva Observationum Sermonis Antiqui*, or collection of observations on ancient usage, a work which, from its title, we may infer to have been of a miscellaneous character.

By the end of the first century A. D. the critical study of the ancient authors had fairly begun. Grammar and orthography were treated by Flavius Caper and Velius Longus in the age of Trajan, and it must have been during the same period that Caesellius Vindex composed his great work entitled *Stromateus* or *Lectiones Antiquae*. This work, of which I shall have more to say below, must, if we may trust its title, have dealt mainly, if not entirely, with questions affecting the language of the *antiqui*, or Latin writers from Naevius to Vergil. Caesellius was succeeded and criticized by Terentius Scaurus, of whose treatise on orthography some considerable fragments are preserved. The coincidences between the contents of these fragments and the early chapters of the *Institutio Oratoria*, in which Quintilian touches upon questions of grammar, are so striking that it is impossible to resist the conclusion that both writers are borrowing from the same work or works, which must of course have been at least as old as the first century.

It is probably to Probus, Caesellius Vindex, Terentius Scaurus, Nisus, and Sulpicius Apollinaris, to whom we should perhaps add Varro and Nigidius Figulus, and certainly Verrius Flaccus, that Aulus Gellius is mainly indebted for the fragments of Latin criticism and erudition around which, in the *Noctes Atticae*, he has endeavored to throw the attraction of popular and literary form. The

<sup>1</sup> Jerome to A. D. 56.

<sup>2</sup> Suetonius *De Viris Illustribus*, p. 138 (Reifferscheid).

*Noctes Atticae* of Aulus Gellius, whose *floruit* is usually assigned to the years 120-170 A. D. or thereabouts, present us with the first existing example of a new form of literature. Like Fronto, the tutor of Marcus Aurelius, Gellius is devoted to the study of the *antiqui*. But the kind of study which he gives to them is very different from the rational interest and industry displayed by Probus on the one hand, and Tacitus on the other, in the age of Vespasian. The taste of Gellius is the taste of the antiquarian, whose eye rests exclusively on works of a certain period. I doubt for instance whether there is a single quotation in Gellius from Lucan, Martial, Statius, Tacitus, or Juvenal. He cites indeed some of his own contemporaries, but with this exception I think that Vergil and Horace are the latest authors whom he quotes. His own style too is marked by an affectation of archaism in language, an intentional employment of words many of which perhaps he had only learned to understand from the works of commentators and grammarians. A similar tendency may be perceived in the writings of a far abler and probably more genuinely learned man than Gellius, Lucius Apuleius of Madaura in Numidia. Apuleius, a contemporary of Gellius, is in every point of view a very striking representative of his age. It is the province of the historian to draw the moral from the vivid pictures of life and manners presented in the *Metamorphoses* and the *De Magia*. But these works also hold a peculiar position in the field of literature. The style of Apuleius, as well as his numerous historical allusions, would, even if we had not his own express testimony in the same direction, betray the fact that he had spent much time and labor, *aerumnabilis labor*<sup>1</sup> as he says himself, on mastering Roman antiquities and literature. It is not too much to say that no one can gain a thorough command of the material necessary for the study of ancient Latin without an intimate acquaintance with Apuleius, whose language has preserved in a living connection many words of whose existence and meaning we should otherwise perhaps have been advertised mainly through the writings of lexicographers and grammarians. His style is a curious monument of great originality and force struggling with a language which has lost half its life and significance.

It is probably a mistake to speak of the manner of Apuleius as peculiarly African. His studies of Latin were, as he himself tells us, carried on mainly at Rome and without a master; what there-

<sup>1</sup>Met. i, i.

fore is strained, artificial and archaic in his style is probably due simply to the intimacy which he acquired with the early writers of Italy. Not that these considerations will explain the whole phenomenon. While much of the language of Apuleius is based on antiquarian study, there is no doubt also a considerable part which represents the living popular Latin current in Africa in his time. It is interesting in this connection to compare his style with that of Tertullian, who was about a generation younger. Tertullian uses many words which are unknown to the classical Latin of Italy; but with all his rhetorical training and bias, and his love of point and antithesis, his style, compared with that of Apuleius, may almost be called popular. The difference between the labored antiquarianism of the one writer and the comparative directness and simplicity of the other, is the measure of the difference between the Pagan scholar and philosopher, and the Christian advocate.

For we are now arrived at a point where the presentiment of a great social and religious revolution is beginning to make itself felt in the reading and cultivated society of the Roman empire. The middle and the latter half of the second century is the time at which the controversy between the old and the new religions first begins openly to divide the world of letters, as well as the lower orders of the people. On the one side appear the works of Justin and Minucius Felix, on the other those of Lucian and Apuleius. The illustrious scholar Jacob Bernays, whose recent death is an irreparable loss to letters, has in various works, each of which is in its way a monument not only of learning but of art and historical imagination, helped us by clear, massive and sympathetic drawing to form vivid pictures of several scenes in the great historical drama. The social and moral conflict, parts of which he has described with the hand of a master, extended into the world of antiquarianism and of study. The same passion for a dying past which in the fourth century led Julian to throw himself, in defence of a hopeless religion, into violent opposition to the pronounced tendencies of the age, helped to inspire the scholars of the second, third and fourth centuries to study the history, antiquities, and early literature of the great empire to which they owed all the material advantages of their existence. The abler and educated advocates of Christianity, however, some of whom were converts, and had been familiar with the inside of the Pagan position, knew how to draw their advantage from their knowledge



of antiquity. While the Pagan *litterati* continued, as if by way of passive protest, simply to collect and to con over the relics of the flourishing age of Roman literature, politics and religion, the Christians, who cared comparatively little for literature and politics, destroyed the Pagan religion with the weapons offered them by the Pagan philosophy. The study of Cicero, Varro, and Verrius Flaccus was a double-edged sword, which could be turned at pleasure to the advantage or disadvantage of the polytheistic system.

Readers of Minucius Felix, Tertullian, and Arnobius will need no confirmation of this statement. But it is necessary for our present purpose to dwell for a moment on the work of Arnobius *Adversus Nationes*. Its author, whose Christianity is tempered by a curious mixture of toleration for the religion which he has abandoned, seems, like Apuleius, to have given special attention to the classical literature of Italy. His language, abounding in words taken from the ancient comedy, satire and poetry, must, like that of Apuleius, have been influenced by conscious archaism. It is no mere product of popular Latin preserved in the colonies of Africa. Arnobius has learned to know and to treat with curious and misplaced contempt many of the chief writers of the better ages of Rome, whose works are now lost. And here it is that we come at length into contact with Nonius, who, if we may trust the inscription already quoted, must have been a contemporary, as we know him to have been a countryman, of Arnobius. We have seen that the treatise of Nonius *De Compensiosa Doctrina* was probably intended for educational purposes, consisting as it does of notes on various points of grammar, lexicography and antiquities. Like the *Noctes Atticae* of Gellius, from which much of it has (erroneously as I think) been supposed to be borrowed, it is stamped with the character of pedantic antiquarianism. The range of its quotations would lead us to suppose that Nonius thought no writer worth study who lived later than the Augustan age. In this point he out-Herods some even of the scholars of the second century, who do not object to quote Lucan, Persius, and Juvenal. Taken together with the fact that Christianity is persistently ignored throughout the book, and that Nonius styles himself a Peripatetic, I think that this phenomenon justifies us in classing the work of Nonius as a product of the conservative, or I should rather say, reactionary Roman feeling which meets us again in Macrobius.

The curious contrast between the judgment shown by Nonius in his choice of authors, and his want of judgment in dealing with

them, has made him the butt of scholars, who have not, so far as I know, been at the pains to examine fully the circumstances under which his book was in all probability written. It must be remembered in the first place that the text of the *De Compendiosa Doctrina* has come down to us in a very mutilated condition. This is a fact that he who runs may read. It is not merely that many glosses are lost, but that many others have been confused, mutilated and interpolated, in a way which, unless fortune should make us a present of a better manuscript recension than any now existing, will probably make a true understanding of the whole work impossible. Making all allowances, however, for this external drawback, it cannot be denied that the book contains statements which are inconceivably repugnant to common sense. Here, however, we are brought into contact with a curious phenomenon in the history of ancient Latin scholarship. Whether from want of a true method, or from some other cause or causes, the old Italian learning seemed to lose every element of progress after the first or early second centuries after Christ. The grammarians and scholars of the second century seem to have added nothing at once new and true to the mass of knowledge accumulated in the period extending from the Augustan age to the reign of Hadrian. The material of the older Latin language was all before them, but in common with all the writers of Greco-Roman antiquity, they were ignorant of those principles of investigation which give life to the past by showing its organic connection with the present. The Latin language was changing, the old literature was passing out of the field of living interest, but as far as scientific investigation was concerned they did not know how to take advantage of the fact. There was no alternative; as science could not gain, it lost. Its representatives did nothing but repeat, over and over again, in different forms and applications, the registers made by older scholars, registers which the changes going on in their own time only prevented them from reading aright. Hence even in the scholarship of the age of the Antonines, as represented by Julius Romanus, Fronto, and Aulus Gellius, we are conscious of shallowness and want of insight, just as in the style of the two last-named authors we are struck by affectation, want of purpose, want of character. Both faults arise from a false attitude with regard to the past.

Of Nonius then, attempting as he did at the end of the third or beginning of the fourth century to take up a position which could

not be naturally maintained even at the end of the second, what could be expected but the appearance of incapacity? No improvement had been effected in scientific method, but time had gone on and continued its changes, so that Nonius was at a greater distance from the object of his study than Gellius. It can hardly be surprising then that when he ventures to add a remark of his own to the notes which he is transcribing from older scholars, he should reveal the inherent weakness of his position. Scholars who have been allowed a better reputation in the world of letters, respectable commentators such as Aelius Donatus and Servius, were guilty in like manner and for the same reason of blunders which would otherwise be incredible.

Having said so much with regard to the position of the work of Nonius in the literary history of its time, let us proceed to describe it, and to discuss the question of the authorities whom he consulted or from whom he transcribed.

As the *De Compendiosa Doctrina* has come down to us, it is arranged in twenty books, of one of which the title alone remains. Of the last or twentieth book only a few notes have survived in our existing manuscripts, and these should again be divided into two separate sets or sections, one of which should be entitled *De Propinquitatē*, and the other *De Cognominibus*. Taking the work as we have it, we may classify its various books according to their subjects as follows:

1. The lexicographical books, including I (*De proprietate sermonum*), II (*De honestis et nove veterum dictis*), IV (*De varia significatione sermonum*), V (*De differentia similium significationum*), VI (*De impropriis*), and much of XII (*De doctorum indagine*).

2. The grammatical books: III (*De indiscretis generibus*), VII (*De contrariis generibus verborum*), VIII (*De mutata declinatione*), IX (*De numeris et casibus*), X (*De mutatis coniugationibus*), XI (*De indiscretis adverbis*), and some of XII (*De doctorum indagine*).

3. The antiquarian books, namely XIII-XX, (*De genere navigiorum, vestimentorum, vasorum vel poculorum, calciamentorum, De colore vestimentorum, De genere ciborum et potuum, De genere armorum, De propinquitatē*).

The method on which we must chiefly rely for discovering the authorities followed by Nonius in the various sections of his work is that of comparing, so far as is possible, his notes with those of

commentators and other lexicographers and grammarians. Nonius himself gives us no hint whatever to guide us in the investigation ; but a great number of his observations are found in the works of other writers before and after him, sometimes with the names of the scholars to whom they are ultimately to be referred. Thus by a comparison of the grammatical books of Nonius with the corresponding sections of Charisius and Priscian, it may be shown, almost with certainty, that he is largely, if not entirely indebted to Probus, Caper, and Pliny, or at least to works directly dependent upon the writings of these scholars. This part of the subject I have already discussed in the essays prefixed to the first volume of Conington's Virgil (4th edition), and may therefore pass on to the subject of the lexicographical and antiquarian books.

The first book, *De Proprietate Sermonum*, or on the meaning of words, is strictly lexicographical. Its arrangement as we now have it defies any consistent theory, and nothing is left for us therefore but to state the facts. The first point which has been noticed by all scholars who have recently dealt with the question, is that this book consists of words arranged on the whole in series each of which is distinguished by having a quotation or quotations from some one author placed at the head of the rest. Thus in the series extending from *hostimentum* (p. 4) to *examussim* (p. 9) every note begins with a citation from Plautus. Besides this it is also to be noticed that in each series, as a rule, the works of the author whose name stands at the head of each note are quoted in some intelligible order. In a Plautine series, for instance, the plays of Plautus are quoted in alphabetical order, in a Lucilian series the books of Lucilius are quoted in numerical order.

I have shown in my first essay on Verrius Flaccus that this method of arrangement is not peculiar to Nonius, but is found also in Varro *De Lingua Latina*, in Verrius Flaccus, in Julius Romanus, and in Macrobius.

But there are also signs of a rough alphabetical arrangement in many of the sets of words treated in this book. These alphabetical series sometimes coincide exactly with the series according to authors, sometimes they are included in them, sometimes they cross them. Instances of the two series exactly coinciding are to be found p. 20, *clepo corporo circus medicina* (Accius) ; p. 30, *antes camera dirus exordium inops* (Vergil) ; of one series included in the other p. 6, *calvitur frigere (de)floccare (de)pexum sartor sentina tricae*, which are included

in a Plautine series ; p. 18, *centuriatim rumen rudus rutrum tenebrio trua (e)vannare vafrum*, which are included in a series from Pomponius ; of one series being crossed by another p. 38, *combibo capital clandestino idiotas expirare eliminare incoxare*, where the end of a Lucilian series is continued by one from Pomponius. On p. 39 in an alphabetical series, *ordior pilare popolare rabere supersedere tintinnire verminari*, the arrangement according to authors is given up altogether.

The second book, *De Honestis et Nove Veterum Dictis*, or on words used by the ancients either in a good sense or in an unusual manner, differs both in form and substance from the first. It observes the method of arrangement according to authors, but this is made also to fit in with a strictly alphabetical order. And its purport is not merely to explain the meaning of words, but to point out peculiarities in ancient usage and differences between ancient and modern form. While for instance on p. 74 we have a purely explanatory note on the word *averruncare*, we have notes on the same page explaining that *apisci* was used by Lucilius for *adipisci* and *accepso* by Pacuvius for *accepero*. It should further be remarked that the number of quotations given under each word is as a general rule much smaller than in the first book, though some words are very fully illustrated.

The fourth book, *De Varia Significatione Sermonum*, or on the different meanings which may be attached to the same words, differs again from both the first and the third. In its alphabetical arrangement it resembles the latter, but it differs from both in the immense number of quotations from Vergil which it contains. A verse of Vergil's is constantly found at the head of each article, and if not at the head, is almost certain to occur somewhere in it. In the first book on the contrary the quotations from Vergil are comparatively rare in proportion to the rest, and in the second very rare indeed. Further, the object of the fourth book is to set out in detail the various meanings which the same word may have. As this is generally done with great fullness and a great number of instances, it follows that the number of words treated in each section is comparatively small. Even so, however, the fourth book contains nearly two hundred pages, or not much less than a third part of the whole treatise.

The fifth book, *De Differentia Similium Significationum*, or on synonymes, forms the natural complement to the fourth. It is not arranged alphabetically, but (on the whole) according to authors.

As in the fourth book, Vergil is largely quoted. Precisely the same remarks apply to the sixth book, *De Impropriis*, or on metaphorical expressions.

The twelfth book, *De Doctorum Indagine*, is a mere miscellany of remarks on grammar and lexicography, in which it is difficult to discover any principle, even that of arrangement according to authors not being strictly adhered to, though there are in several instances traces of it.

What *data* are there to help us in trying to discover the authorities followed by Nonius in this part of his work?

I need not recapitulate the arguments by which in my second essay on Verrius Flaccus I endeavored to show that Nonius did not borrow from Aulus Gellius. But it is necessary to say a word on the hypothesis which finds favor with most scholars who have recently treated the subject, that Nonius had before him commentaries on the authors whom he quotes, and that his work is a series of extracts from these commentaries thrown together by him into loose order. The main support of this theory is the arrangement according to authors which meets us so often in Nonius. I have tried in speaking of Verrius Flaccus to show that Nonius might easily have found this arrangement existing in the works on grammar and lexicography which he would be likely to consult, and therefore that taken by itself the fact in question proves little or nothing. But again, if Nonius was merely making excerpts from commentaries, we should have expected one of two results. Either the whole lexicographical part of his work would have been a mere miscellany in which there would have been no sign of cohesion beyond the fact that the same authors were quoted on the same series of pages, or some other and uniform method of arrangement would have been adopted. But what as a fact do we find? That we have five books of a lexicographic character, three of which (4, 5 and 6) seem to stand in a logical relation to one another, while the other two are written for purposes quite distinct indeed and differing from those of the three first mentioned, yet not so distinct but that the same note may be repeated in each in a slightly varying form, and (which is surely important) without any hint of the fact. Such an entire want of homogeneousness is surely most easily explained by the supposition that the first and second books are wholly or partially derived from separate manuals or *compendia*, and that a separate work was the source of the fourth, fifth and sixth. This hypothesis agrees very well with what we know of



other ancient works more or less similar to Nonius, as for instance of much in the grammatical treatises both of Charisius and of Priscian. Again, had Nonius really consulted the ancient commentaries, it is difficult to suppose that he could have been guilty of the numerous absurdities which have made his name proverbial among scholars. Another difficulty has occurred to me, on which, however, I do not lay so much stress. In the first and second books several of the series headed by quotations from ancient writers, such as Plautus and Lucilius, are terminated by quotations from Vergil.<sup>1</sup> This fact surely tells against the theory that in these cases at least Nonius was consulting any of the older commentators on the ancient poets. None, for instance, of the known commentators on Plautus, with the exception of Terentius Scaurus, lived late enough to have quoted Vergil; and in the case of Lucilius we know of no regular commentary later than that of Curtius Nicia in the Ciceronian age.

The most natural supposition with regard to Nonius is in my opinion that his authorities are mainly the works of the scholars and antiquarians of the period which extends from the reigns of Nero and Vespasian to those of Trajan and Hadrian. All internal evidence points this way, and there is also some external evidence which, without being decisive, is worth putting together.

We know to a certain extent what writers on Roman antiquities and philology were read or consulted in Africa in the third and fourth centuries. Tertullian (*De Spectaculis* 5) expressly mentions Suetonius as one of his authorities on the subject of games. On civil and religious antiquities it is abundantly clear that Varro must have furnished a great deal of information to Arnobius. But Arnobius shows also that he had paid attention to grammar and philology, and does not leave us altogether in the dark as to the authors whose works were read in his age and country. Taunting<sup>2</sup> his Pagan adversaries with their uncertainty on matters of grammar, "You do not know," he cries, "whether it is right to say *haec utria* or *hos utres*, *caelus* or *caelum*, *pilleus* or *pilleum*, *crocus* or *crocom*, *fretus* or *fretum*, *pane* or *panis*, *sanguis* or *sanguen*, *candelaber* and *iugulus* or *candelabrum* and *iugulum*, and from this uncertainty in such and similar matters you are not free, although you know by heart all the Epicadi, Caesellii, Verrii, Scauri

<sup>1</sup> *E. g.* p. 6, *exercitum*, Plautus, Lucretius, Afranius, Vergilius. P. 14, *extorris*, Accius, Turpilius, Sallustius, Vergilius; and more might be quoted.

<sup>2</sup> 1, 59.

and Nisi." Here then is distinct evidence that the works, or some of them, of Epicadus, Caesellius, Verrius, Scaurus and Nisus were current among students of Latin philology at the beginning of the fourth century A. D.

Let us see how this fact bears upon the question of the authorities consulted by Nonius. There are some traces of the fact that he and Arnobius were familiar with the same or at least with similar manuals; thus these very words which Arnobius quotes as of doubtful gender are all found (with the exception of *ingulus*) in the third book of Nonius *De Indiscretis Generibus*; and again in the twenty-third chapter of his second book Arnobius, in his rhetorical manner, recites long lists of articles of dress and furniture which remind the reader of the fourteenth and fifteenth books of Nonius. That Arnobius was familiar with the *De Verborum Significatu* of Verrius Flaccus, or at least that he occasionally consulted it, is rendered almost certain by his remarks in 7, 24 on *offa penita*, *polimina*, *caro strebula*, and *ruma*,<sup>1</sup> which correspond almost verbally with notes preserved by Festus. Much of the first and of the later books of Nonius is undoubtedly to be referred ultimately to Verrius. Epicadus, a scholar of the Sullan era, is known to have written a work *De Cognominibus*, but there is no certain evidence of this book having been known either to Nonius or Arnobius. Nor can we say whether Nonius was at all indebted to Nisus or Terentius Scaurus, for of Nisus very little remains, and of Scaurus nothing which brings him into relation with Nonius.

Of Caesellius Vindex there is, fortunately, more to be said. He was a scholar of the age of Trajan, and the author of a work called *Lectiones Antiquae* or *Stromateus*. From Charisius (p. 195 Keil) we know that this treatise contained at least fifty *libri*, which, as Julius Romanus informs us (ap. Charis. p. 117), were arranged alphabetically, some letters including more than one *liber*. Caesellius Vindex is quoted by Gellius 2 16 5 on the meaning of the words *postumus* and *longaevus* in Aeneid 6; 3 16 11 on *Morta* in Livius Andronicus; 11 15 2 on the termination *-bundus* in *errabundus*, *ludibundus* and the like, 20 2 2 on the word *siticipines*. Some remarks of Caesellius on points of grammar are preserved by Priscian 1, p. 210, 230, and by Julius Romanus (Charisius, p. 117 and 239).

If these scanty indications warrant us in inferring anything, they would seem to show that the *Lectiones Antiquae* of Caesellius, if

<sup>1</sup> See Festus, pp. 242, 234, 313, 271.

not a lexicographical work, included much lexicographical information together with notes on points of grammar, illustrated, as its title would lead us to expect, from ancient authors. There is no direct evidence that Nonius consulted the work of Caesellius. The first book of Nonius must indeed, I think, be quite independent of it; for the note on *siticines* on p. 54 corresponds exactly with that in Gellius 20 2, and comes apparently from Ateius Capito. There is however a point which brings the second and the eighth books of Nonius into relation with Caesellius. Gellius 11 15 mentions that Caesellius erroneously supposed adjectives in *-bundus*, such as *errabundus*, *ludibundus*, and the like, to be equivalent to present participles. This doctrine, which is also repudiated by Diomedes (p. 402 K.) or his authority, is affirmed five times by Nonius, three times in the second book (pp. 103, 122, 186), and twice in the eighth (pp. 491, 509).

Besides the *Lectiones Antiquae* of Caesellius Vindex, the only great work likely to have contained lexicographical matter that we know of as having been compiled subsequently to the *De Verborum Significatu* of Verrius Flaccus was the *Pratum* of Suetonius. This work we know to have been long used as a work of reference on points of antiquities, and there are fair grounds (as I shall endeavor to point out in due time) for supposing that much of the information contained in the latter or antiquarian books of Nonius came either from it or from Verrius Flaccus. Another very important work which undoubtedly contained much information on points of grammar and usage was the *Silva Observationum Sermonis Antiqui* of Valerius Probus. Whether this work contained lexicographical matter as well it is impossible to say; but I suspect that Gellius owed a great deal to it, and it is not impossible that the fourth, fifth and sixth books of Nonius, which evidently are based on the work of a great student of Vergil, are to be traced directly or indirectly to Probus. But however the case may stand with regard to this or that particular work of reference, I have little doubt that the authorities of Nonius are in the main the same as those of Gellius, and therefore, at least, include handbooks based upon the works of Verrius Flaccus, Caesellius Vindex, Probus, and Suetonius. That a number of such handbooks existed in the second century we know from the express testimony of Gellius himself, Praef. 5 foll. *Nam quia variam et miscellam et quasi confusaneam doctrinam conquisiverant, eo titulos quoque ad eam sententiam exquisitissimos indiderunt. Namque alii* MUSARUM in-

*scripserunt, alii SILVARUM, ille πέπλον, hic Ἀμαλθείας κέρας, alius κηρία, partim λειμώνας, quidam LECTIONES SUAE, alius ANTIQUARUM LECTIONUM, atque alius ἀνθρῶν et item alius εὐρημάτων. Sunt etiam qui λόγους inscriperunt, sunt item qui στρωματεῖς, sunt adeo qui πανδέκτας et Ἐλικῶνα et προβλήματα et ἐγχειρίδια et παραξιφίδας. Est qui MEMORIALES titulum fecerit, est qui πραγματικά et πάρεργα et διδασκαλικά, est item qui HISTORIAE NATURALIS, est παντοδαπῆς ἱστορίας, est praeterea qui PRATUM, est itidem qui πάγκαρπον, est qui τόπων scripsit. Sunt item multi qui CONIECTA-NEA, neque item non sunt qui indices libris suis fecerint aut EPISTULARUM MORALIUM aut EPISTULICARUM QUAESTIONUM aut CONFUSARUM, et quaedam alia inscripta nimis lepida multasque prorsum concinnitates redolentia. And the aim which Nonius had in view may be well described in the words of Gellius l. c. § 13, *primitiās quasdam et quasi libamenta ingenuarum artium dedimus, quae virum civiliter eruditum neque audisse umquam neque attigisse, si non inutile, haud quidem certe decorum est.**

It is due to the scholars whose opinions I endeavored to controvert in my two essays on Verrius Flaccus that I should exhibit in all possible detail the evidence on which I have based my own conclusions. I have therefore written out all the passages in the first book of Nonius to which parallels can be adduced either from Verrius Flaccus or from later commentators and grammarians, hoping to deal on a future occasion with the other lexicographical and antiquarian books in a similar manner. The facts, so far as I have been able to collect them, will thus be in possession of the reader, who will draw his own inferences from them.

HENRY NETTLESHIP.

(To be continued.)

## II.—ON THE SEPARATION, BY A WORD OR WORDS, OF *TO* AND THE INFINITIVE MOOD.

Our infinitive, where *to* precedes it, having been generally, of old, dativo-gerundial, it is pertinent, at the outset, to note, in connexion with phrases on the model of "able *to thoroughly bake* bread," such a phrase as "conducive *to thoroughly baking* bread." *Bake*, as here used actively, originated, by ~~detrition~~ from the gerund *bacanne*, which further contributed, along with a verbal substantive, towards the development, what between corruption and confusion, of the present participle *baking*.

With reference to expressions typified by *to thoroughly bake*,<sup>1</sup> three points, constituted by their age, the extent to which they have found favour, and the motives which have led writers to employ them, are successively to be examined.

First, however, it is in place to exhibit a specimen or two of the remarks which they have called forth from those whose attention they have attracted.

Mr. Richard Taylor wrote, in 1840:<sup>2</sup> "Some writers of the present day have a disagreeable affectation of putting an adverb between *to* and the infinitive." On this there is little to observe, except that Mr. Taylor, as he obviously supposed himself to be censuring a modernism, must have read the English literature of past times either sparingly or carelessly; and that, if he had reflected awhile, perhaps he would have discovered, at least on the part of adepts in composition, some more respectable reason than "affectation" for their sanction of the verbal arrangement which he disrelished.

From the late Dean Alford I next quote a paragraph, in which, as to circumspectness, information, and logic, his philological characteristics are displayed much at their average. It is as follows: "A correspondent states [*sic*] as his own usage, and defends, the

<sup>1</sup> "To adopt and scrupulously observe rules." "Nor to utter or even harbour resentment." It is not to be said that, in these clauses, "to" does double duty, and belongs to "scrupulously observe" and "even harbour." Rather, there is an ellipsis of *to* between the adverb and the verb.

<sup>2</sup> At p. xxx of his edition of Tooke's *Diversions of Purley* published that year.

insertion of an adverb between the sign of the infinitive mood and the verb. He gives, as an instance, '*to scientifically illustrate.*' But, surely, this is a practice entirely unknown to English speakers and writers. It seems to me that we ever regard the *to* of the infinitive as inseparable from its verb. And, when we have already a choice between two forms of expression, '*scientifically to illustrate*' and '*to illustrate scientifically,*' there seems no good reason for flying in the face of common usage."<sup>1</sup>

In this judgment, Dean Alford distinctly lays claim to complete acquaintance with the scope and contents of a universal negative; and it rarely happens that a pretension of this kind can confront, with safety, any but vulgar and uncritical receptiveness. The certitude of ~~decanal~~ instinct, however confidently professed, is not, forsooth, to the eye of science, so conclusive as a demonstration of Euclid. With tiresome frequency, Dean Alford has betrayed how insufficiently he was qualified, as a student of English, to arbitrate positively on a matter of usage. Nor, in the comments before us, does he simply evince his unfamiliarity with the byways of our vernacular phraseology.<sup>2</sup> The "practice" which he disapproves is, he says, "entirely unknown to English speakers and writers"; and, accordingly, his correspondent, unless to be counted as nobody, wrote in a foreign tongue. Besides this, we are given to understand that it is with "common usage" alone that the "entirely unknown" expression is at variance. Simultaneously, then, one and the same turn of speech is quite unprecedented and is merely of rare occurrence. Furthermore, that which approved itself to the Dean as an inflexible maxim, namely, that the infinitival *to* is always to be succeeded immediately by its verb, must, in order to its validity, be warranted by an appeal to the absolute consensus of good usage; but, since this consensus cannot be challenged on his behalf, the maxim falls to the ground.

Probatory passages akin to those subjoined, but many generations earlier than the earliest of them, are, very likely, producible.

<sup>1</sup> *A Plea for the Queen's English* (2d ed. 1864), p. 188.

<sup>2</sup> If Dean Alford had so much as been minutely conversant with a writer whose "Works," so-called, he edited in 1839, he would have been aware that "*to scientifically illustrate*" is matched, in a single small volume by Dr. Donne, five times, at least, as I shall presently point out.

The verb *experience*, of which, according to Dean Alford, "no instance . . . occurs till quite recently," is also seen at p. 165 of the same volume; and, as it was there in print in 1633, so it had then been in print for upwards of a century.



Yet it is something to be able to show that the speciality of construction here investigated can be traced back as far as to Wyclif's coadjutors and first disciples, if not to Wyclif himself.<sup>1</sup>

"For this was gret unkyndnesse, *to this manere trete* there brother, that algatis mekeli dide so grete kyndness agen; and it was an opyn untreuthe, *to this manere hate* her God." *Select English Works of John Wyclif*, edited by Mr. Thomas Arnold, M. A. (1869-1871), Vol. I, p. 175.

"And it hadde betre be to ~~hem~~ *to nevere have resceyved* Cristendom, but gif thei enden trevely in Goddis comaundementis." *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 196.<sup>2</sup>

"So oure good God byndith us not to *evermore trauen*," etc. *English Works of Wyclif hitherto Unprinted*, edited by Mr. F. D. Matthew (1880), p. 349.

"Also the popis lawe biddith men to not here the massis of prestis that ben comyn lechours." *Ibid.*, p. 418.

"To not do veniaunce," "to not obey," "to not wel assent," "to not mishe-us," "to not assent." *An Apology for Lollard Doctrines*<sup>3</sup> (Camden Society, 1842), pp. 33, 38 (two extracts), 43, 84.

"Forsothe Y say to you *to nat swere* on al manere." "But Y say to you *to nat agcin stonde yvel*." *St. Matthew*, v, 34, 39, in the earlier Wyclifite translation of the Bible, dating about 1389.

In an anonymous romance,<sup>4</sup> apparently of the same age as some of the works just quoted, occurs "*forto not falle*."

Although, for perhaps the first half of the fifteenth century, I can bring forward nothing to my present purpose, others will, without question, intersperse the gap with numerous relevant citations.

Bishop Pecock's *Repressor*, the probable date of which is about 1456, is thickly strewn with expressions like *forto first geve*, *forto*

<sup>1</sup> Though not a single sentence of all that has been handed down as from the pen of Wyclif can unhesitatingly be averred to have reached us in his very words, yet many of the writings attributed to him and to his followers, and even the extant manuscripts of some of those writings, certainly belong to the fourteenth century.

<sup>2</sup> See also *ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 63, 76, 171, 202, 204; Vol. II, pp. 256, 303, 304, 361; Vol. III, pp. 225, 264, 369, 409. In these places, *freely*, *meekly*, *not*, *quently* (becomingly), *thus*, and *truly* are disjunctive.

Here, and elsewhere in these notes, and also where only two or three words are quoted connectedly in them, the spelling is modernized.

<sup>3</sup> It is singular that neither of the two greatest authorities on Wyclifite literature, the Rev. Dr. Walter W. Shirley and Mr. Thomas Arnold, takes the least notice of this work. The opinion of the Rev. Dr. J. H. Todd, its editor, touching its authorship, deserved, at least, passing mention. For reasons why I am disposed to think that it is not to be assigned to Wyclif, see *Modern English*, p. 49, foot-note 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Knight of La Tour-Landry*, p. 50. This work is referred, by its editor, Mr. Thomas Wright, to about A. D. 1372.

*so seie,*<sup>1</sup> etc., etc. Three parts in four of the *Repressor* yield upwards of thirty such instances. Especially noteworthy, among them, are the following:

"Whanne ever he takith upon him *for to in neighbourli or brotherli maner correpte* his Cristen neighbour or brother," etc. P. 2.

"The more able, as bi that, he schal be *forto perfelli, sureli, and sufficientli undirstonde Holi* Scripture," etc. P. 43.

"Therefore it is no nede me *forto, as here in this booke, encerche* the writingis of Doctouris," etc. P. 71.

"Oon maner is bi tiranrie, which is *forto, in alle dedis of oorte, awaite* and performe her owne profit oonli," etc. P. 299.

In another treatise by Bishop Pecock, which may have preceded the *Repressor* by a few years, we find "*forto so more witnessse,*" "*forto it bitteve,*" "*forto in it bilake,*"<sup>2</sup> etc., etc.

Not long before or after 1471, Sir John Fortescue<sup>3</sup> wrote:

"It is not good for a kyng to *oversore charge* his people."

For upwards of fifty years subsequently, I have, again, nothing in point to produce; though it cannot be doubted that the authors belonging to that interval would, if examined closely, be found to afford many samples of the stamp of expression here considered.

In the extracts which follow, the context of the phrases quoted will, for the most part, be copied but very briefly, where not omitted altogether.

"To *newe reedify* the castell." Lord Berners, *Froissart* (1523-1525), Vol. I, p. 120.

"To *not believe* it." Tyndale (1533), in *Works*, etc. (Parker Society), Vol. III, p. 234.

"To *flatly gainsaye*." Rev. Dr. Thomas Stapleton, *A Fortresse of the Faith*, etc. (1565), fol. 23.

"To *truly performe* this my will." Marie, Countess Dowager of Northumberland (1572), in *Wills and Inventories* (Surtees Society), Vol. II, p. 7.

"To *covertly hide* one flasket in the rushes." Sir John Harington (1608), in *Nugae Antiquae* (ed. 1804), Vol. I, p. 381.

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 5, 25. Single words elsewhere interposed are *aright, it, meekly, not, them, thereby, therein, therewith, well*. Add *by their power, in them, on him, so richly, the more likingly, the rather, thereby thus, wisely and duly*.

<sup>2</sup> *A Treatise proving Scripture to be the Rule of Faith* (1688), pp. 26, 34, 36. In other places, as at pp. 18, 27, etc., the single words *not* and *so* are separative.

The work here named comprehends, as printed, only about a third of the whole; and its genuine title is *The Book of Faith*. See the *Repressor* (1860), Introduction, p. xxxii, note 2, and p. lxvii.

<sup>3</sup> *Works* (1869), p. 462.

"To judiciously weigh," "to strongly sustaine," "~~to always have~~," "to well rule or governe," "to well rule one's selfe." Rev. Dr. John Donne (died 1631), *The Auncient History of the Septuagint* (ed. 1633), pp. 47, 51, 107, 127.

~~"To but only returne home," "to both strike and thrust."~~ James Hayward, *The Banish'd Virgin* (1635), pp. 20, 101.

"To injuriously oppresse." Henry, Earl of Monmouth, Translation of Biondi (1641, etc.), Books I-III, p. 112.

"To grosly make the Scripture like a nose of wax." Rev. John Eaton, *The Honey-combe of Free Justification*, etc. (1642), p. 282.

"To either place himself." Rev. Dr. Henry More, *Conjectura Cabbalistica* (1653), p. 246.

"To either believe or misbelieve a thing." *Id.*, *Enthusiasmus Triumphatus* (1656), p. 10 (ed. 1662).

"To either excuse, complete, or," etc. *Id.*, *A Collection of Several Philosophical Writings* (1662), The Preface General, p. ix.

"~~To better regulate~~." Anon., *The History . . . of China* (1655), p. 149.

"To well manage our affections." Sir Thomas Browne (died 1682), *True Christian Morals*, I, 24.

"To fully convince myself." Samuel Pepys (1699), *Diary*, etc. (ed. 1875, etc.). Vol. VI, p. 197.

"To first acquaint your Grace with it." Rev. Dr. Richard Bentley (1716), *Works* (1836, etc.), Vol. III, p. 479.

"To utterly abandon." Rev. Myles Davies, *Athenae Britannicae* (1716), Vol. II, p. 345.

"~~To just waft them over~~." Defoe, *A New Voyage*, etc. (1725), p. 152 (ed. 1840).

"To occasionally throw." Miss Catherine Talbot (1752), in *Miss Carter's Letters to Miss Talbot*, etc., Vol. II, p. 74.

"~~To far exceed~~." Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry*, etc. (1756), Part III, Section VI.

"To effectually stifle." *Id.*, *Works* (ed. 1826), Vol. XII, p. 69.

"To boldly assert." John Wilkes, *The North Briton*, No. XIX (1762).

"To exactly resemble." Samuel Foote, *The Patron* (1764), Act I, Scene I.

"To quite bereave one of one's wits." Charles Dibdin, *The Quaker* (1777), Act I, Scene I.

"To even bear with." Madame D'Arblay (1778), *Diary and Letters* (ed. 1842, etc.), Vol. I, p. 55.<sup>1</sup>

"~~Milton was too busy to much miss his wife~~." Dr. Johnson, *Life of Milton* (1779).

"To completely remove your fears." Frederic Pilon, *He Would be a Soldier* (1786), Act V, Scene I.

<sup>1</sup> No writer that I know of is so fond as Madame D'Arblay of the sort of disjunction for which she is here adduced. But a single quotation must answer as a specimen of the scores furnished by her *Diary and Letters*, novels, and *Life of her father*. Among her intercalations, as in "to even bear with," are *absolutely*, *again*, *as little*, *both*, *constantly*, *coolly*, *entirely*, *frequently*, *instantly*, *quietly*, *quite*, *really*, *sometimes*, *thus*, *wholly*.

"To directly advance." Mr. Hammond (1787), in *Olla Podrida*, No. 34.

"To fully believe." Robert Southey (1801), in *Life and Correspondence*, Vol. II, p. 156.

"To entirely subside." S. T. Coleridge (1802), in *Essays on His Own Times* (1850), p. 587.

"To clean wipe me out." Charles Lamb (1827?), in *Letters* (1837), Vol. II, p. 211.

"To sharply characterize." William Taylor, *Historic Survey of German Poetry* (1830), Vol. III, p. 378.

"To not unfrequently make excursions," "to still further limit the hours."

William Wordsworth (1843), *Prose Works*, etc. (1876), Vol. III, pp. 205, 209.

"In order to fully appreciate the character of Lord Holland," etc. Lord Macaulay, *Critical and Historical Essays* (1843), Vol. III, p. 315.

"To often furnish." Mr. Thomas De Quincey (1850), *Works* (ed. 1862, etc.), Vol. XVI, p. 120.

"To justly estimate." Mr. Herbert Spencer, *Social Statics* (1851), p. 124.

"To first imperfectly conceive," "to perpetually repeat," "to positively assert." *Id.*, *Essays*, etc., Vol. I (1858), p. 242; Vol. II (1863), p. 203; Vol. III (1874), p. 257.

"To rigorously criticize," "to openly reassert." Bp. C. J. Ellicott, in *Cambridge Essays* (1856), pp. 158, 178.

"To actually mention." Mr. Matthew Arnold, *On Translating Homer* (1861), p. 72.

"To somewhat abate," "to actually group." *Id.*, *Schools and Universities on the Continent* (1868), Preface, p. viii, and p. 207.

"To humbly offer." *Id.*, *Culture and Anarchy* (1869), p. 95.

"To clearly understand." Mr. John Ruskin, *Unto this Last* (1862), p. 82.

"To gradually awaken." Mr. John W. Hales, in *Essays on a Liberal Education* (1867), p. 306.

"To notably increase," "to rudely enforce." Dr. Henry Maudsley, *The Physiology and Pathology of the Mind* (1867), pp. 207, 208.

"To straightway deny," "to clearly realize." *Id.*, *Body and Mind* (1870), pp. 57, 102.

"To nearly ruin." Mr. W. R. Greg, *Literary and Social Judgments* (1868), p. 445, foot-note.

"To just hand him the letter." Mr. Charles Reade, *Put Yourself in his Place* (1870), Vol. III, p. 32.

"To perfectly realize." Mr. Winwood Reade, *The Martyrdom of Man* (1872), p. 171.

"To continually spread." Bp. Samuel Wilberforce, *Speeches on Missions* (1874), p. 116.

"To rationally demand." Mr. St. George Mivart, in *Essays on Religion and Literature*, Third Series (1874), p. 220.

"To really express." Mr. Richard Congreve, *Essays*, etc. (1874), p. 479.

"To thoroughly understand." Bp. Ullathorne, *Mr. Gladstone's Expostulation Unravelled* (1875), p. 22.

<sup>1</sup> Substituted for "fully to appreciate," for which see the *Edinburgh Review*, Vol. LXXIII (1841), p. 561.

"*To innocently rot.*" Mr. Leslie Stephen, *History of English Thought*, etc. (1876), Vol. I, p. 440.

"*To utterly destroy.*" Major R. D. Osborn, *Islam under the Arabs* (1876), p. 166.

"*To still keep,*" "*to so much as look,*" "*to again approach.*" Mr. W. H. Mallock, *The New Paul and Virginia* (1878), pp. 7, 73, 82.

"*To punningly translate.*" Mr. T. L. Kington Oliphant, *The Old and Middle English* (1878), p. 73.

"*To hastily borrow.*" Rev. Dr. F. G. Lee, *The Church under Queen Elizabeth* (1380), Vol. I, p. 22.

Other sources than those which have here been laid under contribution, even if they were restricted to creditable living authors, would increase, to an indefinite extent, the preceding array of citations and references, which, moreover, might be augmented by recourse to almost any chance number of almost any first-class English journal of the last fifteen or twenty years. The question of usage, as concerns the matter in hand, consequently calls for no further particulars of proof.

The expressions observed on simply exemplify an extended application of the principle which has given us the verbs *anneal*, *backslide*, *foretell*, *gainsay*, *half-bind*, *misbelieve*, *outlive*, *overthrow*, *partake*, *undersell*, *uproot*, *withdraw*, and so on, with the obsolete *tobreak*, *lorend*, etc., etc. The original of *to fulfil*—*fulfyllan*, in Anglo-Saxon,—was *to full fill*, that is to say, *to fully fill*; and time might give us *to full-appreciate*, if we had as frequent occasion to speak of "appreciating fully" as our forefathers had to speak of "filling full," or "accomplishing."

Though words and phrases are employed by very few persons save in passive sequacity of others, yet those who introduce them, and equally those who accept them deliberately, are generally influenced by something better than, for instance, a love of singularity or of innovation. And especially is this true of words and phrases which succeed in winning the practical suffrages of good speakers and writers. We are under no necessity, therefore, of setting to the account of "affectation," as a learned editor, already mentioned, has done, their choice of locutions like *to fully appreciate*. By this verbal collocation, some of them, at least, it may be, conceive that they express notional incomplexity, more directly than it is expressed by *fully to appreciate*, or by *to appreciate fully*; just as is the case with *to uphold*, in comparison with *to hold up*, "*defend*," or with *to revisit*, in comparison with *to visit again*.

How it has come to pass that professional authors so voluminous as Dr. Johnson, Lord Macaulay, and Mr. De Quincey are seen to furnish, so far as appears, only one example, each, of the phraseology under discussion, it would be fruitless to inquire. It is, however, somewhat remarkable, that the consideration which prompted those scanty examples, whether it was that which has been suggested above, or whether it was a desire of terseness, or of euphony,<sup>1</sup> did not operate to multiply them in the pages of the vigilant stylists who have thus just countenanced their type.

FITZEDWARD HALL.

Now and then we come upon a sentence of which, if we stop short of altering its infinitive, the apparent nonsense can be removed only by resorting to such a construction as that here treated of. "I *hope not much to tire* those whom I shall not happen to please." Dr. Johnson, *Rambler*, No. I. Many would now write: "I *hope to not much tire*," etc. And Dr. Johnson, in his letters to Mrs. Thrale, has, most unclearly, "I *think not to stay* here long," and "the black dog I *hope always to resist*." Take, again, the sentence, quoted and commented on by Mr. Goold Brown: "Honour *teaches us properly to respect* ourselves." The ambiguity of this may be obviated by putting "*to properly respect*," or, still better, by ending the sentence with the adverb.

Mr. Brown, referring to Burns's "*to nobly stem*," observes: "The right to place an adverb sometimes between *to* and its verb should, I think, be conceded to the poets." *Grammar of English Grammars* (ed. 1873), p. 661.

### III.—FINAL *AS* BEFORE SONANTS IN SANSKRIT.

*Prefatory Note*.:—The substance of this article was presented in a paper read before the American Oriental Society at its meeting in New Haven, October 26, 1881; and a concise report was published in the "Proceedings" of that meeting (pp. iv–vii), under the title: "On non-diphthongal *e* and *o* in Sanskrit." A renewed investigation of the subject has served not only to support and clarify the views which were then expressed upon much less extensive data, but has also, it is believed, brought out some new facts which deserve notice; and I am thus led to present the subject anew, and in a fuller form than a report in the "Proceedings" will permit of.

That the value of Sanskrit *e* and *o* is usually correctly defined by the statement that they represent original diphthongs, is clear and universally accepted. These diphthongs reach back either to the period of the common life of the family, in cases like *é-mi* = *ἐμι*; *ri-ré-a* = *ῥι-ῥε-α*; optative *bhdre-ta* = *βῆδρε-τε*; genitive *sūnos* = Gothic *sunaus*; or they are still more evidently diphthongs when they are direct results within Sanskrit itself of the meeting of an *ā* with *i* or *ū*.

To the Hindu grammarian *e* and *o* are always diphthongs; he knows no exception. When final *as* changes to *o* before a sonant consonant he either assumes with unrelaxing consistency that the *s* has in some way or other been supplanted by *u* and that this *u* has then united with the preceding *a* to the diphthong *o* (Atharva-Prāti-ṣākhya I 53-4; Pāṇini VI, 1, 113-4), or, what amounts to the same thing, final *as* as a whole has changed to *o* the diphthong (R̥k-Prāt. IV 8; VS-Prāt. IV 41, 42; Tāittiriya-Prāt. I 9); cf. Weber, Kuhn und Schleicher's Beiträge III 391 fg. This is the extremest case; still less do they think of regarding an *e* or *o* in other surroundings as anything else than a diphthong.

The older European grammarians (Bopp, Lassen, etc.) accepted the Indian view with regard to *e* and *o* with little or no modification; and whatever scepticism has cropped out here and there since Bopp has not been strong enough to procure distinct recognition,

in any connected grammatical treatise, for a value other than diphthongal. If it is remembered how the opinion that Sanskrit *a* is everywhere an original *a*-sound, and everywhere the same sound, has gradually been undermined within the last few years, *a priori* scruples against an attack upon the singleness of the character of *e* and *o* will be easily laid aside, even if it be possible to establish a non-diphthongal value only in isolated cases.

In the first place it is impossible to extend the diphthongal explanation to the *e* of the so-called contracted weak perfect stems, stems like *sed-* in *sed-imā*; *men* in *men-ē*, etc. For the following reason: The type of these weak perfects is older than the beginning of the separate life of the Indian languages, it goes back to the common Indo-European period, and any explanation of it made for Sanskrit alone is insufficient; therefore, if the *e* in forms like these is explained as a diphthong, this same explanation must hold good for all other languages which exhibit this kind of weak perfect stems. This is not the case. The history of this type may perhaps be most justly presented by the following short sketch: The Indo-European perfect was non-thematic, and possessed that distinction between strong and weak stems which is so admirably preserved in Sanskrit and German. The singular active of the perfect was made with strong root-forms, accompanied by the tone on the root-syllable (*ri-ríc-a*); the other numbers of the active, the entire middle and the participle were formed with weak root-forms accompanied by the tone on the suffix (*ri-ric-mds*, *ri-ric-vāmsam*, etc.). In the case of the root *sad*, and possibly one or two others, the weak stem became subject to euphonic changes which resulted in the form *sēd-*. The strong form was *\*sē-sōd-*; the weak *\*sē-sd-*  $\epsilon$ ; here the inner *s* became sonant before the sonant *d*: *\*sē-zd*; sonant *z* fell out, leaving behind it only its 'voice' (stimmton) which *lengthened* the preceding *ē*, leaving *sēd-* as the result. This *sēd* has survived in Sk. *sēd-imā* (: *sa-sād-a*); Gothic *sēt-um* (: *sat*), and Lat. *sēd-imus*; in Latin the weak stem supplanted the strong, and we have *sēd-i* for *\*sē-sod-i* in the singular also. This explanation of *sēd-* finds support in the perfectly parallel history of the present stem belonging to the same root: Sk. *śīd-ati*, Zend *hīd-aīti*, Lat. *śīd-it*; these words represent a reduplicated thematic present-formation *\*sī-sd-a-ti* (like Vedic *pt-bd-a-*, *ji-ghn-a-*; Greek *μῑ-μν-ω*, etc.), where the *s* of the root coming before the sonant *d* was changed into *z* (*\*sī-zd-*); this *z* fell out and its voice again *lengthened* the preceding *i* to *ī*.



This explanation of the type *sēd-* emanates from Delbrück, Altindisches Verbum, p. 118, and it has been presented with minor variations by Scherer, Zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache,<sup>1</sup> 232 fg.; Joh. Schmidt, Kuhn's Zeitschrift XXV 60 fg.; Kluge, Beiträge zur Geschichte der germanischen Conjugation, 59 fg.; De Saussure, Mémoire, p. 12, note, and others<sup>1</sup>; this *ē* definitely breaks the singleness of value of Sk. *e*, and forms a safe basis for a renewed investigation of Sk. *e* and *o* in general.

In the type *sēd* there presents itself an Indo-European long *ē*, originated before the separation of the languages; there are a number of cases in which the same explanation of *e* as long non-diphthongal *ē* must be urged for the period of the separate life of Sanskrit. Such forms are the imperatives *ē-dhī* for \**ēz-dhī* (\**ēs-dhī*); *dē-hī* and *dhē-hī* for \**dēz-dhī* and \**dhēz-dhī* = Zend *dazdi* (for both); here again the *ē* is simple long *ē* the result of short *ē* plus the tone of a sonant sibilant which has itself fallen out; probably the same explanation holds good for the forms *nēdiyaṃs* and *nēd-iṣṭha* = Zend *nazdyō* and *nazdistā*; *mēdha*; Zd. *mazda*; *miyēdha*: Zd. *myazda*; *trṇēdhi* for \**trṇē(ṣ)h-ti* and a few others of a less transparent character which are mentioned by Joh. Schmidt, KZ. XXV 61-62.

The assumption of long *ē* is supported by the numerous cases in which long *ī* and *ū* are the results of short *i* and *u* and the same voice, which a sonant has left as compensation on falling out. The case of *sīdati*, Zd. *hīdaiti*, Lat. *sīdit*, has been mentioned above; it is the only case which dates back to Indo-European times; within Sk. itself *mīdhd* = *μισθός*; *nīd* for \**nī-ṣd* for \**nī-sdd* and *liḍhd*, perfect participle of *li(ṣ)h* are examples; for *viḍu*, which Max Müller has connected with *ἰλιον*, I suggest affinity with Lat. *viridis* (for \**vis(i)duis* ?), so that the *i* in *viḍu* is again the result of short *i* lengthened by the voice of a sonant sibilant which has fallen out. It is hardly necessary to point out the familiar cases in which a *ū* has been lengthened in the same manner, e. g. in the participles *ūḍhd* for \**uṣḍhd* from root *va(ṣ)h*; *dūḍabha* for \**dūṣḍabha*; *dūṣṭa* for \**dūṣṭa*, etc.

The testimony which has been brought forward seems to point to the following thesis: Long vowels in Sk., when due to compensatory lengthening, are results of the corresponding short vowel

<sup>1</sup> The strongly deviating view of Fröhde in Bezenberger's Beiträge VI 192, fg. is hardly calculated to overthrow this explanation.

plus the voice of the sonant, which has fallen out; in accordance with this thesis, long *ē*, *ī* and *ū* have been generated from their respective short vowels, as we have seen, and by the light thus gained we can now approach to better advantage the *ō*, resulting from compensatory lengthening.

The unique word for 'sixteen' *ṣṣ-ḍaṣa* (cf. *ṣo-ḍhā* 'sixfold') is especially interesting because it is so different in form from all the numerals with which it could be mentally associated, and numerals are notoriously subject to the workings of analogy; other forms containing the element for 'six,' or surrounding numerals for other numbers, cannot have developed the *ō* inorganically after their analogy; the change of *ṣaṣ* into *ṣō-* is a phonetic one. If we look at the usual forms in Europe (*ēz*, *sex*) we should expect *\*ṣē-ḍaṣa* for *\*ṣēz-ḍaṣa* (the cerebral *ṣ* at the end and its alterant effect upon the following *d* being due to the *kṣ* = *z*, which must have preceded the *ṣ*); there remains then the explanation of the *ō* instead of the *ē*. That this is due to the *v* of Zend *khshvas* and Armenian *veṣ*, the *F* of *Fēz* of the Heraklean tablets and the *w* of Cymric *chwech*, which point to an original form *\*sveks*, seems extremely probable. We must start in the explanation of the Sanskrit form from a pronunciation of the word, which may be rendered into writing well enough by *\*ṣōṣ*; *\*ṣōṣ-ḍaṣa* had to become *ṣō-ḍaṣa* in perfect parallelism with *dū-ḍabha*, etc.; the *ō* of *ṣō-ḍaṣa* is simple long *ō* not a diphthong precisely as the *ē* of *ēdht*, *dēht*, etc.

The explanation of a few peculiar nominatives in the RV. leads to the same kind of formation as is exhibited in *ṣō-ḍaṣa*. They are *ava-yās* from stem *ava-yāj*; *puro-ḍās* from a stem *puro-ḍāṣ*, and the grammarians add a nominative *ṣvetā-vās* and a corresponding vocative *ṣveta-vas* from stem *ṣveta-vāh*; in all three cases the stem ends in gutturals of the front (or palatal) series: *ç*, *j*, *h*. Joh. Schmidt, *Die Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse der indogermanischen Sprachen*, p. 11, 12, explains these forms as the result of phonetic union of the ending of the nominative *s* with the final of the stem. This explanation is untenable for two reasons: First, it operates with *s* of the nom. as though it were an element still alive within the special language; but the special language of the Indo-European family has no such element at its command; a form like *awayās* must be either a heritage from the common period, which no one will believe, or it is an analogical formation. Secondly, even if we were to admit the separate existence of the *s* of the nominative in the individual language, there is no reason why in these special few

instances there should be an exception to the Indian law for finals ; according to this the *s* would fall off and leave *t*: \**avayāt*, etc. Indeed it will be found an impossible task to obtain phonetically nominatives like *avayās*, *puroḍās* and *çvetavās* from their respective palatal stems, and only the analogy of some form within the paradigms of these forms can have originated them. A full paradigm of *avayaj* would be : Singular, nom. *avayāt*; acc. *avayājam*; genit. and abl. *avayajds*, or possibly with *samprasāraṇa*: *avejds*; Loc. plur. *avayaṭsū* or *avayatsū*; from all these the nom. sg. *avayās* could not be the analogical offspring. Thus far the *bh*-cases have not been mentioned; they are indeed not quotable. That such forms must however have existed in the language is self-evident, and the grammarians are unanimous in reporting : *avayobhis*, *puroḍobhis*, and *çvetavobhis*; these forms can be organic in the following manner: We find that root-stems which have long *ā* in the strong cases often show *ā* in the weak ones; that this short *ā* is probably the representative of *ō*, or equal to *ō*, is shown by Greek declensions like *χθών* : *χθινός* : *χρώς* : *χρούς*; *σώ-φρων* : *σώ-φρονος*; *φλόξ* : *φλογός*; *ὄψ* to *όπος*<sup>2</sup>; assuming then for

<sup>1</sup> Or indeed possibly dental *t* with still further assimilation. Such cases are contained in the form *prayātsu*, locative plur. (TS. iv. 1. 8; VS. xxvii. 14); AV. has *prayāṭsu* which is evidently secondary. In the same direction points *anaḍtsu*, the locative pl. of *anaḍvāḥ* (RV.); this is the only phonetically correct form of the stem which shows a dental before a case-ending, and from this the *t* has spread over the other cases. According to the proportion *vidvddbhyaḥ* : *vidvdsu*, the strange *anaḍvddbhyaḥ* (AV.) was formed upon *anaḍtsu*. Possibly the curious form with dental *t* belonging to a palatal stem, nominative *paṭṭhavanāt* from a stem *paṭṭha-vāḥ* (*paṭṭhavad vdyo* TS. 4. 3. 3. 2 etc.), which is cited by Weber, Indische Studien XIII. 107, owes its existence to a locative form \**paṭṭhavanatsu*, which is to be sure not quotable; the archaic character of this *t* in the TS. is made probable by the fact that the same Sāṃhitā has preserved the form *dsṛt* (vii 4. 9) instead of the common but difficult *dsṛj*; *dsṛt* stands to *yakṛt* (or \**yāḥṛt* in *yāḥare*: Old Zend-Pehlewi Glossary) precisely as Cypriot *ἐ(σ)αρ=εἶαρ* does to *ἦπαρ*; both have stems in *n* for the oblique cases: *yaknas* (whence perhaps the *ā* of *yakṛt*)=*ἦπατος* and *asnds*; cf. *ῥῥῥῥῥ*: *ῥῥῥῥῥ*. The *t* is 'inorganic' as is shown by Iranian *yāḥare* and the derivative *asra*; it is the same *t* which appears at the end of root-nouns ending in short vowels: *vajra-bhṛt*, etc.; *j* in the same function is an anomaly. Is not a *dsṛj* a perversion by popular etymology (volksetymologie)? *ṛṣṭj+ā* means 'to pour,' etc.

<sup>2</sup> In *φλόξ*: *φλογός*, and *ὄψ*: *όπος* the weak form has penetrated into the nominative; the old declension was \**φλώξ*: *φλογός*, etc.; the long vowel has supplanted the short in *σῶψ*: *σκιωπός*; *κλώψ*: *κλωπός*; *ὥψ*: *ὥπός* (cf. *οἶνοψ*); *πτῶς*: *πτωκός*; *φῶρ*: *φωρός*; *φῶς*: *φωτός*; *θῶψ*: *θωπός*; in these the old accentual difference is still preserved; in *παρά-βλώψ*: *παρά-βλωπος*; *χειρο-βρός*: *-βρωτος*; *δια-ῥῥῥῥῥ* both vowel and accent of the nominative have penetrated into the oblique cases; for the historical *πῶς* (Dor. *πῶς*): *ποδός* Joh. Schmidt KZ. xxv, 15 has rendered an older declension *πῶς* (\**πῶς*): \**πεδός* very probable.

the *bh*-cases: \**ava-yôz-bhis*, *puro-ôôz-bhis* and *çveta-vôôh-bhis*, the sonant sibilant has, as in *ôô-daça* fallen out and compensated the short *ô* by lengthening it into *ô*. Forms like these, and as far as can be seen only forms like these, could give rise to nominatives like those of *as*-stems: *avayâs*, etc., on the basis of a proportion like *âṅgīrobhis*: *âṅgīrâs*=*avayobhis*: *avayâs*; the grammarians offer also locative pl. *avayaḥsu*, etc., which is due no doubt to the same analogy. I am aware of course that under common circumstances it would be more natural to suppose that the *bh*-cases are due to the afterthought of the grammarians; but this would leave the nominatives a riddle. I add that the nom. sg. *sadha-mâs* (RV. vii. 18. 7) by the side of *sadha-mâd* (iv. 21. 1) cannot be explained with any kind of certainty even as an analogical formation, and only emphasize the fact that an organic explanation, such as would assume \**sadha-mâd-s* as an original form is not to be thought of.<sup>1</sup>

Beset with difficulties are the formations with *ô* from the roots *vah* and *sah*; stems: *voḍhu-* and *voḍhar-* (RV.); *soḍhu-* *soḍhar-* and *soḍha-* in the classical language, where the Vedic presents only formations with *â*: *sâḍhar-* *sâḍha-* *sâḍhvâ* and infinitive *sâḍhyai* (Māitrāyaṇī Samhitâ I. 6. 3; Schröder, Einleitung p. xiv). If we consider the fact that the forms with *ô* from the root *sah* are late, and that *sah* and *vah* are the only two roots in the language which show the final (*ô*)*h* preceded by short *a*, it will have to be admitted that the late *soḍhar*, etc. are formed after the analogy of *voḍhar*, etc. This leaves us with the old forms *voḍhar* and *sâḍhar*. The first itself would offer no difficulty; the formations in which the palatal sibilant has dropped are all of them such as require *ê*: *voḍhar* is *vector*; *voḍhu-* is *vectu-*; it could then be readily assumed that Sk. \**vêôh-tar*, \**vêôh-tu* was changed to \**vôôh-tar* \**vôôh-tu* just as \**sôô-daça* was referred to \**çv.ô-daça* above, i. e. the result of the labializing influence of *v* upon a following vowel; but an explanation that fits the root *vê(ô)h* must also fit the root *sâ(ô)h*; it is therefore more probable that in both these cases the historical *ê* of the formation did not enter into the result; that *voḍhar* and *voḍhu-*

<sup>1</sup> It may be permissible to recall the fact that in the earliest language there are some points of contact between the declensions of *as*-stems and those of stems in final *t*; so when a vocative *haviṣmas* stands related to a dative *haviṣmata*; a vocative *vîdvas* to *vidvâdbhis*, *vidvâtsu*, etc. Compare also the remark of Brugman in KZ. xxiv, 21 fg. on *uâdd-bhis*: *uâts-*, and *mâd-bhis*: *mâts-*, and Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar § 168.

are merely \**vāḍhar* and \**vāḍhu-* with their vowel labialized.<sup>1</sup> At any rate there is a gain in the recognition that the *ō* of *vāḍhar* and analogically that of *sāḍhar* etc. is long monophthongal *ō*; an explanation as \**vauḍhar* is devoid of all foundation.

The main purpose of this paper is the explanation of the change of final *as* into *ō*. The *ō* before sonant consonants is not a diphthong; it is long *ō*, the result of short *ō* plus the voice of the sonant sibilant which has fallen out, but has left its traces in the lengthening of the preceding short vowel. *Short Indo-European ō is then not entirely dead upon Indian ground any more than short I. E. ě; both have escaped into certain long ē and ō; the euphonic change in a complex aṣvō dravati differs from that of a complex ē-dhi only in the quality of the short vowel which has preceded the change; \*aṣvōz dravati is the immediate historic precursor of aṣvō dravati, precisely as \*ēz-dhi is of ē-dhi.*<sup>2</sup> It needs scarcely

<sup>1</sup> With this *sāḍhar* for *sēḍhar* we may compare the cases in which Bollensen (Zeitschr. d. deutsch. morg. Gesellschaft XXII 574) assumes the change of final *as* before sonants into *ā*; especially *sahāvat* by the side of *sahovāt*; only that these are anything but archaic; they are made after all historical antecedents of *a* (*ā* and *ō*) had been totally forgotten; this it is hoped will be shown below sufficiently.

<sup>2</sup> Weber in Kuhn und Schleicher's Beitræge III 398, explains the change of final *as* to *ō* through the intermediate stage of a change into *ar*. He bases this view to a considerable extent upon a series of words in a single liturgical passage in the TS. and the Kāṭhaka-Saṁhitā, where a number of such cases actually do appear: *jinvdr, ugrdr, bhīmdr, tveḍdr, grūdr, bhūtdr* and *pūtār* (with a variant *pūrtir*); the last only in the KS. In addition also a doubtful dative plural: *adbhyar* KS. XI 10; see Beitræge III 390-2. According to this all final *s*'s preceded by a vowel were once changed to *r*, and this *r* underwent still further changes in the case of *ās*. Not only are these few forms in *ar* rather to be explained as artificial imitations of stems ending in etymological *ar*: *ahar* (cf. *aharpātī*), *ūdhar* *uṣar* etc. but there is room for the suspicion that on the contrary all final *s*'s preceded by vowels and followed by sonants may have originally changed to the sonant sibilant *z* which fell out, and, when followed by a consonant compensated the preceding vowel. As a remnant of this method we may perhaps regard the treatment of final *s* when followed by *r* in cases like *agni rohātī* etc. So also the Prakrit nominatives of *i-* and *u-* stems: *aggi, bandhū* etc., which were once used probably only before sonant consonants, but afterwards became general like *ō* for final *as* (*vaccho=vrkṣas*). The Pāli nominatives (*aggi, bhikkhū*) on the other hand are the forms before vowels extended in their use in the same way. In that case it becomes necessary to assume for Sanskrit, that the change of final etymological *r* before sonants to *s* before surds furnished the basis upon which all final *s* became *r* before sonants; i. e. as *pītur* appears in the form *pītus* before surds, so conversely *cakṣus* appears as *cakṣur* before sonants; while of the old forms before

to be pointed out that the same appearance of *ḷ* and *ḍ* is now almost universally regarded as the cause of the changing initials in form-couplets, whose initial belongs to the back-guttural series: *hanti* : *ghands* ; *hāras* to *gharmās* ; *ca* : *katāras*, etc.

Of the difficulties with which this opinion is fraught no one is better aware than I am ; I regard them however as by no means insurmountable. Above all, final *ās* is not everywhere equal to I. E. *ās* ; very often it is equal to I. E. *ēs*, and in such cases *ē* would be expected as the product of the short vowel and the voice of the sibilant ; e. g. *\*agnayē dahanti* for *\*agnayēz dahanti*, instead of *agnayō dahanti*, etc. That this state of things did once actually exist in India appears to be rendered strongly probable by certain dialectic phenomena ; instead of pointing out right here the cases in dialects in which final *as* turns into *ē*, I cite a passage out of Weber's article in Kuhn und Schleicher's Beitrage III 385 fg. entitled : ' Final *as* before Sonants in Sanskrit.' He is combating the native theory (accepted also by Lassen and Bopp) according to which the change of *as* into *ō* is explained as due to a change of the *s* into *r* and then of *r* into *u*, which combines with the preceding *ā* into the diphthong *ō*. He says : ' In various Prākṛit dialects, namely, partly in the inscriptions of Piadasi in the dialect of Dhauli and Bābhra, and especially in the Māgadhi-dialect, there appears not *ō* but *ē* in the place of final *ās*, and in this *ē* an *u* can by no possibility be found inherent, nor can this be regarded as the result of weakening from *ō* ; on the contrary its direct derivation from *ās* as a common basis (for both *ē* and *ō*) must be kept in view as the starting-point.' This passage written in 1863 sounds almost prophetic. In those days of the undisturbed rule of Indo-European *ā* in Sanskrit an explanation of this variation, which is based upon the fact that final *ās* corresponds partly to European *ās* and partly to European *ēs*, could not suggest itself.

The reason why the historical difference between *açvō drdvati* and *\*agnayē dahanti*, which latter we are led to reconstruct, was

sonants : *\*cakṣu* (before vowels) and *cakṣū* (before consonants), only the latter has survived before *r* of the following word. Possibly the isolated nominative sg. *bhūmi* in RV. IX 61, 10 : *uccā te jātām āndhaso divī śād bhūmy (pada : bhūmīḥ) ā dade* : ' was oben deinem saft entsprang im himmel, hat die erd' erlangt' (Grassman) ; cf. Benfey, Vollständige Grammatik p. 294, note 8, may contain the more primitive sandhi in question ; cf. however Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra I 16, 17 : *veda te bhūmi hrdayaṁ* ' the earth knows thy heart.' The assumption of a neuter stem *bhūmi* offers a simpler explanation than that of the *padakāra*.

given up, is clear. As soon as the difference between \**açvōs* and \**agnayēs* before surds was wiped out, there was lost with it all *raison d'être* for a distinction between *açvō* and \**agnayē* before sonants; as soon as short *ā* had absorbed within itself both short *ē* and short *ō* the distinction between *açvō* and \**agnayē* must disappear and one or the other, probably the fittest of the two, will survive. The number of parallel processes which could be brought up from various quarters of I. E. grammar to show how again and again an original historical difference perished, as soon as the cause which had given it life had passed away, is well nigh infinite. One need but remember the almost complete wiping away of the distinction between weak and strong forms in the Greek perfect, which was lost no doubt in the main because the corresponding accentual difference had succumbed to the leveling recessive or enclitic accentuation. And in India, unless we are disposed to give up the attempt to account for the change between palatals and gutturals of the back-guttural series, the same absorption of *ē* and *ō* into *ā*, with which we are dealing here, has blurred the regular methods of interchange between *c* and *k*, *g* and *j*, *gh* and *h*, so that scanty remnants afford but the merest hint at the cause which once governed the interchange of these consonants.

I have said that of the two types *açvō* and \**agnayē* the fittest would probably survive; for the language of the Veda and its lineal descendant the Sanskrit *açvō* may indeed be called so: for it is numerically far ahead of its rival. Without laying *too much* stress on numerical relations in such cases—for often a poorly represented formation gradually insinuates itself into the favor of a language at the expense of a prevailing one—it may be well to point out the fact that the cases in which final *as* represents *ōs* are much more numerous than those in which it represents *ēs*; for the nominal formations I employ the excellent table of Lanman in the appendix to his book on 'Noun-inflexion in the Veda.'

The nominatives sg. masc of *a*- stems alone occur 10,071 times, making about one-ninth of all nominal formations in the RV.; there are 1911 genitives and ablatives of consonantal stems masc. fem. and neuter; moreover 1421 nominatives and accusatives of neuter *as*- stems; these 13,500 cases are certain representatives of *ōs*; against this number the forms with *as* = *ēs* appear 3538 times in the nominatives and vocatives plural masc. of consonantal stems and of *i*-, *u*-, and *r*- stems; further the nominatives and vocatives plural fem. of the same stems amount to 1037; the vocatives singular of

*as*- stems according to the equation *Satyá-çravas* = 'Ετεό-χλε(Γ)ες<sup>1</sup> (Benfey, *Über die Entstehung des indogermanischen Vocativs*, p. 53) add 190 times, making in all 4765 forms, or a little over one-third the number of cases in which *as* = *ōs*. From the inflected forms of the verb only second persons singular with the secondary ending *s* bear on the question. In thematic forms like *dbharas* = ἔφερες, *druhas*, *dvarlayas*, etc., and subjunctives of non-thematic stems like *dsas*, *taḍnas*, *vddhiṣas*, *jalgulas*, etc. the final *as* is also = *ōs*; in all they are 478 forms (gained by count from Avery's lists in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* X. 232 fg.). By adding these to the nominal forms in *ōs* we obtain about 5250 *ōs*- forms against 13,500 *ōs*- forms; exactly 7 *ōs*- forms to 18 *ōs*- forms. This relation will not be affected materially one way or another by forms outside the inflections, or by some error which may have crept in. That this numerical superiority of the *ōs*- forms gives a fair picture of the corresponding superiority of the forms in *ō* before sonant consonants, and that this may have been the deciding factor in the question as to which should survive, is very evident. When this disappearance of *ē* for *as* began it is hard to say. On the one hand there are facts that would seem to prove that the process began in Aryan times, when the Iranian and Indian languages lived together; it is a *fait accompli* in the *Saṃhitās* of the Veda, and we find there traces of a substitution of *ō* for *as* even before surds, as in Pāli and Prākṛit (Weber in Kuhn und Schleicher's *Beitraege* III. p. 401, note); in most of the Prākṛit and Pāli dialects *ō* is simply substituted for *as* without reference to the character of the following sound; the Iranian has on the one hand carried the process of spreading the *ō*- forms farther than the Prākṛit and Pāli, namely into noun-composition; for in the Gāthic compounds, whose first part ends in *ō*, these first nouns are all *a*-stems, and there is no reason to doubt that the very frequent *ō* of their nominatives became so firmly associated with these stems, as to creep even into compounds (Bartholomae, *Die Gāthās*, p. 81); on the other hand the *as* has survived before enclitics: genitive *manahhō*, but *manahhaç-ca*, etc. But there are facts also which appear to prove that the *ō* accomplished the task of crowding out the *ē* separately in the various dialects of the Indo-Iranian languages; such are the victory of *ē* over *ō* in Magadha, and the distinct traces of *ē* by the side of *ō* in Iran, which will be pointed out below.

Final *ē* for *as* in India is well authenticated. If we had only the rule of the Prākṛit grammarians for the Māgadhi-dialect, that would

<sup>1</sup> The question whether *satya-* is or is not identical with ἑτεο- (cf. the Cypriot ἑτεφάνδρω) does not concern us here.



suffice in spite of the evidently secondary and conventional form in which it appears there. Hemacandra (IV. 287) teaches that in the singular masculine *e* takes the place of *a*; *eṣa puruṣaḥ* becomes *eṣe puliṣe*, etc. Vararuci, *Prākṛta-prakāṣa* XI. 10 says that final *as* of nouns is changed to *e* or *i*; even *a* is permitted optionally. Practically the substitution of *e* for *o* in the Māgadhi-dialect goes farther than what is warranted even by the broader statement of Vararuci. Hemacandra seems to restrict himself in his sūtra to pointing out the most striking case of the change of *o* into *e*, namely the nominative; for under the examples illustrating his sūtra he gives strangely enough the sentence *karemi bhañte*, which is translated by *karomi bhavantaḥ*,<sup>1</sup> where both forms are not covered by his rule, and *karemi* for *karomi* not even by Vararuci's; practically, as far as I have been able to find out, probably all kinds of formative *o* can be replaced by *e*; at any rate an extension of *e* for *o* beyond the precincts of *o* = *as* may be observed. We shall scarcely be disposed to believe that this *e* is the result of a phonetic metamorphosis from *o*; still less that the grammarians have by an arbitrary dictate engrafted this rule upon the dialect. The case in which any broader phenomenon of Hindu language is a figment of their grammarians, not based upon some understructure of fact, even if a frail one, has still to be brought forward; on the other hand many phenomena of their languages bear witness to the fact, that data of limited extent, especially in the phonetic life of an Indian language, have often been arbitrarily enlarged, and have had a scope given them which originally did not belong to them. For this reason alone the *e* of the Māgadhi-dialect cannot be done away with, even if it does occur in all sorts of places; of course the inscriptional testimony is welcome. In the Aṣoka- inscriptions *e.g.* of Dhauli, which lies in the old district of Magadha (South Bihar) final *as* does really appear as *e* in genuine language. In the third edict of Piadasi he is styled 'devānām *pie* piadasi,' where the same edict in Girnar in Guzerat shows final *o*: 'devānām *pio*' (cf. Journal Asiatique, seventh series, Vol. XV. p. 492); or in the fourth edict we have in Dhauli the sentence: 'putā ca *piadasine*

<sup>1</sup> So at least according to Weber in Kuhn und Schleicher's Beitrage II 362. Pischel, Hemacandra, Vol. I, p. 144 (text) reads *karemi bhañte* = *karomi bhadante*; in the translation, Vol. II, p. 168, he reads *kalemi bhañte* = *karomi bhadanta*, and describes *bhadanta* as a vocative singular. In any case both *kalemi* (*karemi*) and *bhañte*, whether = *bhavantaḥ* or *bhadanta*, both exhibit a special fondness for *e*, which seems to be an extension from the regular *e* = *as*.

*lajine* pavaḍhayisaṁti' dhammacalanam'; in the same edict in Girnar: 'putrā ca potrā ca prapotrā ca devānām priyasa *priadasino rāno* vadhayisaṁti idaṁ dhammacalanam' (ibid. Vol. XVI. p. 219); final *e* for *as* is here a living fact,<sup>1</sup> and its explanation together with that of the usual *o* out of original *ēs* and *ōs* is certainly not made improbable by anything else that has been brought to bear on the question from another direction.

The form in which noun-stems in *as* in Sanskrit appear before the *bh*-case-endings has deviated from the original. For here as in the case of final *as* we must be guided by the vocalism of Europe; this is unequivocal; Greek *s*-stems exhibit the *os* only in the nom. acc. voc. neuter; everywhere else the stem ends in *ες*: *μενες*- etc.; in this way also the archaic *bh*-cases are declined; we find in Homer: *ἐρέβες-φιν*, *στῆθες-φιν*, *χρᾶτες-φι*, *ὄρες-φι(ν)*; *ὄχες-φιν*; this latter still more archaically *ἔχες-φιν* *ἄρμασιν* in a gloss of Hesychius. According to this the *bh*-cases in Sanskrit ought to be preceded by long *ē*: *\*manē-bhis* for *\*manēz-bhis*, etc., instead of *manō-bhis*. Of such forms there is no trace even in the Veda; indeed the value of a few isolated forms of this kind would be small, as they would most naturally be explained as due to the corresponding cases of the *a*-declension (like *devebhis* RV.); so the Pāli *as*-stems do actually make *manebhi*, etc., but there is room here for the suspicion that this is an instrumental from an *a*-stem *mana*- (cf. acc. *manam*), although it may indeed be urged with equal plausibility that just such cases like *manebhi* = *\*manēz-bhis*, coinciding formally with the *bh*-cases of *a*-declensions gave rise to forms like *manam*, etc. But in the Veda the *as* of *s*-stems undergoes the same treatment as the final *as* before sonant consonants of a following word. Here however the Zend has preserved the historical form most strikingly: *raocē-bis*, *raocē-byō* from *raocānh*; *avēbis* from *avānh*; *açē-bis* from *açānh*; *maçē-bis* from *maçānh*, etc. with perfect regularity both in the Gāthā-dialect (whose testimony alone would be doubtful on account of its well-known partiality to this long *ē*)

<sup>1</sup> Possibly those vexing accusatives plural in Pāli: *yuvāne*: stem *yuvan* and in the *a*-declension: *dhamme*: stem *dhamma* may be the last traces of a change of *as* into *e*. It would, to be sure, be necessary to assume that the *e* strayed from the nominative and accusative plur. of consonantal stems into the *a*-stems; and that the *e* of the consonantal stems themselves afterwards succumbed almost entirely to the inroads of *o*. The *e* in a few other isolated cases like *sue*, *suvē* = *svas*, *pure* = *puras*, etc. (E. Kuhn, Beiträge zur Pāli-Grammatik, p. 58) are also best accounted for in this manner, cf. also E. Kuhn in KZ. XXIV. 100, where the aorist-forms *apacise*, etc., are explained as equal to *apacīsas*, etc.

and in the later Avestan. The position of this *ē* in the language points with perfect clearness to a genesis from a short vowel *ē* (Justi's and Hubschmann's *e*), and through this *e* to a connection with simple Sanskrit *a*. The nexus with the short *e* is clear from the frequent Gāthic lengthening of it to *ē*: *apēma* for *apema*; *spēnista*, cf. *ṣpenta*; *kehrpēm*: *kehrpem*, etc., further its alphabetic sign shows it to be nothing but a lengthening from *e* by the usual additional stroke; both *e* and *ē* stand therefore in the directest relation to Sk. *ā*; long *ē* moreover is often directly the representative of Sk. *ā* as the result of secondary lengthening; here the intermediate stage with *ē* is perhaps lost: *ṣēṅghaiti*=*ṣamṣati*; Gāthic *ēmauant*=later Avestan *amavaant*=Sk. *amavant*; cf. Hubschmann, KZ. XXIV. 328 and 333. On the other hand the long *ē* of these forms just as clearly shows affinity in character with that long *ō*, which stands for final *as*, and is actually seen to interchange with it in the Gāthās, and like it to vary with *as*; for when we have forms *manē* for *mānō*; *vacē* for *vacō*, *yē*, *kē*, (the latter *kas* when a particle *nā* follows) we are bound to recognize here that stage in which final *ōs* and *ēs* are still both in existence, although the law according to which these ought to supplement one another has been necessarily wiped out along with the difference between *ē* and *ō*; the *ē* of *raocēbis* is the same as the final *ē* in the Gāthā-dialect, and has escaped that leveling process which has in the later Avestan substituted final *ō* for *ē* everywhere at the end of a word by virtue of its more protected position, unlike its Indian counterpart *rocobhis*. It is interesting and fortunate that there is no possibility of explaining *raocēbis*, etc., as analogical formations, because Zend has, unlike its sisters in India, separate forms for monophthongal *ē* and *ō* clearly differentiated from the *i*- and *u*- diphthongs. While an Indian *\*rocebhis* would be subject to the suspicion that it had in some way become contaminated by the *a*- declension, such an eventuality is here warded off by *daṭvaḥibyo*, *arethaḥibyo*, etc. The Zend has therefore in some respects presented the most effective resistance to the process of decay which has set in upon final *as* in the entire Aryan family.

There remains an exception in Sanskrit, contained in the latter rule: final *as* before *ā* changes to *o* and the initial *a* following is dropped; the difficulty lies here in the fact that a syllable short by nature and position is lengthened for no apparent reason. It is believed that upon sifting this peculiar rule carefully, *the last but distinct trace of final ēs will be found on Vedic ground*. In the

later language not only final *o* from *as* produces the elision of initial *a*, but any other *o* also, and what is more, final *e* produces the same effect. To find that the euphonic rule for final *o* resulting from *as* has attracted to itself the rest of the *o* need not occasion surprise; for final *o* not the result of *as* are indeed rare throughout the language; there are scarcely any worth mentioning except those of the vocative of *u*-stems; cf. Whitney, § 134. In the RV. there occur a little over 500 such in all positions, and it is not worth while to count the cases in which they actually occur before *a*. Remembering that there are, according to the count above of inflectional forms alone, 18,750 forms in final *as*, not including common pronouns like *nas*, *vas*, adverbs in *as*, etc., it will be safe to say that the cases of direct diphthongal *o* are to those of *o*=*as* as 1:40; it is clear then that whatever law might gain ground for the majority would in all probability, either in the actual life of the language or in the grammatical handling of it, become rule for the small minority. Quite different is it with regard to final *e*. There is no final *e* alive in the later language which is other than a diphthong, or which is the result of a euphonic process, or which appears to stand in any nexus with final *as*. It is then a matter of just surprise to find it in the same category with *o*; yet as far as the later language goes it might be urged with a sufficient show of reason that the same conventionalism which has *e. g.* established the rule for the doubling of all final *n* under certain circumstances (Whitney, § 210) without reference to their antecedents, might also impose upon the diphthong *e* all the *sandhi*-qualities of what is to the Hindu grammarian always the *diphthong o*.

Turning to the Vedic language we find the complexion of the two rules we are dealing with changed materially. Final *as* is still written *o* before *a*, and we find this *o* again in juxtaposition with final *e*; for in the Veda also the initial *a* of a following word is elided after *o* and *e*. Only with this difference, that here the elision is the exception instead of the rule. For the RV. Bollensen, Zeitschr. d. deutschen morg. Gesellschaft XXXV 467, offers as the result of an exact count the statement that of 480 cases in which the elision is written only 21 are warranted by the metre; on the other hand there occur also a few cases in which elision, though not written, actually does take place (ibid. 466); in the Sāma-Veda the 92 instances in which the elision is written are all to be restored; Whitney in a note to AV. Prāticākhyā III, 54 states that the AV.

omits the *a* in writing in about one-third of the cases in which it is preceded by *e* or *o*; in actual pronunciation it is omitted only about one-fifth the number of its occurrences. Schroeder, *Mātrāyaṇī-Saṁhitā*, Introduction, p. xxix, finds that *a* after *e* and *o* is partly elided and partly left to remain. It will be seen that the Vedic phenomena present a very different situation; one which makes it impossible to explain the elision after *e* as a mere analogical process, an imitation for symmetry's sake of the properties of a parallel sound, the *o*; because we are dealing here with an ill-regulated tendency, itself too vague and undefined in order to furnish the firm foundation of facts likely to exercise the necessary attraction. It will be necessary then to recognize the fact that the elision after *e* just as that after *o* stands on its own basis, and to explain how two sounds of a character in general so widely different show the same tendency in the earlier language; the fact that this tendency has expanded itself into a law for the later language need concern us no longer. I remark here that there is nothing in the character of the sound following the *a* which either brings about or prevents the elision; Pāṇini indeed (VI 115-6) formulates the results of observation of the cases in which the elision actually occurs into rules; but these show that there is no organic nexus between the process of elision and the sound which follows the *a*; his rules, moreover, do not bring in all the kinds of sounds before which *a* is elided; cf. Benfey, Introduction to the Sāma-Veda, p. xxxi.

The organic parallelism between *e* and *o* in early times is proved by a still more striking fact. Adalbert Kuhn has shown in his acute investigations on Vedic language as reflected by metrical conditions, that in the RV. final *e* and *o* before vowels are themselves short vowels;<sup>1</sup> he draws this conclusion from those parts of the pādas of the most common metres whose laws of quantity are the most transparent and subject to almost no exception, namely the last four syllables of *jagati* and the last three of *triṣṭubh*; for these he rightly claims an almost perfect law of quantity, varied only by the varying quantity of the last syllable, the syllaba anceps; for *jagati*: diiambus or second paeon (◡-◡◡); for *triṣṭubh*: bacchius or amphibrach (◡-◡).

I have myself, in order to gain data for more precise statements, scanned all those hymns of Maṇḍala II, III, IV and V, which are composed in *triṣṭubh*, *jagati*, or both; omitting the hymns in which

<sup>1</sup> See especially Kuhn and Schleicher's *Beiträge* III, 118 fg.

these metres appear mixed or interchanging with 8-syllable metres. They are hymns II, 1-4, 9, 10, 12-19, 21, 23-31, 33-40, 42; III, 1-7, 14, 15, 17-20, 26, 30-36, 38, 39, 43, 46-50, 54-61; IV, 2-6; II-14, 16-29, 33-36, 38, 39-45, 50, 51, 54, 58; V, 1, 3, 4, 8, 11, 12, 15, 29-34, 36, 37, 42-49, 54, 55, 57-60, 62, 63, 69, 76, 77, 80, 81, 85; containing in all 5808 pādas; of which 154 refuse to obey the law for final cadence (◡-◡-◡ for jagati; ◡-◡ for triṣṭubh) as long as *e* and *o* are regarded as long before *a*; as soon however as it is admitted with Kuhn that the *e* and *o* are short before *a* there fall aside 131 of these 154 exceptions, 102 of *o*<sup>1</sup> and 29 of *e*<sup>2</sup>, the *a* in all these cases remaining unelided. It is to be noted that none of these *e* and *o* are *pragṛhya*, and when in a single case an *e* which is *pragṛhya* occurs in the final cadence it is long:<sup>3</sup> II, 2. 4d: pāthó ná pāyúm jánasī ubhé dnu (jagati); indeed there

<sup>1</sup> II: 1. 14a; 3. 3abc; 4. 9a; 9. 1d, 6b; 10. 5c; 14. 11d; 16. 5c; 18. 3d; 23. 4b, 14d, 15a, 18d; 27. 1d, 5a; 33. 5c; 34. 12d; 36. 3c; 38. 5b, 10b; 39. 5d, 8b; 42. 2b. III: 1. 12d; 4. 2b, 11a; 5. 9a; 7. 2a; 14. 1cd, 5d; 30. 19c, 20d; 31. 7d, 11b; 35. 1bc, 5b; 36. 6d; 46. 2b; 48. 3c; 56. 6b; 57. 1d; 58. 4d. IV: 2. 2a, 18a; 3. 6a; 4. 3c, 10a; 5. 2d, 12c, 15d; 6. 4b, 10c; 11. 6c; 13. 2a, 3b; 16. 3b, 19c; 20. 9c; 21. 4d; 23. 1c, 2b, 4a; 24. 3c; 26. 5d; 27. 5a; 33. 4c; 34. 1a; 39. 5d; 50. 1a; 58. 3b, 8b. V: 4. 2b; 8. 4c; 15. 1d; 29. 3d; 30. 11c, 13b; 31. 4c; 33. 2a, 8c; 34. 1b; 42. 5a, 15a; 43. 14b; 44. 5d; 45. 2c, 7a, 9c; 46. 4ac, 5d; 47. 4d; 49. 3c; 54. 8d; 55. 10d; 58. 3a; 76. 1b.

<sup>2</sup> II: 15. 4b; 27. 2a. III: 6. 8d; 17. 3b; 30. 2d; 32. 13a; 54. 7a. IV: 3. 4a, 11d, 15a; 4. 12a; 5. 8a; 6. 4a; 11. 1d, 4d, 6a; 33. 10b; 34. 5c, 9b, 11b; 35. 6a. V: 1. 4d, 5a; 4. 6d; 30. 12a; 31. 3c; 43. 5a; 59. 1d; 80. 2d.

<sup>3</sup> Such cases are of rare occurrence in the RV. I find only six in triṣṭubh and jagati hymns: I, 72. 6a: Triḥ sapta yád gúhiāni tuvé (tvé) it; I, 151. 4d. gaām na dhurí úpa yuñjāthe apāḥ; VIII, 72. 3c: āvivāsan ródasī dhīśnie imé; IX, 70. 3b: ādabhiāso janúsi ubhé ānu; X, 44. 4c: ójaḥ kṛṣva sām grbhāya tuvé (tvé) āpi; X, 64. 14b: devī devāñ jánmanā yajñīyé itāḥ. I find no cases of *o*; more numerous are cases of *pragṛhya i* and *ū* in the tenth syllable of these metres: e. g. II, 1. 15d; 2. 5d; 27. 15d. III, 2. 2a; 34. 1d. V, 31. 6c; IX, 101. 7d, etc. It would appear then that the special quality of most of the *pragṛhya*-vowels consists in *fuller or firmer length* than that of the remaining long vowels, their quality of not combining with following vowels is accordingly merely an accessory of this special length; this appears also from their treatment in the Prātiçākhyas, all of which (except Tāittirīya-Prāt.) after enumerating the *pragṛhya*-vowels, add a special rule which declares the fact they are not combinable; cf. Whitney AV. Prāt. I, 73, note III, 33 note; the terms *pragṛhya*, *pragṛhita* and *pragraha* (TS.) seem also in no way to describe the real character of these vowels, but merely to indicate that the words containing them are especially emphasized or pointed out by the *iti* of the *padakāra*. Weber, Indische Studien XIII, p. 5, translates the term by the phrase: '(was man) hervorzuheben wünscht.'

occur in these final cadences only two other cases of *e* and *o* long before *a*; but in both of these the *a* is neither written nor read metrically: V. 29, 10<sup>b</sup>; kútsāyānyād vāriṇo yātave 'kah (p. akar); and V. 31, 3<sup>d</sup>: ví jyótiṣā samvavṛtvāt támo' vaḥ (p. avar) both in triṣṭubh hymns;<sup>1</sup> so that there is left not one single exception to the law that final *e* and *o* are short before *a* when this *a* is not elided. If this result is accepted there remain but 23 exceptions in 5808 pādas to the law for final cadence,<sup>2</sup> and it may be worth while to observe that of these only 4 show long syllables for short in the 9th syllables of jagatī and triṣṭubh,<sup>3</sup> the 11th syllable of jagatī is inviolably short; the remaining exceptions consist in short vowels instead of long ones in the 10th syllable; there is then no reason whatever to doubt that *e* and *o* before *ā*, when they are not *pragṛhya* and when the *a* is not elided, are short.

The parallelism in the treatment of *e* and *o*, the result of final *as*, extends still further; not only are both—though written as diphthongs—short before *a*, but both *e* and *as* appear alike as *a* before all vowels other than *a*, with just as uniformly short metrical value in the case of *e* as in the case of *a(s)*. Of course the explanation of the change of *e* into *a* as given by the Hindu grammarians, excepting the RV-Prāt., means nothing; the assumption of a change of final *e* into \**ay* and the subsequent dropping of the *y* is a purely theoretical artificiality; the manuscripts show nowhere any such intermediate stage as \**ay*. No doubt the same cause which has substituted for final *a* written *o*, pronounced short before *ā*, and a short *a* before all other vowels, has brought about the short value of written *e* before *ā*, and its appearance as short *ā* before

<sup>1</sup> Other cases of this kind in syllables not belonging to the final cadences are: VI, 9. 2<sup>b</sup>; 22. 4<sup>c</sup>; 36. 2<sup>c</sup>; 50. 9<sup>d</sup>, 10<sup>c</sup>; the *e* and *o* before the elided syllable are always in the even (long) syllables of the verse.

<sup>2</sup> They are II: 1. 7<sup>d</sup>, 9<sup>c</sup>; 2. 9<sup>d</sup>; 4. 1<sup>b</sup>, 2<sup>d</sup>, 3<sup>d</sup>, 9<sup>c</sup>; 19. 3<sup>a</sup>; 28. 6<sup>ab</sup>; 29. 1<sup>a</sup>; 33. 14<sup>d</sup>; 35. 11<sup>b</sup>. III: 2. 5<sup>d</sup>; 46. 2<sup>d</sup>; 49. 1<sup>a</sup>. IV: 4. 1<sup>c</sup>; 16. 1<sup>b</sup>; 21. 1<sup>a</sup>. V: 33. 5<sup>a</sup>, 7<sup>a</sup>; 37. 2<sup>b</sup>; 57. 6<sup>a</sup>; most of these have been treated by Kuhn in his articles in Vols. III and IV of Kuhn und Schleicher's Beitrage.

<sup>3</sup> II, 4. 9<sup>c</sup>; suvīrāso abhimātīṣāhaḥ smṛt (p. abhimāti-sāhaḥ !); II, 28. 6<sup>b</sup>: énaḥ kṛpāntam asura dhṛipānti (Kuhn und Schleicher's Beitr. III 122); III, 49. 1<sup>a</sup>: çāmsā mahām ind(a)ram yasmin vīṣvā (ibid. 124, end); IV, 4. 1<sup>c</sup>: trāṣim ānu prāsītīm drūṇānō (ān. λεγ. from *ṽdrū* = *ṽdru* perhaps for \**drūṇānō*).

*all other vowels.*<sup>1</sup> The cases of *a* for *e* with undoubted short value, in those hymns of the IV. and V. maṇḍalas, which I have scanned, are IV : 17, 9<sup>b</sup>; 20, 10<sup>a</sup>; 34, 9<sup>a</sup>; 40, 3<sup>b</sup>; V : 1, 6<sup>a</sup>; 11, 3<sup>a</sup>; 12, 5<sup>a</sup>; 43, 10<sup>a</sup>, 14<sup>a</sup>; 49, 3<sup>b</sup>. Interesting is IV : 34, 9<sup>ab</sup>, containing both treatments of final *e* before vowels in the 9th syllable of the two tristubh pādas; both are short, preceded and followed by long syllables: yé aṇvīna yé pitārā yā utī | dhenúm tatakshúr ṛbhāvo yé aṇvā; cf. VI. 3, 4<sup>ab</sup> and IV. 6, 4<sup>ab</sup>.

Further, even in the evidently secondary treatment of final *as* and *e* in the Māitrāyaṇī the same persistent parallelism appears: Before all vowels other than *ā*, when these vowels are accented, final *as* and *e* when themselves unaccented change both to *ā*; otherwise this Samhitā follows the usual methods; see Schroeder, Zeitschr. d. deutschen morg. Gesellschaft xxxiii, 184, and Introduction to the Māitrāyaṇī-Samhitā p. xxviii, fg.

It will not be amiss to emphasize again the fact that in treating final *o* and *e* we are handling two different sounds, which seem to share arbitrarily the same properties so long as *e* is nothing but a diphthong; for the proof that final *o* is read short before vowels in the RV., if we resolve it, means nothing more than that final *as* changes into a short vowel before *a*; for it must be remembered that with the exception of the few vocatives, etc., in diphthongal *o*, which do not enter as a perceptible factor, this *o* can only occur before *ā*, because *as* before other vowels changes to *a*. The proof so far is as nearly a linguistic necessity as possible. The lengthening or diphthongizing of the vowel of *as* before another vowel after *s* had fallen out would be a linguistic anomaly; all reason for compensation is here wanting, because *as* before a vowel is short by nature and position. We are in fact compelled to utilize this discovery of Kuhn in order to remove this thoroughly anomalous lengthening. But again what is to be done with the diphthong *e*, which is nothing but a diphthong in the historical period? The evidently organic parallelism of its treatment with that of final *as*

<sup>1</sup> The treatment of diphthongal *o* differs slightly from that of final *as* in the RV-Samhitā. Instead of appearing as *ā* before all vowels other than *ā*, it appears in this form only before labial vowels; elsewhere it becomes *av*; and the RV-Prātiçākhyā sees in this *v* an additional extraneous element, which it designates by the name *bhugna* (II, 11); the other texts do not know this additional *v* (see AV-Prāt. III, 40, note) and it is perhaps nothing but the particle *u*. Cf. also Osthoff, Morphologische Untersuchungen IV, p. 258, note.



precludes the possibility of resorting to the doubtful principles of 'metri gratia' or perhaps 'vocalis ante vocalem corripitur.'

I believe that I have prepared the way for the following solution :

(1) Final *ḍs* and *ḍṣ* (written *ḍs*) simply dropped the *s* before vowels, whether *ḍ* or any other vowel followed, of course without lengthening the remaining short vowel. As the Indian alphabet possessed no signs for either *ḍ* or *ḍṣ*, they had to put signs actually existing in their places ; before all vowels except *ḍ* short *a* was chosen, the sign being indeed insufficient to render the color of the vowels, but doing perfect justice to the quantity ; before short *a* the disinclination for allowing two identical short vowels to follow upon one another was probably the motive which led to another possible expedient, namely that by which the vocalic color was preserved but the quantity sacrificed in writing by employing the signs *e* and *o*<sup>1</sup> ; this I regard as the starting-point from which the remarkable juxtaposition of *e* and *o* (*as*) in euphonic rules must be explained.

(2) These *ḍ* and *ḍṣ*, coinciding graphically with the long and diphthongal *o* and *e*, ended by attracting them to their own condition, so that all *o* and *e*, without reference to their origin, were pronounced short before *ḍ* ; but also the other vowels, which to be sure would occur almost only after *e*, were drawn into this rule, so that the shortening of *e* and *o* took place before all vowels, i. e., all final *e* (except the *pragṛhya*) were subjected to a treatment precisely identical with that of final *ḍṣ* ; and all final *o* to a treatment identical with that of final *ḍs* ; this is the state which we found in the final cadences of the *pādas* investigated *without one single real exception*. It may be added as a valuable verification of what has been claimed here, namely, that an explanation on the principle 'vocalis ante vocalem corripitur' would be totally insufficient, that in a few instances the short values occur before consonants also ; Kuhn und Schleicher's *Beitraege* III, 119 and 454.

(3) Before the period from which our Vedic material dates the final *ḍ* (written *ḍ* /) for *ḍs* had also absorbed the final *ḍṣ* (written *ḍ* /) for *ḍṣ*, precisely as in the case of final long *ḍ* and *ḍṣ*, which were the result of compensatory lengthening before sonant consonants ; so that only those *e* were left which could preserve their independence from the fact that they occurred also in other connections

<sup>1</sup> Jacobi KZ. XXVI. 320 claims that final *e* and *o* in the oldest forms of Jaina-prākṛit are either long or short. Whether any historical meaning is to be attached to this fact it will be possible to see only after his promised edition of the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* has appeared.

than merely before initial vowels, namely the diphthongal *e*, which had been drawn secondarily into the treatment as short vowels; so that we would have the last vestige of final *ṛs* on Vedic and Sanskrit ground in the short value of *e* in the Veda, and also in the sporadic elision of the initial *a* following.

(4) I have thus far called the vanishing of initial *a* by the term which for the later language is well and expressive enough, namely elision. That it is however in reality not elision is clearly enough to be recognized from the fact that the accentuation which results after the *a* has disappeared is one which takes account of the *a*; the tone of the *e* and *o* that is left shows that the *a* has united with the *e* and *o*. Two peculiarities are then connected with this phenomenon, which seem a strong support to the solution as proposed thus far: (1) That *e* and *o*, when combining with following vowels do not resolve themselves into semiconsonantal groups (*ay*, *av*), as might be expected if they were diphthongs, and as actually is the case in internal combination (*nay-ati*, *bhav-ati*). (2) That the combination occurs so sparingly in the RV. The first difficulty falls aside because *e* and *o* are, as has been sufficiently shown, not diphthongal, but short *ĕ* and *ō*; *the law according to which these combine with following ā then lies before us; short ĕ and ō combine with following ā to long ē and ō, subject to the same accentual laws for the result as other combinations of two short vowels; cf. Whitney, Sk. Grammar, § 135 and 128.* This appears with uncontrovertible certainty in the two cases RV. V. 29, 10<sup>b</sup> and V. 31, 3<sup>d</sup>, cited above (p. 17) where following *ā* is elided; these being in addition to the solitary *pragr̥hya*-case II. 2, 4<sup>d</sup>, the only ones in the final cadences of 5808 pādas in which final *e* or *o* are long before vowels. Second, the sporadic occurrence of the union of these short *ĕ* and *ō* in the Vedas is simply due to the fact that *in both cases a euphonic process has preceded, and the hiatus which is the result of sandhi is, as is well known, regularly allowed to remain, the second contraction being of rarer occurrence; cf. Whitney, Skr. Grammar, § 176, b; Weber, Kuhn und Schleicher's Beitræge III, 402; Kuhn, ibid. IV, 199 and 211; Roth KZ. XXVI, 50.* To be sure with a vast difference in the chronology of the hiatus: that between *ō* and *ā* is made before our very eyes; that between *ĕ* and *ā* appears as the last faint reflex of final *ṛs*, kept alive only by the fortunate fact that this *ṛs*, which became *ĕ* before vowels, but was written *ē* before *ā* attracted to itself by analogy the diphthongal *e*-sounds which were not liable to succumb to the inroads of the stronger sister-sound *ō*.

A short review of the euphonic rules will not be amiss :

(1) Explanation of any kind becomes possible only if we operate with final *ēs* and *ōs*.

(2) These were once represented respectively as final long *ē* and *ō* only before sonant *consonants* ; a lengthening for compensation before a *vowel* would be a linguistic anomaly.

(3) Long *ē* succumbed to its stronger sister-sound *ō* as soon as the cause of their original differentiation had been removed by the merging of both *ēs* and *ōs* into *ās* ; the opposite process appears dialectically in India in the Magadhese district ; *ē* is retained undisturbed in the *bh*-cases of *ēs*-stems in Zend ; in the Gāthās final *ē* is also beheld still struggling for the supremacy with final *ō* ; in the later Avestan it has also given way to *ō*.

(4) Before all vowels final *ēs* and *ōs* originally merely gave up the *s*, becoming *ē* and *ō* ; on account of the insufficiency of the Indian alphabets *ē* and *ō* had to be rendered by other characters ; in general they gave up their qualitative difference and became *ā* ; before *ā* itself the signs for the long vowels and diphthongs were resorted to, making possible the retention of the *quality* or color of the vowels in writing ; the short *quantity* moreover was retained perfectly by tradition in the metre.

(5) These *ē* and *ō* being written with the same characters as long and diphthongal *e* and *o* succeeded in attracting all of these excepting the *pragṛhya* to their own treatment before *ā* ; further, the treatment of *ēs* and *ōs* as *ā* before all other vowels was also extended to all other *e* and *o* again excepting the *pragṛhya*.

(6) The so-called elision of *ā* after *ē* and *ō* in the RV., etc., is in reality a combination of each of these sounds with *ā*, the result being long *ē* and *ō* with regular accentuation for the combination of two short vowels ; the sporadic character of the combination is due to the fact that their hiatus is not primary but secondary, in which cases it is usually left to remain.

(7) Finally it may be right to emphasize that the characters usually transcribed by *e* and *o* cover three couplets of sounds : (a) long monophthongal *ē* and *ō* ; (b) respectively an *i* and *u*-diphthong ; (c) short *ē* and *ō*. ♦

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#### IV.—THE CHANGE OF *p* TO *t* IN THE ORRMULUM.

In the preface to his edition of the Orrmulum, Dr. R. M. White, under the head of peculiarities which "seem chiefly to relate to pronunciation and orthography," makes the following statement:

"We also find, with some exceptions, the change of the initial *p* into *t* after words ending in *d*, *dd*, *t*, and *tt*. Exceptions occur in compounded words, or when a word with the initial *p* is separated by the metrical point from that which precedes it, or lastly, in some instances, when it takes the vowel *u* after the *p*, as in *pu* and *purrh*."

A foot-note gives some illustrations of the change and the exceptions, and refers us to another note where we are told that the same change of *p* to *t* occurs also after *ss* in the phrases *press te bett*, *press te better*, *press te mare*. This statement of the change, with the accompanying notes, contains all that White says on the subject, and as Mr. Holt, the editor of the last edition (Oxford, 1878) has added nothing to this statement of the author's usage, I infer that the change in question has not been investigated by any one else, although it forms a prominent peculiarity of Orrmin's language, and one that more than any other, except his systematic doubling of consonants, gives to the Orrmulum its specific character and appearance. It has seemed to me, therefore, worthy of a more careful study than the editors of the work appear to have given it.

Some years ago, when I first read the poem, I was led to doubt the exactness of White's statement of Orrmin's treatment of initial *p*, chiefly because I found that only a part of the words beginning with that letter appeared in the Glossary under *t* also; a circumstance from which I drew the inference that they either were not subject to change like the others, or, which seemed unlikely, did not occur after *t* or *d*. On a later reading I found my doubts confirmed, and began to take note of the exceptions and to try to formulate Orrmin's usage and discover the rule, if any, which he had followed. The result of my examination was the discovery of one or two peculiarities of usage, which, I have

reason to believe, have been overlooked hitherto, and which seem to me to be of enough interest and value to students of English to be worthy of publication.

On the basis of the change under consideration, the words of the Orrmulum that begin with *p* may be classified into three lists, viz :

(a) Words that do not occur after *t* or *d*.

(b) Words that occur after *t* or *d*, but do not change *p* to *t* when thus placed.<sup>1</sup>

(c) Words that occur after *t* or *d*, and, in that position, change *p* to *t*.

The first list need not be given here. It comprises about a dozen words of rare occurrence, and it is, no doubt, a simple chance that no one of them happens to stand after *t* or *d*.

The second list comprises the following. I have added the number of times that I have found each after *t* or *d*.

1. <i>purrh</i>	369
2. <i>peowutenn</i> <sup>2</sup>	20
3. <i>pennkenn</i>	7
4. <i>preo</i>	5
5. <i>prifenn</i>	5
6. <i>pannkenn</i>	4
7. <i>pinnkenn</i>	3
8. <i>prisst</i>	3
9. <i>peod</i> (or <i>ped</i> )	2
10. <i>ping</i>	2
11. <i>putenn</i>	1
12. <i>peosternesne</i>	1
Total <sup>3</sup>	424

<sup>1</sup>In the first and second of these lists I have counted compounds with the simple words and derivatives with their primitives, not thinking it necessary to give a long list where no change is made in initial *p*. Thus under *purrh* are also included all cases of *pwerri*, and of verbs compounded with *purrh*, under *preo* is included one case of *pridde*, &c. In the third list I have given derivative words in full but only the first part in compounds, only that part being affected by the change. The figures given with the second list may not be quite accurate; it is easy to overlook cases of change, or lack of change, in reading so large a work, though I have been fairly careful, and do not think that a second reading would change them much.

<sup>2</sup>The infinitive form is put in this list, but all forms of the verb are included in the subjoined number.

<sup>3</sup>The proportionately large number of occurrences of *purrh* in this list will surprise no one who has noticed what frequent use Orrmin makes of this preposition. The number is made much larger, of course, by including all verbs compounded with *purrh*, many of which are of very frequent use.

The third list comprises those words that are subject to the change under discussion. I have taken no note of the number of occurrences, but the total cannot fall much below two thousand.<sup>1</sup> The words are the following:

- |                   |           |                            |                     |
|-------------------|-----------|----------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. <i>pa</i>      | (those)   | after <i>t</i> or <i>d</i> | , <i>ta</i> .       |
| 2. <i>pa</i>      | (then)    | " "                        | " , <i>ta</i> .     |
| 3. <i>paer</i>    | (where)   | " "                        | " , <i>taer</i> .   |
| 4. <i>paere</i>   | (there)   | " "                        | " , <i>taere</i> .  |
| 5. <i>panne</i>   | (then)    | " "                        | " , <i>tanne</i> .  |
| 6. <i>patt</i>    | (that)    | " "                        | " , <i>tatt</i> .   |
| 7. <i>pe</i>      | (the)     | " "                        | " , <i>te</i> .     |
| 8. <i>pe</i>      | (thee)    | " "                        | " , <i>te</i> .     |
| 9. <i>pepen</i>   | (thence)  | " "                        | " , <i>tepen</i> .  |
| 10. <i>pezz</i>   | (they)    | " "                        | " , <i>tezz</i> .   |
| 11. <i>pezzre</i> | (their)   | " "                        | " , <i>tezzre</i> . |
| 12. <i>pi</i>     | (thy)     | " "                        | " , <i>ti</i> .     |
| 13. <i>pin</i>    | (thine)   | " "                        | " , <i>tin</i> .    |
| 14. <i>piderr</i> | (thither) | " "                        | " , <i>tiderr</i> . |
| 15. <i>piss</i>   | (this)    | " "                        | " , <i>tiss</i> .   |
| 16. <i>pohh</i>   | (though)  | " "                        | " , <i>tohh</i> .   |
| 17. <i>pu</i>     | (thou)    | " "                        | " , <i>tu</i> .     |
| 18. <i>puss</i>   | (thus)    | " "                        | " , <i>tuss</i> .   |

One who has noticed the different character of the words in this list and in the preceding one can, no doubt, formulate for himself the rule of Orrmin's usage in the treatment of initial *p*. It is this:—

*Initial p of pronominal words becomes t after t or d; initial p of other words remains unchanged.*

To the second part of this rule I have found no exceptions whatever; to the first part I have found but two out of about two thousand cases, as estimated above. *patt* stands unchanged after *t* in verse 15 of the Dedication, *Aftterr patt little witt patt me*, and *pa* after *d* in verse 15,576 of the Homilies, *patt taer wass filledd pa purrh himm*. The first of these occurs in a couplet<sup>2</sup> which Orrmin, with a modest estimate of his abilities, is fond of repeating before attempting the exposition of a Scripture passage which he has quoted. The same couplet occurs repeatedly,<sup>3</sup> and always, except in the

<sup>1</sup> There are eighty cases in the first thousand verses, and these words seem to be less frequent in the Introduction and Dedication than in the Homilies.

<sup>2</sup> *Aftterr patt little witt patt me Min Drihhtin hafepþ lenedd*.

<sup>3</sup> E. g. vv. 4386-87; vv. 5158-59; vv. 6390-91, &c.

first case, with the reading *witt tatt*. The second case also occurs in a verse which we find repeated<sup>1</sup> farther on with the usual change of *p* to *t*. One exception in a thousand cases is certainly not a large number, and it does not seem a very violent hypothesis, in view of the repetition of these verses in the normal form, if we assume that both the cases are simply oversights on the part of the author or the scribe.

The limitation of the rule of this change to pronominal words disposes of all the exceptions given in White's preface. These pronominal words are not used as the second part of compounds, and other words suffer no such change either in composition or elsewhere. In speaking of the metrical point, White seems to have in mind the old alliterative poetry, with the regular division of each verse by a caesura, marked in the MSS. by a point. But the metre of the Ormmulum is utterly unlike that of those poems, and White has himself printed the Ormmulum, not in long verses with a caesural mark, but in couplets. There can be no doubt, I think, that this is the proper form, and there is therefore no need of adding an exception to cover such cases. The rule applies only to words in the same verse; an initial *p* at the beginning of a verse, whether it be the first or second verse of the couplet, is not affected by the ending of the preceding verse. White's third exception is especially unfortunate in the citation of *pu* as an illustration, and in implying, as it seems to do, that the influence of a following *u* sometimes prevents the change of *p* to *t*. The only pronominal words in which initial *p* is followed by *u* are *pu* and *puss*, and both are regularly changed, after *d* or *t*, to *tu* and *tuss*; all others remain unaffected. The frequency of *purrh*, no doubt, suggested the exception. To White's note on *pass te bett* and the like, nothing need be added. These phrases are found twenty-five times in the Ormmulum, and always in the same form, with *pass te*, never with *pass pe*.

The above list of words subject to the change of initial *p* to *t* after *t* or *d* comprises all the pronominal words of the Ormmulum except *pezzm*. As the other cases of this word, *pezz* and *pezzre*, are regularly changed to *tezz* and *tezzre*, the non-occurrence of *pezzm* after *t* or *d*, and consequent lack of a form *tezzm*, is apparently intentional, and seems to deserve an explanation.

<sup>1</sup> v. 16, 128. *patt taer wass filledd ta purrh Crist. vv. 15, 574-15, 581* are, with one or two verbal changes, the same as vv. 16, 126-16, 133.

No student of Old English need be told that the language once had a regularly formed plural of the pronoun *he* in the forms *hi*, *her*, *hem*,<sup>1</sup> and that *they*, *their*, *them*, which has now replaced the regular forms, is the plural of a demonstrative pronoun, which has also furnished us the article *the* and the pronoun *that*. A peculiar circumstance of this crowding out of *hi* by *they* is the fact that all cases did not give way to the newcomer at once. The nominative *hi* was the first to yield; *her* held its own against *their* for some time after *hi* had given way, and *hem* lasted still longer; in fact, one may safely assert that it yet survives, for the 'em of common speech is only a clipped form of it, and but for the law of usage in writing would be as legitimate a form as the similarly mutilated *it* for the regular *hit*. This difference in the power of resistance of the different cases of *he* does not seem to have been a local or dialectical matter, though the date of the change was different in different localities. In the Vision of Piers Plowman (ed. Skeat) I find

<i>hii</i> ,	7 times,	-	<i>pei</i> ,	85 times.
<i>her</i> ,	104 "	-	<i>peire</i> ,	1 time.
<i>hem</i> ,	195 "	-	( <i>them</i> ,	0 " )

In Pierce the Ploughman's Crede (ed. Skeat) the occurrences of these pronouns are

<i>hy</i> ,	7 times,	-	<i>pei</i> ,	94 times.
<i>her</i> ,	75 "	-	( <i>their</i> ,	0 " )
<i>hem</i> ,	65 "	-	( <i>them</i> ,	0 " )

These figures show that *they* had, about A. D. 1350, nearly crowded out *hi*, while *their* had scarcely got a foothold and *them* none at all. In the Ormulum, though it was evidently written at least a century earlier, this tendency has gone still further. *Hi* has altogether disappeared; *their* is well established and already getting the better of *her*; while *them*, although it has secured a foothold, is still far behind *hem*. The occurrences of these pronouns in the first three thousand verses of the poem are

( <i>hi</i> ,	0 times);	<i>pe33</i> ,	63 times.
<i>heore</i> ,	17 "	; <i>pe33re</i> ,	29 "
<i>hemm</i> ,	69 "	; <i>pe33m</i> ,	10 "

We see in these figures a marked preference of the writer for *hemm*, and an examination of the places where *pe33m* is found in-

<sup>1</sup> I give only one form, though various other spellings are found.



stead proves that he uses the latter only for metrical reasons. In the whole poem *pezzm* is found but forty-seven times, and in each case it stands after a vowel which is needed to make the verse regular, but, by Orrmin's system of metre, would be elided before a following *hemm*. After consonants *hemm* is always used, and *pezzm*, being therefore never brought into a position to suffer the change under discussion, has no corresponding form *tezzm*.

A discussion of the phonetic cause of this change includes three distinct topics: (*a*) the change of *p* to *t* after *t*; (*b*) the change of *p* to *t* after *d*; (*c*) the change of *p* to *t* after *s* in the phrases *þess te bett*, &c. The latter seems to be a case of simple dissimilation to avoid the difficulty of uttering a sound like *p* twice in close succession in words so closely joined in pronunciation; the change is due, therefore, not to the preceding *s* but to the initial *p* of *þess*. A like dissimilation is seen in Greek, where *λόθη-τι* stands for *λόθη-θι*, and a still better illustration is found in German, where for the older *des diu* we find in the Nibelungen Lied *deste* (Mod. Germ. *desto*), which has undergone the same phonetic dissimilation as *þess te*, to which it etymologically corresponds.

The change of *p* to *t* after *t*, on the contrary, is a case of assimilation, and would be a very simple matter in word-formation, but such tendencies do not usually find play when words have no closer connection than that of juxtaposition. This assimilation of initial *p* to a preceding *t* is not peculiar to the Orrmulum, however; I have noticed it in Piers Plowman,<sup>1</sup> in Chaucer, and elsewhere, but it is generally confined to particular words which coalesce with the preceding word in pronunciation and often in writing. It seems, in fact, to be the result of a sort of *enclisis*, which attaches the following word to the preceding one, thus depriving it of its separate accent and rendering it more liable to change of form. The words most subject to this sort of inclination are the article *the* and the personal pronoun *thou*. In the Nibelungen Lied there are numer-

<sup>1</sup> foughten atte ale.

Piers Plow. Prol. 42.

And seide "Sone slepestow, sestow þis poeple,"

Ibid. Pass. I, 5.

woldestow glase þat gable,

Ibid. Pass. III, 49.

And wel we weren esud atte beste.

Ch. Prol. Cant. Tales, 29.

And wend have hit this Aleyn atte ful.

Ibid. Reeve's Tale, 385.

ous cases of it,<sup>1</sup> and in the Low German *Reinaert*<sup>2</sup> it is carried so far as to become a special peculiarity of the language. In all these cases the second word, being enclitically attached to the foregoing and losing its separate accent, is rendered more liable to change; not only to the simple change of assimilation, but often to loss of some of its elements, as in the instances given in the notes. The personal pronoun *thou* is especially subject, in Old English, to this tendency to inclination, when it stands immediately after the verb. *Schaltu, artu, dostu, nostu, wepestu*<sup>3</sup> and the like, are met with often. The article *the* is often thus attached to the preposition *at*, but other cases seem rare. I have met with none except in the *Orrmulum* and in one or two other works which bear a close resemblance to it in peculiarities of dialect, and are believed to have been produced in the same neighborhood.<sup>4</sup>

The works that bear the greatest likeness to the *Orrmulum* are the poem of *Genesis* and *Exodus* and the *Bestiary*. Both these have been edited by Rev. Richard Morris for the Early English Text Society, and a careful catalogue of the peculiarities of dialect common to them with the *Orrmulum* forms a part of his preface to the former work. In this list one point of resemblance mentioned is "the change of an initial *ð* (th) into *t* after words ending in *d, t, n, s*, that is to say, after a dental or a sibilant." Mr. Morris cites five cases of this change in *Genesis* and *Exodus*; one after *s*, one after *t*, and three after *d*; and adds, "This practice is more frequent in the *Bestiary*." In the preface to his edition of the *Bestiary*, he refers the reader to his edition of *Genesis* and *Exodus* for a discussion of the former's dialectic peculiarities.

To the five cases cited by Mr. Morris from *Genesis* and *Exodus* may be added *redes tu* (2934), and *saltu* (2941), but these seven

<sup>1</sup> E. g. *imme* (=in deme), 361, 3; *müesen lip* (=müese den lip), 455, 4, &c. The Modern Germ. *am* (=an dem), *zum* (=zu dem), and the like, are instances of the same tendency.

<sup>2</sup> E. g. *ter* (=te der), 150; *ten* (=te den), 322; *int* (=in dat), 3612; *dattu* (=dat du), 2879; *bistu* (=bist du), 4049, &c.

<sup>3</sup> I. e. *shalt thou, art thou, dost thou, knowest thou, wepest thou*. This position of the pronoun is common in statements as well as in questions.

<sup>4</sup> In *An Old English Miscellany*, edited by Mr. Morris for the Early English Text Society, I find (not counting the "*Bestiary*," which I have considered by itself) thirty-four cases of *thou* attached to its verb in the manner mentioned, but only three of *the*, and in all these the other MS. gives the unchanged form. They are all after *at*, viz. *atte* and *at þe*, *Doomsday*, 31; *atten* and *at þen*, *A lutel soth sermun*, 47; *aten* and *at þon*, *ibid.* 91. There are also two cases of *tu* (=thou) after *pat*, and one of *ti* (=thy) after *mit*.

cases are all I have noticed, though initial *p* occurs in the poem nearly seven hundred times after the letters<sup>1</sup> mentioned. One case of change in a hundred certainly bears little likeness to the systematic and regular change in the Ormmulum. However close its resemblance to the latter may be in other respects, it may be left out of account in discussing the change under consideration. The instances it furnishes are not more numerous than in other works which do not belong to the same dialect and did not originate in the same neighborhood.

In the Bestiary, as Mr. Morris remarks, the change is far more frequent, being made in a majority<sup>2</sup> of the cases, but differs from the usage of the Ormmulum in two important points. One is the change of *p* to *t* after *s*, which takes place in the Ormmulum only after *pass* in the phrases mentioned, while in the Bestiary, where these phrases are not found, the change to *t* takes place after the verb *is* and the possessive case of nouns. It is evident that the cause of the change here, be it what it may, is entirely different from that which has produced *pass te* in the phrases given. This change can hardly be counted among the points in which the Bestiary resembles the Ormmulum.

Again, in the Bestiary the writer seems to have changed the initial *p*, or left it unchanged, at random, while in the Ormmulum it is apparent, I think, that the author had a definite rule in mind which he systematically followed. This difference seems to me fundamental, and the two works can be brought into harmony of usage on this point only by assuming that the Bestiary has suffered in transcription by a later scribe. But in the absence of all evidence on the subject, we have no right to make such an assumption.

<sup>1</sup> It would seem that the insertion of *n* in Mr. Morris' list of letters after which *p* is subject to the change to *t* is a mere oversight. I have found no instance of such a change after *n* in the Ormmulum, nor in the other books compared with it, though I noted between thirty and forty cases of initial *p* after *n* in the Bestiary, and nearly three hundred in Genesis and Exodus, nearly all of which are in pronominal words.

<sup>2</sup> In the Bestiary initial *p* becomes *t* after *t*, 15 times; remains unchanged, 5 times; becomes *t* after *d*, 15 times; remains unchanged, 5 times; becomes *t* after *s*, 12 times; remains unchanged, 7 times. I have carefully classified both the preceding and following words in all these cases, but have failed to detect any rule of change. The words most often changed are *pe* and *pu*, and the words after which the change takes place oftenest are *pat*, *and*, and *is*, but this seems to be a merely natural result of the greater frequency of these words.

If we consider the change of *p* to *t* after *t* as a case of assimilation, as seems natural, we are, nevertheless, at once involved in difficulty when we take up the question of the same change after *d*. The law of assimilation, unaffected by any other influence, should surely change *p* into *d* in this case. The change of English *th* into *d* is the invariable result of the efforts of children and foreigners to articulate it, and if, as is generally assumed, words beginning with *th* had the same initial sound five or six centuries ago as they now have, it seems strange that the result of bringing *d* and *p* together should be a combination so difficult to articulate as *dt*, when a simple and natural assimilation<sup>1</sup> would produce a much easier combination. In studying the matter, the only solution that occurred to me was the supposition that final *d* may have had the sound of *t* at that time, as it now has in German and in many past participles in English. This hypothesis, apart from the lack of evidence, is at once met, however, by the fact of Orrmin's systematic carefulness in spelling, a point in which he stands alone among the old writers of English. I have no explanation to offer towards the solution of this difficulty.

In one respect all the works cited agree with the Ormmulum. This change of *p* to *t* occurs only in pronominal words; in other words I have found no instance of it anywhere. And this brings up the further question why the change should be limited to this class of words. If the Ormmulum were not in existence, and only the cases of change in the other works cited in this article were to be accounted for, I should be inclined to refer the whole matter to the influence of loss of accent by inclination,<sup>2</sup> as mentioned above. The pronominal words thus used are still pronounced without marked accent, while non-pronominal words are not so treated. Losing their accent and being thus rendered more liable to change, they weaken or assimilate the initial *p* under the influence of a preceding *t*, *d* or *s*, though independent words retain their individuality of pronunciation. The weakening or changing of sounds as

<sup>1</sup> In the Bestiary the final *p* of verb-endings is often united with a preceding *d* to *t*; e. g. *fint* (= *findeð*), 292; *bit* (= *biddeð*), 432; *hitt* (= *hideð*), 471, &c. Orrmin uses the full form in such verbs. In this article, however, I am not considering the treatment of medial or final *p*.

<sup>2</sup> All the words that I have met with subject to this change (except in the Ormmulum) are monosyllabic and unemphatic, except that *tanne* occurs once in the Bestiary. Perhaps even this should be *tan*. The form *pan* is quite as common in the work as *panne*.

a result of the shifting of accent is too common a phenomenon to require any discussion. The frequent habit of attaching these words to the preceding ones, as in *atte*, *sestow*, &c., shows that the writers combined them in pronunciation with the foregoing word rather than with the following one, and the modification of *tp* and *sp* into *tt* and *st* is the natural result of this partial union of two words into one. The change of *dþ* into *dt*, where we should expect *dd*, involves a difficulty mentioned before, which would be explained, perhaps, if we could be sure of the sound given to *dt* in such cases.

This theory of inclination is not weakened by the fact that the change takes place more frequently in some works than others, and that it seems to be a matter of fancy with the writers whether the proper form or the weakened form be employed, for such inconsistencies are the result, in all languages, of the compromise between the written and the spoken form of a word, and illustrations could be cited by the hundred from modern English. But the theory fails at once when applied to the Orrmulum. Such words as *teþennforrrþ* and *tohhwheþþre* cannot be explained by inclination, nor can the numerous cases of change where the article *pe* combines with the following word by *proclisis*.<sup>1</sup> The difference of treatment in the case of pronominal words and others in the Orrmulum must rest on some other difference than that of accent, and this can be nothing else, I think, than a difference of sound. And when we remember that initial *th* has one sound now in all words of pronominal derivation and another sound in all other words, it is not hard to believe that the difference also existed in Orrmin's time, and was the basis of his different treatment of the two classes of words.

I am not qualified to express an opinion on the oft-debated question of the sound of þ in the Saxon and Early English period. Mr. Sweet, after a study of the use of the two characters þ and ð, as they stand in the MSS., maintains<sup>2</sup> that there was originally but one sound, that of *th* in *this*, and that frequency of use has caused the retention of this sound in the pronominal words, though

<sup>1</sup> E. g. *talde* (= *te alde*); *tallre* (= *te allre*), &c.

<sup>2</sup> In an appendix to his edition of Alfred's Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care, published by the Early Eng. Text Soc.

I have used the character þ all through this article, although some of the works quoted use ð, others þ; because clearness seemed to me of more value than exactness of form in quotation.

it has been changed in other words. Whether this opinion is true, and whether the cause assigned for the retention of the older sound in the words mentioned is a sufficient one, are questions with which I am not concerned in this article. Nor is it necessary to consider here what sound *medial* or *final* *p* may have had. Orrmin's usage seems to me to prove that about A. D. 1200, in the Midland district of England, two sounds of initial *p* were in existence, and that one of them was used, as is still the case, in all words of pronominal derivation; the other, in all other words. Whether these sounds were the same then as now is another question. Assuming, as we naturally do, that they were so, we come back to the same question in another form; why one sound of initial *p* should be more subject to change than the other.<sup>1</sup>

The answer to this question may be found, I think, in what may be called the *formalism* of Orrmin's style. No one can read the Orrmulum without being struck with the great difference between the regularity of his grammar, metre and spelling, and the looseness of form in all other works of the period. I have already mentioned<sup>2</sup> his retention of the full ending in the verb where the writer of the Bestiary admits the less formal shortened form, and the whole of his grammar is equally regular. His exactness in spelling is well known, as is also the mechanical device he adopted of doubling a consonant to show the sound of the preceding vowel, and the earnestness with which he begs any one who may copy his work to write it after his model.<sup>3</sup>

"& whase wilenn shall pis boc  
 Effr operr sipe writenn,  
 Himm bidde icc þatt hēt wriþe riht  
 Swa summ þiss boc himm tæcheþþ,  
 All þwerit ut afterr þatt itt iss  
 Uppo þiss firrste bisne,

<sup>1</sup> This question is discussed here with reference of course to the Orrmulum only, the cause of the change in all other works being, if my explanation be the true one, not the nature of the sound of initial *p*, but *inclination*, and its restriction to pronominal words a result of the fact that only those words are enclitically used.

<sup>2</sup> See note 1, p. 54. His retention of the full participial ending *-edd* and his use of *þær* as relative and *þære* as demonstrative, though both are forms of the same word, are other illustrations.

<sup>3</sup> Orrmin seems to have met with the experience of most reformers in having no imitators. There is no proof that any one ever copied his book with his spelling or any other.

Wipp all swilic ríme alls her iss sett,  
 Wipp all se fele wordess  
 & tatt he loke wel þatt he  
 An bocstaff wríte twiẏess  
 Ezẏwhaer þaer it uppo þiss boc  
 Iss writenn o þatt wise.  
 Loke he well þatt hēt write swa,  
 Forr he ne maẏ nohht elless  
 Onn Ennglissh wríttenn rihht te word,  
 þatt wite he wel to soþe."

*Dedication, 95-110.*

I have written out this passage in full because, while showing his carefulness in spelling and the emphasis he lays on the necessity of writing "a letter twice" wherever he has done so, it also illustrates the formal regularity of his metre. Each verse has a fixed number of syllables, and a final vowel is as regularly elided before a vowel or *h* as in Latin poetry. In the whole poem I have found but one verse that drew my attention by being lame in metre. His formalism extends also to the arrangement and handling of his subject matter, and is, in fact, the essential part of his style.

To the same cause I am inclined to refer his formal regularity in the treatment of initial *p*. The assimilation of *p* to a preceding *t*, and its weakened pronunciation after *d* and *s*, can be explained in all other works as the result of a kind of inclination, treated of and illustrated above. Orrmin, finding most pronominal words subject to this change, treated it as a matter of euphony or spelling, and extended the usage to all words beginning with the same sound of *p*, allowing no exceptions, but carrying his system of regularity into this as into everything else.<sup>1</sup>

I cannot deny that this theory is open to the charge of being labored and artificial. But Orrmin is not by any means the only person who has attempted to make rules of grammar, and the assumption that he did so in this case is supported by his artificial regularity in other things. I am quite ready to accept any other theory of this change that will better account for the facts of his usage. Until a better one is brought forward, the conclusions I have reached, after studying the matter, are these :

<sup>1</sup> The fact that Orrmin does not change *p* to *t* after *s* (except in *þess te*) is no objection to the explanation offered. The change after *s* was unusual ; I have found it only in the *Bestiary* and two or three times in *Genesis* and *Exodus*. Regularity was therefore secured in this case by making no change at all in *p* when it followed *s*.

1. That in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the two sounds of initial *th* were already in existence as they now are, and in the same words.

2. That monosyllabic words of pronominal derivation were subject to a weakening and assimilation of the initial *th* sound to *t* after *d* and *t*, less often after *s*; the result of a kind of inclination and consequent loss of accent.

3. That the extension of this change to all pronominal words in the *Orrmulum* is artificial and the result of the author's desire for regularity; a desire shown also in his grammar, spelling and metre.

F. A. BLACKBURN.



## V.—ON BENTLEY'S ENGLISH MSS. OF TERENCE.

Every student of Terence has reason to be grateful to Umpfenbach for his industry in collecting manuscript materials, and for making generally accessible the critical apparatus for the study of so important an author. But although scarce a decade has passed since the appearance of his edition, the need of some more exhaustive work, with more complete and accurate collations, and a sharper discrimination between the three families of Terence MSS. which Umpfenbach was the first to distinguish, has already made itself felt. At least, if the study of Terence is to keep pace with that of Plautus, there is an urgent demand for more of the *ἀκριβεια* displayed by Ritschl in his judicious management of manuscript material. Ritschl's revised edition of the *Trinummus*, and the recent edition of the *Asinaria* by his enthusiastic pupils, Goetz and Loewe, may serve as specimens of what painstaking and loving devotion to an author can accomplish. It may be doubted whether it would be possible to edit any one play of Terence as carefully with the materials furnished by Umpfenbach. I say this in no spirit of harsh censure. Defects there must be in any first undertaking of this sort, and for many of these Umpfenbach, who was obliged to delegate much of the work of collation to others, is not directly responsible. From personal examination I can only speak of the collation of the *Parisinus*, which to me is unsatisfactory. It was made by August Fritsch just before the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war, at a time when it behooved every loyal German to turn his back on Paris and put himself at the service of 'Vaterland.' At such a juncture patriotism may pardon the dropping of a few *i*'s, and some things are worth more than even a good collation. But as Paris is no longer in a state of siege, and as the *Parisinus* is the leading representative of the pure Calliopian recension, I think we ought to have an exact record of its readings, and even slight *orthographica* may be of service in determining its relation to other MSS., as for instance the *Dunelmensis*.

To substantiate my strictures, I may be allowed to cite here my own readings of the *Parisinus* in some passages of the *Andria*,

where Umpfenbach's collation is either incomplete or incorrect. v. 63 *isse sededere* (sic). 79 *dehinc* DEG. 122 *Visa ē & quia erat forma præter ceteras* on the margin, but by P<sup>1</sup> cf. G. 232 *dii*. 242 *quoniamme* G. 257 *ommutui* P<sup>1</sup> *obm*. P<sup>2</sup>. 276 *vereor* B cf. D. Klotz keeps *vereor*, but gives *verear* as the reading of P. 289 *dexteram* & (sic) cf. C. 301 *hodie* om. 338 *Dii*. 349 *ducas tu illam* (not *nullam*). 386 *hac* D. 393 *mutet* P<sup>1</sup> no correction. 458 *em illic* P<sup>1</sup> corrected to *illec* P<sup>2</sup>. 586 *habeo iam* (*tibi* om. as in C<sup>1</sup>). Bentley, Fleckeisen, Klotz, and Spengel all omit *tibi*. 627 *gaudea*||f cf. B. *n* probably erased. 665 *factum est hoc*—Bentley's reading. 786 *hinc* om. cf. C. 801 *Crysidis*. 813 *amicum ac*. 816 *dispoliare*. 836 *omnia* omitted at end of verse. 841 *tibi sâ oble<sup>1</sup>f*; *e* changed to *i* and ' added by corrector cf. DG. 857 *tristis* <sup>16</sup>*veritas* cf. C. 895 *At tandem dicat sine*. 915 *arbitrare* BC. 922 *ego* om. BC. 957 *forsitam* = A. Not all of these are important variants, but their omission or misstatement detracts from the trustworthiness of an edition which some persons seem to regard as final, and leads us to suspect that the same inaccuracy may characterize the collations of the MSS. of the DG family. I turn now to consider the MSS. used by Bentley. Not many of these certainly can compare in value with the Parisinus or the Victorianus; yet if fully known, they might supplement our knowledge of the readings of both families and cast some light on the text-history of Terence. As every thorough teacher and editor of Terence has to concern himself more or less with Bentley's<sup>1</sup> readings and numerous emendations, it must be admitted that the use of Bentley's commentary would be rendered vastly more satisfactory did we know in each instance his MS. authority and what value to set upon it. One tires of reading *unus ex nostris, duo tantum ex nostris, duo primarii, noster veterrimus*, etc. etc., even though we may be sure that Bentley did not, like some early editors, invent MS. readings to suit his own convenience. Towards the settlement of this question, owing to the enforced shortness of my stay in England, I cannot promise to do much. My main object in this paper will be to definitely determine what were the Regii codices used by Bentley. Umpfenbach in an article, which forms

<sup>1</sup>I find that Umpfenbach makes respectful mention of Bentley's reading in over 200 passages, and in over 100 he accepts it, for the most part against the tradition of all the principal MSS. Fleckeisen's dependence upon Bentley would probably be found to be still greater.

a valuable supplement to his edition, (Philologus, vol. 32, pp. 442-477) on the MSS. of Terence quoted by Lindenbrog, Leng and Bentley, gives, on pp. 461 f., a list of the passages in which Bentley quotes one or more of the *codd. Regii*. Had Umpfenbach been able to examine these *codices* himself, my labor would have been spared; but the scanty collations furnished him by Dr. Buff were insufficient to enable him to arrive at exact conclusions, and he himself has been over-hasty in assigning to the *Regius chartaceus* readings which are not actually found in it. According to the catalogue of the British Museum, the Terence MSS. belonging to the Bibliotheca Regia are as follows: 8 D XVII Terentii Andree (sic) folia 4, saec. xv. 15 A VIII Pub. Terentii Afri Comoediae. Deficiunt in scen. I, Actus tertii Phormionis. saec. xi. 15 B VIII Pub. Terentii Afri Comoediae. saec. xv. 15 A XI In charta. saec. xv. 15 A XII P. Ter. Afri Comoediae. saec. x. Catalogues, however, are not to be implicitly trusted, and 8 D XVII, instead of containing a portion of the Andria alone, as Umpfenbach following the catalogue states, contains parts of the Andria, Eunuchus and Hautontimorumenos. To be more explicit, fol. 1 begins with Sulpicius Apollinaris' Argument to the Andria, *Sororem falso*, etc., the last verse of which is thus given, *Agnitam hanc Pamphilo dat, aliam carino coniuges*. Then follows the Prologue with the beginning of the Andria as far as the words *qui postquam* (I 2, 6). Fol. 2 begins with *mihi illam lauda* (Eun. V 8, 23), and gives in col. 1 the remainder of the Eunuchus. Col. 2 gives the Prologue of Haut. and two lines of the Didascalía. The reverse of fol. 2 gives four more lines of Didascalía, the Argument to Haut., and Act. I, Sc. 1, as far as the words *nec vas* v. 89. Fol. 3, which bears the number 76, begins with *audierat* (And. I 2, 6) and ends with *excelsum locum* (And. II 2, 19). Fol. 4 numbered 76 begins with *neque ita imperita* (Eun. V 2, 42) and closes with *fautrix familie* (Eun. V 8, 22). Thus it will be seen that fol. 76 forms the continuation of fol. 1, and fol. 2 of fol. 77. The orthography is poor, the text corrupt, and I could find no evidence of this fragment having been consulted by Bentley. On the other hand, he does quote from each of the four remaining Regii. In the majority of cases he does so to support his emendation of the text, but it can now be shown that at a later period he abandoned many of these emendations, and either restored the former reading or proposed some new change. The British Museum contains, under No. 833 K 13, Bentley's private

copy of his own edition of Terence, Cambridge, 1726. The catalogue has the following brief statement in regard to it: "MS. notes by Bentley. Imperfect, wanting all but the 2d title-page, and the text of Terence. Probably bound up in this form by Bentley for annotation." The system of critical signs is the same employed by him in his marginal annotations of other authors. See especially Schroeder's "Richard Bentley's Emendationen zum Plautus," and Sonnenschein Appendix to Ed. of *Captivi*, pp. 65 f.<sup>1</sup> These marginal notes, which are quite numerous, I have copied, and shall give here in the foot-notes such as bear directly upon the passage in which Bentley quotes the *Regii*. *Regius* 15 A VIII is referred to by him, either as *ex Regiis unus*, *Regius unus*, or simply *Regius* in twelve passages, viz. And. 928, Eun. 302, 942, Haut. 271, 282, 317, 649, 877, 883, 931, Phorm. 182, 229. This MS. closes with the words *unam ut audio*, Phorm. III 1, 19 (483), after which verse only three *Regii* are cited. In nine out of these twelve passages Bentley adopted the reading of this *cod.* against the authority of older MSS., but in no case has his change been accepted by recent editors, and in four of the most important passages he himself saw fit afterwards to adopt another reading. This *cod.*, therefore, hardly seems to deserve any further notice. For particulars see Note I.

<sup>1</sup>Sonnenschein is wrong, I think, in supposing that the marginal tick (+) used by Bentley indicates approval. He says that it is placed over *equidem*, Epid. IV 2, 33, where *dicebant* follows. Is it not rather clear that, as Bentley changed *equidem* to *quidem* in Men. 309, 551, Mil. 656, Poen. 1229, Rud. 827. where the verb is not in the first person, so he meant to change it here?

NOTE I.—In the notes I shall give the passages cited above according to the continuous numbering of the play, in the same order, according to act and scene, as was Bentley's custom. For Bentley's own statement and text I must refer the reader to his edition. My own readings I give in this order, (1) The reading of the special *Regius* under discussion; (2) the reading of the other *Regii*; where all differ, with special designation of each; ( $\phi$  = reliqui); (3) the marginal notes or corrections, if any, of Bentley cited as By<sup>2</sup>. And. V 4, 25 (1) 15 A VIII *nomen tam cito? Phania*. (2)  $\phi$  *nomen tam cito tibi phania* (or *fania*) (3) By<sup>2</sup> CR. *nomen tam cito tibi?—hem.* v. 26 *Perdidi, verum hercle*, etc., with a reference to Phorm. II 3, 39. *Certo* in verse 26 is underscored and deleted (for metrical reasons). Eun. II 3, 11 (1) *qui hodie me* (2) 15 B VIII *me qui hodie  $\phi$  qui me hodie* (3) By<sup>2</sup> reads *Ut illum di deaque omnes perdant qui me hodie remoratus est*, with a marginal reference to Men. IV 2, 31 and Rud. IV 4, 122, both of which have *di omnes*. Eun. V 4, 20 (1) *ut ne impune nos illuseris* (2)  $\phi$  *in nos illuseris*.

15 B VIII is quoted by Bentley in twenty-two passages, viz. And. 253, 305, 352, 610, Eun. 716, 954, 1022, Haut. 354, 796, 924, Ad. 105, 259, Hec. 286, 797, Phorm. 356, 481, 497, 530, 533, 689, 1011, 1054. In fifteen of these passages Bentley based his own reading upon this manuscript. In six passages, however, he afterwards withdrew his own emendation in favor of another, see Note II. In four passages, viz. Haut. 796, Ad. 259,

Haut. II 3, 30 (1) <sup>hoc</sup> *ex ipsa in itinere* (sic) (2) *φ hoc ipsa in itinere*. 41, (1) *nam ea tum res dedit* (2) *φ nam ea res dedit tum*. II 3, 76 (1) *si sinas dico* (2) *φ si sinas dicam*. IV 1, 36 (1) *eloquere* (2) *φ loquere*. V 1, 4 (1) *quē st dictē* (sic) (2) *φ dicta*. V 1, 10 (1) *Ehem per tempus Menendeme advenis* (2) *φ omit per tempus* (3) By<sup>3</sup> deletes *per tempus* and inserts *Chreme* (with A) after *homines*. 58, (1) *illīc* (sic) *i* changed to *e* (2) *φ illec* or *illec*. Phorm. I 4, 5 (1) the interpolated verse *Quae si, etc.*, follows *extraham* (2) in *φ* it follows *audacia*. 51, (1) *subsidiis* = DG (2) *φ insidiis* (3) By<sup>3</sup> underscores *sub* with marginal tick.

NOTE II.—And. I 5, 18 (1) 15 B VIII *Tantum<sup>40</sup> rem* (sic) (2) *φ tantumne rem*. II 1, 5 (1) *quando* (2) *quoniam* (3) By<sup>3</sup> substitutes *ut quoniam* for *quando* with a marginal reference to And. III 2, 7 where *ut* follows *quae*. II 2, 15 (1) *tibi uxorem non dat iam* (2) 15 A XII *uxorem tibi non dat iam φ uxorem non dat tibi iam* (3) By<sup>3</sup> substitutes *suam gnatam* for *uxorem* putting it before *tibi* and deletes *iam*. III 5, 4 (1) *id numquam a me auferet* (2) 15 A XII *id numquam feret φ id numquam auferet* (3) By<sup>3</sup> has a caret after *ego* with *ergo* (sic) on the margin, *a me* is then underscored and would no doubt have been omitted by Bentley in a second edition. Eun. IV 4, 47 (1) *eo oi hei* (2) 15 A VIII *oi ei* 15 A XI *oi ei hei*. V 4, 32 (1) *ubi rescivit* (2) *φ ubi id rescivit*. V 6, 21 (1) *et eundem patri indicas* (2) 15 A XII *et eundem<sup>patri</sup> indicas* (sic) *φ omit patri* (3) By<sup>3</sup> *et cum idem indicas*. Haut. II 3, 113 (1) *minor res mea* (2) *φ minor mea res* (3) By<sup>3</sup> reads *Quasi hic minus mea res agatur* (the *a* of *agatur* is underscored). A has *minor mea res* but the edd. following Bentley and Guyet read *res mea minor*. IV 5, 48 (1) *summa est malitia* = A (2) *φ summa malitia est*. V 1, 51 (1) *Quid vis faciam* (2) *φ Quid faciam*. Ad. I 2, 25 (1) *duces* (2) *φ ducis*. II 3, 6 (1) *nemini* = ADG (2) *φ neminem*. Hec. III 1, 6 (1) *omnibus nobis* (2) 15 A VIII *nobis omnibus φ nos omnes*. V. 2, 31 (1) *nactam* (2) *natam*. Phorm. II 3, 9 (1) the spurious verse *Nec Stiphonem* etc. follows v. 25. III 1, 17 (1) *velle sese* (2) *φ sese velle*. III 2, 12 (1) *esse te duro* (2) 15 A XII *esse duro (te om.) φ te esse duro* (3) By<sup>3</sup> <sup>3</sup>*ingenio* <sup>2</sup>*esse* <sup>4</sup>*duro* <sup>1</sup>*te* (sic). III 2, 45 (1) *iste* = A (2) *φ is*. III 2, 48 (1) *sit potior* (2) *φ potior sit*. IV 4, 8 (1) *qui te ad scopulum e tranquillo auferat* (2) 15 A XI *quod recte curatum velis qui te ad scopulum In<sup>e</sup> tranquillo auferat* (sic) 15 A XII *quod quidem recte curatum velis qui te ad scopulum e tranquillo offerat* (sic). V 9, 22 (1) *cum isto* (2) *cum hoc ipso*. V 9, 65 (1) *fiat* is given Nau.

to Nausistrata (2) 15 A XII Chr. *fiat* 15 A XI Pho. *ffiat* (sic).

Phorm. 530 and 1054, the reading of 15 B VIII coincides with that of the Bembinus. In Phorm. 530 where according to Umpfenbach BCDEFGP all have *is* for *iste* of A, this coincidence is quite remarkable, and a collation of this MS. for that part of the And. where the Bembinus is wanting may perhaps be thought desirable. It is noteworthy too that in Phorm. IV 4, 8, 15 B VIII has only *qui te ad scopulum e tranquillo auferat*, which is not found at all in most of the leading MSS. and in E and F only on the margin, although it has been accepted by the editors as the more fitting close of the verse, *quod quidem recte curatum velis* being regarded as a gloss derived from Ad. III 3, 18 (372).

I now come to consider 15 A XI. Umpfenbach in the article above referred to (p. 461) has pointed out that this is the MS. quoted by Bentley in And. I 1, 59, IV 5, 3, Eun. IV 6, 7, Ad. V 8, 29, where he calls it *chartaceus sed ex optimo exemplari transcriptus*, and in And. V 1, 17, Eun. V 2, 17, Haut. I 2, 2, Hec. III 3, 7, V 2, 2 and 24 where he calls it simply *chartaceus*. I have taken pains to verify in all these passages the readings, and they correspond with those given by Bentley, except that in And. I 1, 59, 15 A XI has *Phedriam* for *Phaedrum*. Out of these ten passages only two readings have been generally accepted, viz. And. V 1, 17 *facta* = D, Hec. V 2, 24 *At haec amicae* = A. But in addition there are fourteen other passages where Bentley refers to this MS. designating it vaguely as *codex Regius, unus ex Regiis, alter Regius*, etc., viz. And. 438, Eun. 104, 222, Haut. 798 Ad. 337, 343, 561, 588, Hec. 468, 623, Phorm. 360, 598, 803, 818. see Note III. In ten of these passages Bentley bases his own reading on this

NOTE III.—And. II 6, 7 (1) 15 A XI *hec sunt nuptiae hē* | D edd. (2) *φ hae*. Eun. I 2, 24 (1) *Sin falsum aut vacuum aut vanum est* (2) 15 A XII *sin falsum aut vanum aut fictum est* so 15 B VIII and 15 A VIII, except that the latter has *factum*. II 1, 16 (1) *hercle est haec* (2) *φ hercle haec est*. Haut. IV 5, 50 (1) *bene aucta* edd. (2) *φ bene acta* (3) By<sup>2</sup> sets a tick on the margin with a reference to Phorm. V 3, 5 where *parta* occurs. Ad. III 2, 39 (1) *an proferendum hoc tibi videtur usquam* (2) 15 B VIII *an hoc proferendum esse videtur usquam* *φ an hoc proferendum tibi videtur esse usquam* (3) By<sup>2</sup> underscores *hoc*. III 2, 45 (1) *Quid ais?* (2) 15 B VIII *quid ages?* which Bentley may refer to in *unus ex nostris* *φ Quid agis?* IV 2, 22 (1) *aibas* edd. (2) 15 A VIII *agebas* *φ aibas*. IV 2, 49 (1) *otiosus* (2) 15 A XII *otiose* cf. G *φ odiose*. Hec. III 5, 16 (1) *audiri modo* edd. (2) *φ audiri omnia modo*. IV 4, 1 (1) *iratus edepol sum* (2) *φ edepol sum iratus*. Phorm. II 3, 13 (1) *o audacia* (sic), *etiamne* (2) *φ etiam me*. IV 2, 8 (1) *amicum se esse* (2) *φ amicum esse*. V 3, 20 (1) *cave in* (2) *φ cave ne in*. V 3, 35 (1) *satis tutus hic est* (2) *φ satis tutus est* (3) By<sup>2</sup> *satis tutus dd narrandum est hic*.

MS., but in only four cases has it been adopted by recent editors, viz. And. 438 *haec* = D, Haut. 798 *Aucta*, Ad. 561 *aibas*, Hec. 468 *audiui modo*. In the last three passages 15 A XI agrees with no other MS. Bentley seems to have set a high value upon its readings, and perhaps a careful collation would bring to light many choice variants, but I seriously doubt it. Umpfenbach, who had hoped to establish for it a close relationship to DG, admits his disappointment, based upon the result of a collation of Eun. Prol. and I 1 and 2 (see l. d. pp. 463 f.).<sup>1</sup> He says, "Nur wenige von diesen lesarten bekunden abhängigkeit von der familie DG. Weit aus in den meisten steht die handschrift allein und nicht zu ihrem vorthail." On p. 462 he had said, "Zu dem schluss dass der Regius (chartaceus) der familie DG wenigstens sehr nahe stehe berechtigten übereinstimmungen wie And. I 5, 58 *haec te* (DG), II 1, 20 *ad auxiliandum* (D), II 6, 7 *haec* (*hē* || D), V 1, 17 *facta* (D), Haut. III 3, 15 *pudet* (ADG), IV 5, 48 *est malitia* (AG), Ad. II 1, 54 *hanc rationem* (DG), II 3, 6 *nemini* (AD), IV 1, 6 *nimis misere* (Donatus), 49 *otiosus* (*otiose* DG), V 9, 26 *pater mi* (DG), Pho. I 4 steht der interpolierte vers vor v. 4 wie in AD, III 2, 12 *esse duro te* (ADG), V 9, 65 NAV *fiat* (A. Donatus)." The circle of reasoning is a curious one. The *chartaceus* is the best of the *Regii*; ergo the readings agreeing with DG must be found in the *chart.*; ergo the *chart.* must belong to the DG family. As a matter of fact, in only three of the passages is the reading given found in the *chartaceus* (And. II 6 7, V 1, 7, Ad. IV 2, 49). In three passages 15 B VIII lays claim to it, in one 15 A VIII, see the several notes. Six of the readings, however, must be assigned to 15 A XII, which might accordingly assert its title to close relationship with DG. If the date assigned to it by the catalogue is correct, it is the oldest of the *Regii*, and it is the one most frequently cited by Bentley, viz. in some twenty-eight passages, And. 293, 320, 449, 542, Haut. 210, 221, 321, 571, 576, 753, 1002, 1051, Ad. 133, 194, 208, 522, 877, 907, 947, 983, Hec. 118, 178, 230, 735, 773, 861, Phorm. 238, 1028. Bentley adopted the reading of this MS. in seventeen passages, in eight of which he has been followed by recent editors, not however without the concurrence of other MSS. cf. And. 293, 542, Haut. 210, 221, 571, Ad. 983, Hec. 773,

<sup>1</sup> This collation requires the following corrections. In Eun. I 1, 25 15 A XI has *ei ultro* not *ultro ei*, I 2, 18 *exclussit*, not *exclusti*, 115 *oblectes* not *delectes*, 117 *forsitan* not *forsan*.

861, and note IV. A careful collation of this MS. which I have made for the Andria shows many points of agreement with DG, e. g. 101 *ut* om. D, 133 *amplectitur* G, 142 *attulit* D, 149 *nec hec* cf. D, 154 *Quis* CDG, 186 *me* om. G, 191 *sibi graviter* G, 205 *hoc* <sup>haud</sup> *dicas* D<sup>1</sup>G *haud* corr. rec., 276 *sit solo situm* G, 287 *res inutiles* DG, 362 *illoc* D, 398 *aliquid interea* D, 419 *timeo nre* cf. D, 420 *usquam erit* G, 427 *sibi esse melius malle* G, 477 *narras* D, 484 *ei* om. D, 495 *nunc hic se ipse* cf. D, 508 *renuntio here* cf. DG, 549 *Quasi si* D, adopted by Spengel, so too Donatus, 551 *nisi* DEG, 604 *astutia* DEG, 621 *At non* D, 633 *cogit eos denegare* D, 720 *dolorem* DG, 726 *sume hinc* D, 766 *ego has semper* DG, 798 *vivere* DEG, 809 *eius dicta est* cf. D, 861 *intro hunc*

NOTE IV.—And. I 5, 58 (1) 15 A XII *sive haec te* DG (2)  $\phi$  *sive te haec* (3) By<sup>3</sup> *si id istaec*. II 1, 20 (1) *ad auxiliandum* D (2)  $\phi$  *auxilii*. II 6, 18 (1) *Quid est? puerile est. Quidnam est?* (2)  $\phi$  omit *nam*. III 3, 10 (1) *ita uti* G (2)  $\phi$  *ita ut* (3) By<sup>3</sup> *ut ita hae nuptiae*. Haut. I 2, 36 (1) *quid ex usu siet* CE (2)  $\phi$  *quod* etc. II 1, 9 (1) *quid ex usu siet*, so also 15 B VIII (2)  $\phi$  *quod* etc. II 3, 80 (1) *hercle est*. Clit. *Quid est?* (2) 15 A VIII *hercle est tace* SY. *Quid est vis amare* 15 A XI *hercle est tace* CLIT. *Quid est?* SY. *Quid est? vis amare* 15 B VIII *Est hercle tace* SIR. *Quid est?* CLIN. *Quid est? vis amare?* III 3, 10 (1) *mi apud hunc fides*. Bentley says, "Lege cum uno ex Regio *At fides mi apud hunc est*," but in his

commentary By<sup>3</sup> has corrected his statement thus *At fides mi apud hunc* which agrees with 15 A XII (2)  $\phi$  *At mihi fides apud hunc* = A (3) By<sup>3</sup> underscores *mi* and reads *istius me for me istius*. III 3, 15 (1) *pudet* ADG (2)  $\phi$  *piget*. IV 5, 5 (1) verse is missing, so E. V 2, 49 (1) *nihil fidei* (2)  $\phi$  *fidei nihil* (or *nil*). V 5, 7 (1) *At nos non sinemus* (2) *At id nos* etc. Ad. I 2, 53 (1) *istuc tibi placet* (2) *tibi istuc placet* (3) By<sup>3</sup> *si tibi ita placet*. II 1, 40 (1) *nam liberali ego illam* (2) 15 A XI *nam ego liberam illam assero causa mariti* (sic) 15 B VIII *nam ego liberali illam assero causam manu* 15 A VIII *nam ego illam assero liberali* etc. II 1, 54 (1) *hanc rationem* DG (2)  $\phi$  *has rationes* (3) By<sup>3</sup> reads *Set nemo dabit et ego frustra mecum has rationes puto*. IV 1, 6 (1) *nimis misere cupio* (2) 15 B VIII *misere cupio* with Donatus and editors  $\phi$  omit *nimis*. V 4, 23 (1) *experiar* ( $\phi$ ) *experiamur*. V 7, 9 (1) *Turbas hymenaeum* (2) 15 B VIII *turbam et hymeneum* 15 A VIII om. *et* 15 A XI om. *turbas*. V 8, 24 (1) *Quid restat* (2)  $\phi$  *quod restat* (3) By<sup>3</sup> *Quid? numquid restat?* V 9, 26 (1) *pater mi* DG (2)  $\phi$  *mi pater*. Hec. I 2, 43 (1) *senem se esse* (2) 15 A VIII *se esse senem*  $\phi$  *se senem esse*. I 2, 103 (1) *convenibat* (2)  $\phi$  *conveniebat*. II 1, 33 (1) *ego solvi curis vos ceteris* (2)  $\phi$  *ego vos solvi a curis*, except that 15 B VIII omits a (3) By<sup>3</sup> *Quae erant hic curares; cum ego vos solvi curis ceteris*. V 1, 9 (1) *questus mihi obstat* (2)  $\phi$  *mihi questus obstat*. V 2, 7 (1) *exquire*, (*licet* om.) = AD (2)  $\phi$  *exquire licet*. V 4, 21 (1) *unus omnium homo* A (2) 15 A XI and 15 A VIII *unus hominum homo* 15 B VIII *hominum unus homo*. Phorm. II 1, 8 (1) *etiamne id spatium cum rasura* (2)  $\phi$  *etiamne id*. V 9, 39 (1) *faxo cum tali mactatum* (2)  $\phi$  *faxo tali sit mactatus* (3) By<sup>3</sup> *Faxo tali sit mactatus atque hoc infortunio*.



*rape* DEG, 908 *civem hinc* DG, 915 *sit vir* DGV, 950 *nēpe* SYM, *Id scilicet* DGV. So far as I know it is the only MS. which offers *circum itione* (adopted by the edd. for *circuitione*) in And. I 2, 31 (202). Bentley however says, "Quin et hic nonnulli codd. *Circumitione*." In v. 111 it has *tam flet* for *tam fert*. In 249 it keeps *si* which DEG omit. Traces of the influence of the PC family are seen in v. 504 *cepi*, 529 *feri has*, 717 *putavi* and elsewhere, and it must therefore be assigned to the mixed class of Terence MSS. As a rule, its peculiar readings have nothing to commend them, and are due either to gross carelessness in transposition or to glosses, *e. g.* 197 *quo minus fiant*, 534 *dicebant* for *aiebant* and *nalam meam* for *filiam*.

There remain to be considered a few passages where Bentley quotes two Regii. In Eun. II 2, 32 15 A XII has *discipuli* in the text, and 15 A XI *discipli* between the lines the *varia lectio* to which Bentley refers. Bent.<sup>9</sup> reads

*Si potis ut tanquam philosophorum disciplinae ex ipsis  
Vocabula habent parasiti item Gnathonici vocentur.*

Ad. Prol. 5 *factum id oporteat* is really found only in 15 B VIII as Umpfenbach shows (l. c. p. 462) while in Phorm. III 1, 20 15 A XI and 15 B VIII are referred to. In Phorm. I 3, 24 the reference is to 15 A XI and 15 A XII. In Phorm. III 2, 12 Bentley simply says "Nostri *Te esse duro uno Regio excepto*." No one of the Regii has *esse duro te*, as is shown in note II. In And. I 5, 52 no one of the MSS. exactly agrees with Bentley's statement, but 15 B VIII which has *illi utraeque nunc res inutiles* is probably the one meant, the rest have *illi nunc utraeque res inutiles* DEG. In Hec. V 4, 12 Bentley reports *unus ex Regiis recentior* as having *Egon te qui*, 15 B VIII has *egon qui te*, the rest have no *te*. In Phorm. V 9, 59, 15 A XI has *Tuum nomen dic quod est*, 15 B VIII *nomen tuum* etc., 15 A XII *Tu tuum nomen dic quod est*. None of the present Regii have *tibi* which Umpfenbach adopts from Bentley. For these slight discrepancies I cannot account except by supposing that Bentley was careless.

After having thus by actual examination succeeded in identifying the *codices Regii* used by Bentley, I was able during a very brief stay in Cambridge to consult a book, of whose existence I had not previously known, which every one must admit has a most important bearing upon this question, namely, the very copy of Terence in which Bentley recorded his MS. collations made while preparing his famous edition. This interesting book is

now in the library of Trinity College, and is numbered B 17, 33. Its title is "Publii Terentii Carthaginiensis Afri Comoediae VI His accedunt integrae notae Donati, Eugraphii, Faerni, Boecleri, Farnabii, Mer. Casauboni. Tan. Fabri. cum indice locupletiss. Amstelodami et Lugd. Bat. CIOCLXXXVI." A memorandum in Bentley's handwriting reads: "Quaere Donati editionem Romae 1492 quam saepe laudat Rivius." On two separate leaves we find lists of the MSS. used by Bentley. which I here give in full:

- D codex Dunelmensis vetustissimus 4to.
- M cod. Episcopi Mori. 700 annorum 4to.
- P cod. Collegii St. Petri 500 annorum 4to.
- S cod. D<sup>ni</sup> Shippen.
- C codex Collegii Corporis Christi.
- R codex Regius 500 annorum.
- T alter olim Theyeri 300 annorum.
- Ch alter chartaceus 220 ann.
- B alter 500 annorum.

And again just before the title-page:

- Characteres Librorum Mstorum quibus usi sumus.
- D codex Dunelmensis, nunc in Bibl. Bodleiana Oxonii 900 ann.
- M codex Jo. Mori Episc. Eliensis 800 ann.
- C codex Bibl. Collegii Corporis Xti Cantab. 600.
- P codex Collegii Sti Petri Cantab. 500.
- S codex D<sup>ni</sup> Shippen. Oxoniensis.
- R codex Regiae Bib. Londini 500.
- T codex Theyeri Bibl. nunc Regiae 400.
- Ch sive chartaceus Regiae Bibl. 300.

It will be seen that these two lists substantially agree. B, however, is omitted from the second, and the Academicus which Bentley designates throughout the book as A is included in neither. In the age assigned to the different MSS. there are some discrepancies. Thus in the first list T = 300 ann., in the second 400 (*i. e.* 15th or 14th century), Ch = 220 ann. in the first list, a curiously precise date, in the second 300 ann. D which is called *vetustissimus* is credited in the second list with 900 ann., which makes it older than the Parisinus. But Bentley was probably inclined to overestimate the age of his more important MSS. Thus he assigns M to the 10th or 11th century, and still further proof that his own estimate varied is furnished us by And. IV 2, 29 where in his commentary Bentley says, "Duo ex nostris

vetustissimi *ad me venias*," i. e. omitting *ut*. Now in Fabri's text I find *ut* underscored and on the margin † DM. In And. V 4, 25 I find *tibi* (sic) and on the margin † CB with the following note "*tibi* in M post rasuram. Puto fuisse PAM ut Pamphilus nomen haesitanti suggererit." Compare this with Bentley's commentary "Ejecimus *Tibi* quod abest a Regio et C. C. C. et in altero 900 annorum a manu secunda et post rasuram ut jure quis suspicetur PAM fuisse erasum et interpolatum *Tibi*." Here then the age 900 ann. is assigned to M, which would make it of about the same antiquity as the Dunelmensis. Clearly we must allow Bentley a range of two or three centuries in fixing the age of a MS., and as very good judges often disagree to the same extent, we need not be surprised. The Regius quoted in And. V 4, 25 we have seen above (Note I) to be 15 A VIII, which must, therefore, be identified with B, although the British Museum Catalogue assigns it to saec. XI. Whether M can be identified with any existing MS. I am unable to state, but I think it quite probable, as within a few years the Dunelmensis has been brought to light. Of this latter Robinson Ellis (Academy, Dec. 1, 1872, p. 459) says, "Both Kraus and Brix agree in supposing this codex to be identical with that called by Bentley *veterrimus*; it would be interesting to prove whether his conjecture is well founded; but the MS. has not been forthcoming for the last 150 years, and is perhaps no longer discoverable. Leng calls this much the finest of all his MSS., and any one who would bring the lost treasury to light would confer a service which would be appreciated by every student of Latin philology."

The identity of the Dunelmensis with the *veterrimus*, if it were not fully established by Bentley's own statement, might be settled

<sup>1</sup>At the time when this was written the Dunelmensis was snugly hidden away among the treasures of the Bodleian. The credit of rediscovering it is due solely to Mr. T. W. Jackson, fellow of Worcester College, Oxford, from whom we may shortly expect some interesting details concerning it. Its present catalogue number is F 2, 13 (Bodleian). I have collated it for the Andria, but I do not wish to anticipate Mr. Jackson's article by giving to print any of its readings.

Ellis shows that Ff, 6, 4 in the University Library of Cambridge did actually belong to John Moore, Bishop of Norwich, but that it cannot be Bentley's 900 year codex. It cannot therefore be M, as in And. V 4, 25 it has *tibi* not over erasure. Is it not Leng's Nb? It follows from what I have said that Umpfenbach (l. d. p. 466) is wrong in considering the cod. 900 ann. and the Academicus to be the same.

by a reference to And. II 3, 21 where Bentley says "*speres* Ita ex nostris veterrimus." The Trinity Terence has on the margin D *speres*. So at And. V 6, 7 the marginal *quin iam* DC explains Bentley's 'Duo ex nostris veterrimi,' and proves also that he reckoned C among the oldest of his MSS. The age assigned (600 ann.) agrees with Robinson Ellis' statement that it belongs to the 11th century.—And. II 2, 6 I find *aut* underscored and on the margin † DCSHChRB.—cf. Bentley's comm. "sex ex nostris meliores non agnoscunt illud *aut*."

Of these 'better' MSS. Sh is the Shippenianus discussed by Umpfenbach (l. c. p. 473) now in the library of Brasenose College, Oxford, as already pointed out by Ellis in the aforesaid article. Ch. the *chartaceus* is of course Reg. 15 A XI. R is Regius 15 A XII, the Regius par excellence, and as such, most frequently cited by Bentley. For proof compare the statement in note IV regarding And. II 1, 20 with the marginal note *ad auxiliandum* PR. B is Reg. 15 A VIII. Concerning the Corpus Christi and Peterhouse MSS. (C & P), I can add nothing new to Umpfenbach's statements (ib. pp. 470 f.) T is shown to be 15 B VIII by the marginal note to And. II 2, 15, *fo.* (= *fortasse*) *libero tibi uxorem non dat iam* C / *sic* T. Compare Bentley's ed. and the statement in note II. Bentley's Academicus has not to my knowledge been identified with any English MS. I have not been able myself to collect the necessary data, nor to carry the investigation as far as I could wish, but it would be very easy for an English scholar resident in Cambridge to pick out from the mass of Bentley's MS. collations the readings peculiar to the Academicus and to M, which would enable us to form a very fair idea of these MSS. even if they should never be found. In any future reprint of Bentley's edition I think the editor might do a service to Latin philology by placing in brackets an exact specification of the MSS. cited by Bentley, using his notation. I close this article with some specimens based upon my own very incomplete notes. And. Prol. 11, tres ex nostris recentiores (APT) *sunt dissimili*. I 1, 89 Recte tres ex nostris (ChAB) *quid id est?* I 2, 27 unus tantum (A) *ostendere*. I 2, 34 recte tres meliores (PDSH) *dices*. II 1, 37 Unus (A) *est*. II 2, 19 a duobus nostris abest *ibi* (PT). II 4, 5 duo e nostris (ChD) *qua* = Par. II 6, 20 Duo ex nostris primarii (DC) *Est obsonatum* Recte. III 1, 1, Duo tantum ex nostris (ChT) *dixisti* quae vera lectio est. III 2, 3 cum veterimo nostro (D) *Fac ista ut*. III 4, 10 duo (TA) *Nunquam ego*

*istuc quivi alter* (R) *Nunquam istuc ego quivi.* III 5, 9 *Me pro iam* duo ex nostris veterrimi (DC). IV 1, 41 ex nostris antiquiores omnes (DCPMT) *Factum est hoc.* IV 3, 2 quinque ex nostris (DPTBA) *putabam* Recte *putavi* (RCh). IV 5, 22 duo ex nostris (DS) *O optume* = Victorianus. V 1, 17 *Facta* (Ch) et a prima manu duo alii (MB). V 3, 24 Tres ex vetustioribus (CDM) *At tandem.* V 4, 38 Noster veterrimus (D) *odium.* V 6, 15 Meliores et plures libri *propere adcerse* (DSBARTMP.)

MINTON WARREN.

## VI.—“FOR —— SAKE.”

Having had occasion recently to examine the N. T. usage of the expressions *for my sake, for Jesus' sake, for Christ's sake, &c.*, especially with a view to their historical origin and the force of the word *sake*, I determined to push the investigation further, and search for examples of this use in Early English, which I have thrown together below as a contribution to the history of the expressions. It was very soon ascertained that the locution did not occur in the Anglo-Saxon Gospels, nor in Wycliffe's New Testament, judging by a careful examination of all the references given by Cruden, but first came in with Tyndale, and then as a translation usually of *ἐνεκα* or *διὰ*, though in 2 Cor. xii. 10, 3 John iii. 7, of *ὁπέρ*, and in Eph. iv. 32 of *ἐν*,—but here Coverdale has *in Christ*, following Wycliffe, and the Revised Version adopts it also.

A very few examples of this usage will suffice. They are taken from Bosworth and Waring's Gothic, Anglo-Saxon, Wycliffe and Tyndale Gospels, 2d ed., 1874, Skeat's reprint of Forshall and Madden's Wycliffe and Purvey's New Testament, 1879, and Dabney's reprint from Bagster's edition of Tyndale's New Testament, 1837.

Matt. xiv. 3. A. S.—And sette on cwertern *for* ðam wife Herodiaden Philippes hys brôðer;

W.—And putte [puttide] him in to prisoun *for* Erodias, the wit of his brother;

T.—And put hym in preson *ffor* Herodias *sake*, hys brother Phips wife.

John xii. 9. A. S.—And hig cōmon, naes nā *for* ðaes Hælendes *þingon* synderlice;

W.—And thei camen, not oonly *for* Jhesu;

T.—And they cam, nott *for* Jesus *sake* only.

1 Cor. iv. 10. W.—We foolis *for* Crist; T.—We are foles *for* Christes *sake*. 2 Cor. iv. 5. W.—And vs 3oure seruantis *bi* Jhesu; T.—Oure selves youre servauntes *for* Jesus *sake*. Phil. i. 29. W.—But also that 3e suffren *for* him; T.—But also suffre *for* his *sake*.

These examples might easily be multiplied, but the above are sufficient to show the N. T. usage.

The A. S. *sacu* is defined by Grein *contentio, hostilitas, lis, rixa, pugna*, and Bosworth has also "A cause or suit in law, process, accusation." Stratmann (Dictionary of Old English, XII-XV Centuries) defines *sake, lis, rixa, causa, injuria*, and amongst other references we have *withouten sake* = "*sine causa*," Psalms iii. 8, the earliest reference for the modern usage being *for hire sake*: Ancren Riwe, p. 4 (Morton's ed.)

In transmitting to Dr. J. A. H. Murray, editor of the Philological Society's Dictionary, slips of the second volume of Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, I inquired if he could give me the earliest references for the expression, *for —'s sake*. I append his reply, and am indebted to his kindness for the first four quotations given below. He says: "*For —'s sake* I am not able to carry back beyond the Ancren Riwe, though it occurs in several works of that age. But this sense of *sake* does not once occur in Ormin nor in Layamon, both about 1200; it does *not* occur in the Hatton Gospels, c. 1160 (which I have examined with the concordance), and I have no record of it from the Lambeth or Trinity Homilies of 1175-1200. We may, therefore, say that it appears in the first third of the thirteenth century, I presume first in a transferred use of the legal sense of *sacu*, to speak for one's *cause* or *behalf*. I enclose some of the earliest quotations we have for *sake*."

Thus it appears that the meaning *pugna, lis, rixa*, the common A. S. sense, which we find in Layamon and Orm, passes to *causa*, and thence to the modern meaning *for my cause* or *behalf, on my account*, most probably as Dr. Murray suggests. The four quotations enclosed by Dr. Murray are as follows:

(1) "Ancren Riwe, p. 4, c. 1220-30. South Western. Dorsetshire. Me aski 3e hwat riwe 3e ancren schullen holden? 3e schullen alle-weis, mid alle mihte, and mid alle strence wel witen þe inre [riwe], and þe uttre *vor hire sake*."

(2) St. Katherine (Abbotsford Club), p. 6, l. 98, c. 1220. West Midland, c. Herefordshire (considered by some to be by same author as A. R.)

Dus lo *for hure sake* ✓  
 Ane dale hu atheld  
 Of hire eldrene god  
 And spende al that other  
 In nedfule and in nakede.

(3) Genesis and Exodus (E. E. T. Soc.), l. 3731, c. 1250. East Midland, Suffolk.

Oc for is benes and *for is sake*[n]  
 Yet he sal wið hem milche maken. ✓

Editor supplies [n]. One might also suggest *sake : make*.

- (4) Wright's Lyric Poetry, VI. 28, c. 1300.  
 Levedi, al *for thine sake*  
 longinge is y-lent me on."

To these I add the following from the literature of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, with occasional comments :

- (5) Owl and Nightingale (Stratmann's ed.), c. 1225.  
 1160. Oper þu bodest cheste and *sake*.  
 1430. And mai eft habbe to make  
 Hire leofmon wipute *sake*.

Here *sake* still preserves its original sense.

- (6) Creed. (Maetzner's A. E. Sprachproben, p. 50, 8). 1st half 13th cent.  
 On rode nailedd *for mannes sake*.  
 (7) Hymn to the Virgin. Maetzner, p. 54, 39. 1st half 13th cent.  
 That ich nevere *for feondes sake*  
 furgo thiþ eche liht.  
 (8) p. 55, 47. Lavedi, *for thine sake*  
 (9) p. 55, 69. Thu do that ich *for hire sake*  
 beo i-maked so clene.

Here add two other Hymns to the Virgin. The first is printed by Mr. Furnivall in Academy, No. 503, Dec. 24, 1881, entitled by him The Hymn of Chaucer's Oxford Clerk, "Angelus ad Virginem," from Arundel MS. 284, leaf 154, lines 58-60, c. 1250-60.

- (10)  
 hus giue *for þine sake*  
 him so her for to seruen  
 þat þe [=he] us to him take.

The second is found in the Appendix to Old English Homilies, 2d series (E. E. T. Soc., ed. Morris), p. 257, l. 58.

- (11)  
 þo godes sune aliȝte wolde  
 On eorþe al *for ure sake*.

This Hymn belongs to the *thirteenth* century.

Genesis and Exodus (E. E. T. S., ed. Morris), c. 1250.

- (12) p. 16, 551. *For swilc sinful dedes sake*  
 So cam on werlde wreche and wrake.  
 (13) p. 40, 1392. Askede here if ȝhe migte taken  
 Herberge *for hire frendes sake*[n].  
 (14) p. 80, 2806. And wurð sone an uglike snake  
 And Moyses fleg *for dredes sake*.

The Fox and the Wolf (Maetzner, p. 133, 40-44), c. 1275.

- (15)  
 I have leten thine hennen blod  
 That I do *for almcs sake*.



- (16) King Horn (E. E. T. S., ed. Lumby), 1453-4. 2d half 13th cent.  
 pis tur he let make ✓  
 Al for *pine sake*.

Legend of St. Gregory (Zupitza's A. E. Übungsbuch, p. 53). Before 1300. XX, 37-8.

- (17) þabot bad þe fischers boþe ten mark & the cradel take <  
 & bad þai schuld nouȝt be wroþ for þat litel *childes sake*.

Sir Tristrem (Maetzner, p. 238). End of 13th cent. 81st stanza, 1-4.

- (18) To prisoun thai gun take ✓  
 Erl, baroun, and knight,  
 For *Douke Morgan sake*,  
 Many on dyd doun right.

Here we have a proper name without inflection used with *sake*.

Cursor Mundi (E. E. T. S., ed. Morris), 6833, c. 1320.

- (19) Sle þou nan wiþ-uten *sake* (vv. 11.).

Cursor Mundi in Morris's Specimens of Early English:

- (20) p. 132, 181-2. For he mought find nan wit *sak[ε]* ✓  
 On the *sakles* he suld ta wrake.

- (21) p. 137, 325-6. Mak us a welle, for *mine sake*, <  
 þat alle mai plenté o water take.

These examples from the Cursor Mundi are interesting, as showing the three meanings of *sake*, and the second containing also *sakles*=innocent, as in the Ormulum and Ancren Riwe.

Stabat Mater (Wulcker's A. E. Lesebuch I, p. 47), 31-33. No date, but as it follows Hampole, c. 1350.

- (22) Moder, now y shal the telle, /  
 ȝef y ne deȝe, thou gost to helle, -  
 Y thole ded for *thine sake*.

St. Andrew. Alt-Englische Legenden, ed. Horstmann, c. 1350.

- (23) p. 5, 75-7. And unto my goddes offrand make ✓  
 Or els I sall for *þi god sake*  
 Ger hang þe right on swilk a tre.

- (24) 103-4. I wold be wurthi for *his sake*  
 Opon a cross my dede to take.

St. Laurentius. Barbour's Legenden-Sammlung, ed. Horstmann, I, p. 191, c. 1350-1400.

- (25) Quhare-of mene wont war to mak x  
 In old tyme cronis for *þe sak*  
 Of victory þat gudmene wane.

Interesting as the first example I have met with of *for the sake of*.

The Lay-Folks' Mass-Book (E. E. T. S., ed. Simmons), Text B. 453-7 (Royal MS. 17 B XVII), c. 1375.

- (26)                      Make þi prayeres in þat stede  
                                  for alle þi frendes þat are dede,  
                                  And *for* alle cristen *soules sake*  
                                  swilk prayere shal þou make.

The examples of the use of *sake* in Gower are not numerous, only four in the last half of the second volume; but in Chaucer they are much more frequent. It is strange that the expression should not be found in the New Testament of Wycliffe, when both of his contemporaries make use of it.

A couple of examples apiece from Chaucer and Gower must suffice:

Chaucer's Clerkes Tale. (Skeat's C. P. ed.)

(27) 135. And tak a wyf, *for* hye *goddess sake*.

(28) 560. For this nyght shaltow deyen *for my sake*; also lines 7, 255, and 975.

Gower's Confessio Amantis (ed. Pauli), II.

(29) p. 217. For lucre and nought *for loves sake*.

(30) p. 229. And for Thetis *his moder sake*.

Other examples may be found on pp. 226, 314.

An examination of Morris's Old English Homilies, 2d series, which belong to the *twelfth* century, shows us that the expression *for God's love* was then used where *for God's sake* was more common later. An example of this is found on p. 83, l. 21, 22: "Hie giuen here elmesse noht *for godes luue* ac *for* neheboreden oðer *for* kinraden," translated by the editor, "they give their alms not for God's sake, but for the sake of their neighbors or kinsmen." See also p. 157, l. 24, and p. 159, l. 10. This expression continued in use, as is seen in Lives of Saints: Thomas Beket (Maetzner, p. 177), c. 1300. 1807. A sire! he seide, *for Godes love*, ne passe noȝt ȝut the see. Also lines 1975, 2094, and in 2273, And bad him, *for the love of God*, in such angusse him rede.

A hundred years later Chaucer would probably have used *for Goddess sake*.

These examples show the use of *sake* with the possessive adjectives and genitive during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, while the language was forming, and from the rareness with which the form *for the sake of* is met with, this expression was evidently of later origin, and possibly originated in the North. It deserves notice that this form is not found in the Authorized Version, as quoted by Cruden, but the Revisers have occasionally made use of it.

JAMES M. GARNETT.

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## REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

### RECENT WORK IN OLD NORSE.

With the continually growing interest in the comparatively new study of *Germanistik*, Old Norse like every other Germanic dialect has received in the last decade increased attention, and Old Norse philology has made most gratifying advance in lexicography, grammar and text criticism. Outside of Scandinavia, where one might expect the study of the old language would be cultivated, for patriotic reasons, if for no other, lectures on O. N. grammar and literature are delivered at all the German universities, certainly every second or third semester, and no Germanist goes out into the world without the knowledge of at least its Laut- and Flexionslehre. German interest, too, is also unmistakably manifested by the almost constant appearance both of texts and translations, as well as by the great mass of grammatical and text criticism printed in the various journals. Both France and Holland have O. N. scholars who have made valuable contributions to O. N. philological literature, and that an active interest is felt in England is evinced by the publication of such works as the Oxford Icel.-Engl. Dictionary and the Sturlunga Saga.

O. N. lexicography has been done almost exclusively by Icelanders. In 1860 appeared (Copenhagen) what must always remain the classical dictionary of the language of the Eddas and the poems of the Scalds—the *Lexicon poeticum antiq. ling. Sept.* by Sveinbjörn Egilsson, rector of the gymnasium at Reykjavik; it is a work of unquestioned scholarship and ability, with copious citations and (Latin) equivalents, but in the light of better texts, needs, even at this early date, numerous revisions. In 1863 was published (Copenhagen) the *Oldnordisk Ordbog* (O. N.-Danish), by Erik Jonsson, another Icclander; its usefulness is, however, much impaired by the entire absence of citations. In 1867 appeared (Christiania) the excellent *Ordbog over det gamle norske Sprog* (O. N.-Danish) by Joh. Fritzner, a Norwegian, who now promises a new edition; and finally in 1874 (Oxford) the great *Icelandic-English Dictionary*, begun by Richard Cleasby and completed by an Icclander resident in England, Gudbrand Vigfusson, whose work it mainly is. What the Lex. poet. is to the poetical literature the Icel.-Engl. Dict. is to the phenomenal wealth of O. N. prose writing, but it is unfortunately characterized by hurried and superficial labor, a matter to be the more deplored in so ambitious a work. No one perhaps was better fitted to write an O. N. dictionary than Vigfusson, both because of his remarkable familiarity with the whole of the old literature and from having Icclandic for his mother-tongue; these facts have, however, told against the correctness of his work, as he oftentimes trusts for a citation to a teach-

erous memory where another would have referred directly to the text. Opening the book quite at random one finds, for instance, p. 544 SKELPUNNR, *adj. shell-thin, Eg. in a verse*; SKEPTI, *n. II. a handle, Grett. in a verse*. As the Grettis Saga contains 476 verses, and the Egils Saga, without counting the poems, 470, the utility of the references is scarcely apparent. On the opposite page, again, SKERPLA is cited *Edda* 103, but upon consulting the Edda one is surprised not to be able to find it in the whole work. The etymologies, too, are often extremely venturesome and misleading, and in numberless cases absolutely worthless. With all its faults the Icel.-Engl. Dict. is the most valuable, both in completeness of vocabulary and fulness of definition, of all O. N. lexica, and for the mere reading of texts is wholly satisfactory. Dr. Jon Thorkelsson, the present rector of the gymnasium at Reykjavik, is engaged in compiling a second *Supplement til islandske Ordbøger* (the first was completed in 1876), which appears in instalments in the yearly programme of the gymnasium, within whose pages he has already printed much critical work of the highest value.

Of O. N. grammarians, Prof. Ludvig Wimmer, of Copenhagen, is unquestionably at the head, and to him more than to anybody else is due the fact that O. N. grammar stands upon a footing of equal progress with the best dialect work in Germany; his *Oldnordisk formlære* appeared (Copenhagen) in 1870, and was translated 1871 into German by Sievers, the well-known Germanist; a revised Swedish edition appeared at Lund in 1874, which is by far the best of all O. N. grammars. Wimmer is also the author of the most important work of late years on runes; his book *Runeskriftens oprindelse og udvikling i Norden* (Copenhagen, 1874) takes up the disputed question of the origin of the elder rune alphabet, which he proves in a most incontrovertible manner to have been derived from the Latin. Vigfusson published *Outlines of Grammar* in the introduction to his dictionary, and appended to his *Icelandic Prose Reader* (Oxford, 1879) is *A Short Grammar*. The last-named work is an exceedingly well made text-book, containing numerous extracts from the prose literature, with explanatory notes, grammar and glossary.

Icelandic phonetics is treated in another book printed at Oxford—Henry Sweet's *Handbook of Phonetics*, in which a chapter is devoted to Old and Modern Icelandic. The author's headings are, however, misleading, as, while his entire scheme for the modern language is wellnigh absolutely faultless, he gives to Old Icelandic exactly the same phonetic value, which it by no means had. Thus in the extract on p. 148 from the Snorra Edda, *d* is represented by *au* and *æ* by *ai*, values which they certainly have at present, but which are comparatively new. So almost the entire vowel system might be cited; indeed, the change in pronunciation is the one great change that the Icelandic language has undergone. If the author, on the other hand, merely meant to show the adaptability of the new pronunciation to the old language, he should certainly have left out the extracts from the old poetry, which, with the rest, he gives in normalized orthography!

The last decade has been particularly marked by the appearance of texts, some of which see the light for the first time; a majority, however, are criti-

cal and often diplomatic editions of texts previously published. Several societies are actively engaged with O. N. literature and philological studies. The Icelandic Literary Society, founded in 1816, still continues its activity and publishes each year its quota of literature. The last few years have witnessed the completion of the *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, a most important work for the comparative study of Icelandic, *Safrn til Sögu Islands*, and the *Biskupa Sögur*. The Danish "Nordiske Oldskrift-Selskab," founded in 1825, has published (1875) what may justly be termed the *editio princeps* of the *Njðls Saga*, the greatest of all Icelandic sagas, in a critical text with variants edited by Prof. Konrad Gislason; in 1878 appeared the *Saga of Tristram ok Ísönd*. The Danish "Nordiske litteratur-samfund," which discontinued its publications in 1870, after a quarter-century of literary life, again awoke in 1880 to increased activity under the title of "Samfundet til udgivelse af gammel nordisk litteratur," and have already issued six texts. The Swedish "Fornskrift Sällskapet" has also recently published a number of valuable texts edited by Cederschiöld, Wisén and others. The trustees of the Arna Magnusson bequest in Copenhagen continue at rather long intervals their text publications. In 1869 appeared the MSS. of *Valdemar's Laws* in Old Danish and *Elucidarius* in Icelandic, followed in 1877 by the *Codex Runicus* in photolithographic fac-simile; in 1879 was published a new edition of the code of laws called the *Grágds*, and in 1880 appeared the first part of the long looked for third volume of the *Snorra Edda*. The latter work has been published beside in two other editions, viz. those of Thorleifr Jonsson (Copenhagen, 1875) and Ernst Wilken (Paderborn, 1877): neither of them is, however, an improvement on the edition published in Reykjavik in 1848 by Sv. Egilsson. The *Sæmundar Edda* has also appeared in two editions, viz. a second, revised, edition by Svend Grundtvig (Copenhagen, 1868), and a new edition by Karl Hildebrand (Paderborn, 1876); but by far the best edition is still the one published by Bugge, Christiania, 1867. Aside from complete editions, extracts from both Eddas have been published in various reading-books and text collections; Prof. Möbius, of Kiel, the Nestor of O. N. scholarship in Germany, has also published a critical edition of the *Hdtltatal* in two parts. Aside from the publications of societies, a large number of Saga texts has also appeared independently. In Norway, Carl Unger has been particularly productive, and has printed an astonishing number of MSS., many of them for the first time. In Germany, Möbius, Maurer, Vigfusson, Kölbing and others have edited numerous texts.

In the history of O. N. literature the best monograph that has appeared of late years, in any language, is the *Prolegomena* to the Oxford edition of the *Sturlunga Saga* by Vigfusson. The author brings to his task the extraordinary knowledge of the ancient literature, both printed and manuscript, which he alone of all others possesses, and this, joined with remarkable critical acuteness and clearness of thought and statement, make the *Prolegomena*, though but a résumé, a veritable mine of information in which all subsequent historians must dig. The most important critical part of the whole is the chapter on "the Eddic Poems," in which the author endeavors

to prove the contested point of the origin of the miscellaneous poems composing the collection now called the Edda. The statement is made (p. clxxxvi) that "these poems, with one or two exceptions, owe their origin to Norse poets in the 'Western Iceland,' " (*i. e.* Orkney, Shetland), that "they date from a time subsequent to the settlement of Iceland from those islands." The premises as regards the first part are, however, not proved, and a darkness veils their place of origin that will probably never be dispelled; the view as to their time of origin, on the other hand, rests upon a better foundation, and is shared by Bugge and others. A more ambitious work than the Prolegomena is Horn's *Geschichte der Lit. des Skand. Nordens* (Leipzig, 1880), but it is full of inaccuracies and half-statements, at least in the O. N.-Icelandic part, which make its scientific value absolutely null.

In literary criticism nothing has lately been written to rival in interest and importance a work promised so long ago as 1879, but of which the first part only has thus far appeared,—*Studier over de nordiske Gude- og Heltesagns Oprindelse*, by Sophus Bugge of Christiania, the foremost Norwegian scholar in O. N. The aim of Bugge's work is to substantiate the somewhat startling statement: "Of numerous northern legends of gods and heroes, one may assert that they reproduce, or at least originated under the influence of, narratives, poems or legends, religious or superstitious ideas, which half heathen or heathen Northmen during the time of the Vikings received upon the British Islands from Christians, *i. e.* either from monks or from people who were educated under monkish influences." That this is a conclusion entirely at variance with the received opinion of Norse mythology contained in the Eddas and hero-songs need scarcely be said. The old theory looked upon these stories of the gods and heroes *in toto* as sacred remnants of the primitive culture of the whole Germanic race; the new one, while it does not deny the Germanic foundation, sees the superstructure almost entirely built up of antique-classic, *i. e.* Greek-Roman and Jewish-Christian materials. The whole matter is stated by the author with such acuteness and force as almost to carry conviction with it; but it is not a matter either to accept or discard with a breath, and the whole work must first appear before a logical and consistent criticism can be passed. A monograph of similar import, but confined to one Eddic poem, is *Völuspá og de Sybillinske Orakler* by A. Chr. Bang (Christiania, 1879), in which the author refers the origin of the *Völuspá* to an imitation of the Sibylline oracles.<sup>1</sup> One thing is certain in the light of modern criticism, that the Eddic poems are not entitled to the high antiquity previously ascribed to them. "Odin, himself," said Resen in 1665, "was the author of *Hávamál*," while Schimmelmänn, in his translation of the Snorra Edda in 1777, declares that "Edda is the pure word of God and the oldest book in the world."

W. H. CARPENTER.

<sup>1</sup> See American Journal of Philology, vol. 1, p. 440.

DEMOSTHENES. Translated from the French of L. BRÉDIF by M. J. MACMAHON. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co., 1881.

This monograph, containing twelve chapters, constituted originally a course of lectures delivered, we infer, at the Lycée of Toulouse.

M. Brédif, like a patriotic Frenchman, draws lessons from the political condition of Greece in the time of Demosthenes for the admonition of his countrymen, and writes from a spirit of genuine sympathy with the present order of things in France. In his introduction the author traces the development of Greek oratory, and takes occasion to discuss the relation of morals to eloquence. While it is true that "bad taste and good morals are sometimes found together," Brédif has not made out his case that eloquence owes something to the decline of morals, and that Cato's definition "*vir bonus dicendi peritus*" is untrue. The chapters in which Demosthenes is described as the citizen and the statesman form the most valuable part of the work.

Although the colors are somewhat glowing and confused, the portraiture of Demosthenes is, in the main, accurate and lifelike. Still, no scholar can read this book without a painful sense of the lack of sober and critical learning. This is apparent, first, in the author's indiscriminating use of the anecdotes narrated by Plutarch, Pseudo-Plutarch, and the grammarians. Of Isocrates, for example, he repeats the story, as though he believed it, that Nicocles paid him twenty talents for one discourse. Brédif might have gone ten talents higher if his aim was to tell the biggest possible story, by referring to the case of Evagoras.

Disregard of scholarship is again apparent in the author's unquestioning citations from the "fourth" Philippic, as if there had never been a doubt of its authenticity. Can it be that M. Brédif is unacquainted with the studies of Dobree, Westermann, and Schaefer, not to speak of the suspicions entertained by the ancient rhetoricians? The most unsatisfactory part of the book is that which treats of the oratory of Demosthenes. In the chapters devoted to this topic we look in vain for anything like an analysis of the literary style of Demosthenes. Nothing is said about the structure of periods, selection of words, paucity of figures of speech, abundance of figures of thought, in a word, about the verbal and formal peculiarities of the composition of the orator. Where Brédif speaks of the plans of the orations of Demosthenes and the insertion of the documents, we notice again his ignorance of the critical studies of recent date. Otherwise he would hardly cite the oration against Timocrates as a fair instance of inconsistency in the structure of the plans of D.'s orations.

Brédif strangely misunderstands the relation of Aeschines and Demosthenes as accuser and accused when he says, p. 354: "Demosthenes reproached Aeschines for having entered against him the suit of Ctesiphon a long time after the events, although previous to that time 'he had never accused him, never prosecuted him.' Aeschines returned a direct contradiction, and recalled different circumstances in which he had not only accused Demosthenes, but had clearly convicted him (*φανερῶς ἐξηλέγχου*) of sacrilege, corruption and theft. Whom are we to believe? One of the

two is certainly an unpardonable falsifier." In this passage there is evidently confusion of a formal accusation or suit at law with a charge uttered in a speech against an opponent.

It is doubtful if the service rendered to the English student of Demosthenes by the translation of this work is sufficient to compensate for the labor. But M. Brédif deserved a better fate than to fall into the hands of such a translator as Mr. MacMahon; indeed, a worse fate could hardly be imagined. To say with Addison (in changed terms), "I have been *traduced* in English," is putting it mildly. The reader's first suspicion of the purity of the English is aroused by the following remarkable statement in the translator's preface: "That the work is free from errors and worthy of the admirable original, we can by no means vouchsafe." To vouch for anything whatever is extremely hazardous for a translator who says "priority" for superiority, "apology" for apologue, "obligation" for requirement, "false lights" for false windows, who can say "Philip sometimes founders," and is willing that his readers should understand, if they can, such statements as these: (p. 119), "But war costs dearly. It will cost more to recede before the expenses it requires"; (p. 191), "The first two, proofs of the acknowledgment of the people whom Athens had saved, were too honorable to the minister of Athens to frustrate his apology"; (p. 207), "Without speaking of the uniform developments which the uniformity of situations produced, the orators of the Pnyx or the logographers sometimes willingly bound themselves to socomes<sup>1</sup> [*des banalités*] which were not necessary, but decorous."

If by this time the suspicion dawns upon the reader that the translator knows possibly even less of French than of English, a moment's comparison with the original will fairly astound him. Mr. MacMahon translates ". . . aucun des Grecs ni en deçà ni au delà des Thermopyles n'aurait été atteint des maux presents" by "No Greek on this or the other side of Thermopylae could have been reached even with presents." "Démosthène, voluptueux au front sévère, semblait ne se déridier jamais," is rendered "Demosthenes seemed never to unbend his stern and imposing brow." Out of "Il importe de marquer avec netteté dans quel sens et dans quelle mesure Démosthène aime les développements généraux" our translator makes "It is unnecessary to mark clearly in what sense and in what measure Demosthenes favored general developments." But Mr. MacMahon challenges comparison even with the famous "New Guide of the conversation in Portuguese and English" by the following passage in the chapter on "Oratorical Contests": "Among the most desirable virtues the Greeks place the virtue of *antagonism* [*la vertu agonistique*], a composition of stature, velocity and strength . . . Antagonistic virtue even delighted the tribunals" (!) If there is anything beyond that for Boeotian ἀναισθησία it is furnished by the translator himself on p. 102: "Bdelycleon, an advocate of Labes, excuses a

<sup>1</sup> As 'socomes' is not every-day English, it may be as well to say that 'socome' is "a custom of tenants to grind corn at their lord's mill." Mr. MacMahon evidently got it out of Spiers and Surenne's Dictionary, where it stands as an equivalent of the feudal *banalité*. The figure which Mr. MacMahon has thus imported into Brédif is somewhat startling. Whatever *banalité* there may be in the original, there is assuredly none in the translation.—B. L. G.



thievish dog in these terms: He is a poor ignorant brute. [*Pardonne, il ne sait pas jouer de la lyre*]. Pardon *me* [says Mr. M.], he cannot play on the lyre. The remark is comic and profound." The translation, if not profound, is at least comic. Mr. M. tells us in his preface that he was induced to undertake his task by the noble incentive of a "love for the Greek language and literature." Who can doubt the genuineness of this motive after reading this passage? "Thus bold pleaders, in order to impose upon the tribunals of judges and readers, often to yield the floor to their adversary. 'Let him speak of my *water-drinking*. I consent to it.'" A love for Greek that can extract proof of the sobriety of Demosthenes from *δειξάτω ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ ὕδατι* (de Cor. § 139), borders upon the sublime.

M. L. D'Ooge.

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Zakonische Grammatik von Dr. MICH. DEFFNER. Erste Hälfte [Phonology]. Berlin: Weidman, 1881. Pp. 176.

Villoison in a note to his Prolegomena to the Iliad referred to the investigation which he had made into this most noteworthy of all modern Greek dialects, and said that he had prepared a grammar and dictionary of it. These were never published, and it is uncertain whether they are among the author's papers in the National Library at Paris: It would be interesting to have them, and thus be able to check the changes which have taken place in the language during the present century.

The first published systematic treatment of the dialect was by Thiersch, in a paper read before the Bavarian Academy of Sciences, in November, 1832, and published in 1835. His opportunities for studying the language had been comparatively meagre. His only visit to Tsaconia (see his Life, II 177, 271) seems to have been on a ten days' trip from Nauplia through Peloponnesus. This trip was made with a political errand, and when he was greatly disturbed by the political uncertainty occasioned by the lack of directions from the Bavarian government after the election of the new king, Otho. His work called the attention of scholars to the peculiarities of the language, but in itself was defective. He had no predecessors whose work might be suggestive even in their mistakes, and had no opportunity to verify the correctness of his information. He hardly touched upon phonology, and considered forms and words which are found elsewhere in Greece to be Tsaconian peculiarities.

In 1846, Oeconomus, a Tsaconian priest, published a grammar of the language with a specimen of the dialect and a dialogue in 360 verses, with a vocabulary. This, as might be expected, is more valuable in its vocabulary than in its treatment of the sounds and forms. Of this book a second edition has been published.

In 1866, Deville, a student of the French School at Athens, published a thesis on the Tsaconian dialect in three parts. The first gives a vocabulary of 374 words with a discussion of their etymology. The second part is devoted to phonology, and the third to inflection. An Appendix gives four pages of specimens of the language. He calls the work of his predecessors

"indefinite, incomplete, and self-contradictory." Deville's work was reviewed by Kind in the *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen* for 1868, and by Comparetti in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, Vol. XVIII. It is to be regretted that Comparetti's article was not accessible to Deffner, although they agree in correcting some of Deville's errors. Comparetti makes an interesting suggestion with regard to the palatal-sibilant *sh* sound, which is so common in the Tsaconian dialect. He thinks it quite possible that it may have existed in some of the dialects of ancient Greece. He is not satisfied with Christ's disposal of the Pindaric fragment on *San*.

Based upon the works previously mentioned is the treatise of Moriz Schmidt in Curtius's *Studien*, Vol. III, which was characterized by Professor Sophocles as a *παλαιονομία*. It rested on a weak foundation.

Dr. Deffner approaches the work far better equipped than any of his predecessors. For thirteen years he has given himself heartily to the study of the modern Greek language, after a thorough course of linguistic training in Germany, under Curtius and Christ. He was thrown much with modern Greek *commilitones* in the Universities of Munich and Leipzig, and the dissertation with which he took his degree at Leipzig in 1871 was on the sounds of the modern Greek language. It was published (*Neograeca*) in Curtius's *Studien*, Vol. IV. For more than ten years he has been connected with the University of Athens. In 1874, assisted by a grant from the Berlin Academy of Sciences, he visited Peloponnesus to study the dialects, and made the important discovery that the oft-repeated statement concerning the number and variety of the dialects of Peloponnesus is false. He found no dialect distinguished from the universally spoken language but this Tsaconian. Concerning this he made two reports to the Berlin Academy which appeared in their *Bericht* for 1875, and which for the most part have been incorporated into this grammar. To Deffner's work on this dialect in his *Archiv* this Journal has already referred (Vol. II, No. 7, pp. 366-7).

Not only has Deffner had the immense advantage of a scientific and idiomatic knowledge of the Greek language, modern and ancient, and acquaintance with the best linguistic methods, but he has enjoyed the benefit of the previous works on this dialect, which gave him suggestions and supplied him with material which he could verify or correct during his visit of four months to the district. This will undoubtedly bear good fruit in the latter part of the grammar. At present, we have only the phonology to compare with the other works on the subject.

It must be recognized as an advance that he has adopted a linguistic or phonetic alphabet. The language has thirty simple consonant sounds, being surpassed in the number of native consonant sounds in actual use only by the Hindustani and Sanscrit. To avoid a barbarous appearance, Deville, as well as Thiersch, contented himself with the Greek alphabet. The sixteen consonant-signs were overworked, and this inexactness was the source of errors in forming rules; to say nothing of the inconvenience of notes added to remind us that  $\tau\rho$ =tch,  $\rho a$ =cha,  $\sigma ka$ =cha,  $\kappa\iota\upsilon\upsilon$ =στυ, which are found constantly in Deville.

Deffner uses in his grammar the alphabet which he prepared for his *Neogratia* from the works of Lepsius, Brücke, and Rumpelt, with the addition of some diacritical marks. This is based upon the Roman alphabet with  $\gamma$ ,  $\chi$ ,  $\delta$  (*th*-sonant as in *this*),  $\vartheta$  (*th* surd as in *think*). *Th* and *ch* he reserves for the true aspirated consonants (as in *hot-house*, &c.), which had been neglected by former observers. It would, perhaps, have been as well if he had taken the Greek alphabet as his basis.

Deffner compares the motley character of the language at present to the dress of the women of the country. The old women wear a long home-made garment of black wool; the women of middle life wear a dress of the same style, but of red color, while the young ladies have their dresses made at Athens by a Parisian dressmaker. So in the language we find words and forms of a high antiquity side by side with others which have been introduced recently, through the schools and intercourse with the other Greeks. The language is constantly changing. Thus most substantives have now but one case for the singular and one for the plural. The old people preserve the genitive case of some words, and occasionally an accusative. We wonder that anything has been preserved from the classical period until we learn or recall the topography of the district. These mountain villages on the east coast of Peloponnesus between Nauplia and Cape Malea are so shut in by the sea and the hills that they have rarely suffered from invasion, and served as a place of refuge for the Greeks who were driven from more accessible regions by the Slavs and Albanians.

Many Laconian glosses of Hesychius illustrate or are illustrated by this dialect. Other glosses where the dialect is not named are shown to be Laconian. Our knowledge of the Doric dialect of Sparta receives a valuable supplement. The illustrations are given carefully by Deffner, who notes, as had his predecessors, the difference of the dialects of the towns Lenidhi (*Λεωνίδιον*) and Castanitsa (so named from the chestnut woods near it).

Touching the accent, it is interesting to note that as the Dorians said *ἀνθρώπος* but *ἀνθρώποι*, so the Tsaconians say *ἀνθροπο*, *ανθρόπι*, and *ἀμβελε* (*ἀμπελος*), *ambéle*.

The digamma is retained with the pronunciation of *v* in a few words. Initial *F* is retained with this pronunciation only in *vanne* (*Φαρνιον*). *α* is retained in stem and endings (but a critic in the *Ἀθήναιον* thinks Deffner goes too far in this). *ν* is retained in many words as *ἀνῆγυρα*, *ἀγκυρα*, *ἀρυῆγα*, *λάρυγξ*. *η* preserves its primitive sound in *σιδερ*, *σιδηρος*, &c. In nine words initial *s* corresponds to the ancient Greek  $\vartheta$ , as *séri* *θέρος* ('harvest-time,' not 'summer'). This reminds us at once of the Laconian peculiarity as we learn it from inscriptions, Alcman, Aristophanes, etc. But for Laconian *σάλασσα*, the Tsaconian has *θάσσα*; for *σιός* or *σιόρ*, it has *θεό*. Deffner's explanation or theory is that in Greece generally at the time of Aristophanes,  $\vartheta$  was a true aspirate, but the Lacedaemonians had begun to pronounce it like our *th* in *think*. Since there was no characteristic sign for this sound it was expressed approximately by  $\varsigma$ .

$\Sigma$  was dropped between two vowels; cf. *Μῶά·Μοῖσα*. It was also put out of the way by rhotacismus at the end of a word (and this is retained in

Tsaconian where the following word begins with a vowel), and by assimilation. This assimilation is such as Hesychius notices in his gloss ἀκκὸρ · ἀσκόρ · Δάκωνες. From the Tsaconian form we can often infer a Laconian assimilation which has not been recorded.

In his chapter on Vocalism, Deffner treats of the ι (ē) sound, and shows by calculation that this is not the most frequent vowel sound in the Tsaconian and Modern Greek (as spoken by the people, not the artificial imitation of the ancient language which has been adopted in the schools and by the higher classes of society); α and ε are more frequent.

The etymology of the name Τζάκωνες remains a puzzle. Oeconomus and Mullach urged its derivation from Καύκωνες. This has been generally rejected. Deville derives Τζάκωνια from τραχόνιν, which is found in an old chronicle in the sense of 'steep,' an adjective which would be applicable to the country. This is rejected by Kind, who brings forward four words in which, as he thinks, initial Τζ in modern Greek corresponds to λ in ancient Greek. But one of these, τζάρουκας · λάρυγξ has the form ἀρυῖγα in Tsaconian. Deffner, in the Berlin Academy Bericht, rejects Deville's etymology, since in Tsaconian Τζ cannot come from τρ, and proposes τ(οῖ)ς Λάκωνας (then the λ is dropped as often in Tsaconian), comparing Stamboul (ἴς τὴν πόλιν) and Stanchio (ἴς τὴν Χίον). Of this, perhaps wisely, he says nothing in his grammar.

Dr. Deffner's enthusiasm for his subject is manifest in every chapter. Many of his combinations and derivations are bold, and we are not ready to follow him everywhere, but in the main his method is scientific; his work of registering sounds seems accurate, as his care is manifest; and his results are valuable. We hope that his advertisement, that supplements and corrections will appear speedily in his *Archiv*, does not mean that the grammar is not to be completed soon.

He advertises also, as to be ready about May 1st, a book in the modern Greek language on Tsaconia, a description of the country and its history, and the life and customs of the people. The volume will be in quarto form, 350 pages, with more than 125 woodcuts. The subscription price is 20 drachmae, bound and post free; later the price is to be raised to 30 drachmae.

T. D. S.

P. Ovidii Nasonis Ibis. Ex novis codicibus edidit, scholia vetera, commentarium cum Prolegomenis, Appendice, Indice addidit R. ELLIS. Oxonii: E Typographeo Clarendoniano. MDCCCLXXXI.

Mr. Ellis, in his preface, gives an account of the accident which led to this edition of the Ibis. While exploring the Bodleian after the completion of his monumental edition of Catullus, he stumbled on a rare book, the *Repertorium Vocabulorum Exquisitorum*, composed in the year 1273, by Conrad de Mure, of Zurich, and printed in the XVth century by a certain Bertoldus, of Bâle. This book he found to contain an alphabetical list of names occurring in Greek and Roman myths, with the stories themselves,

and the passages in which the stories are told by Vergil, Lucan, Statius, and especially by Ovid. Besides the *Metamorphoses* and the *Epistles*, the *Ibis* is cited; and this rare find, which was equivalent to an old manuscript, led Mr. Ellis to study the *Ibis* more closely—a work more frequently alluded to than read. It belongs to the same mental shelf as the *Alexandra* of Lykophron, and few are the scholars who have seriously grappled with its difficulties. The search for better MSS. brought Mr. Ellis to the knowledge of two which border the XIIth century, a *Cantabrigiensis* (G), and a *Turonensis* (T); and not satisfied with these, although they were nearly sufficient for restoring the text, he added the *Phillippicus* 1796, and the *Parisinus* 7994.

Mr. Ellis, equipped for his difficult task by large and varied reading, and by an intimate acquaintance with the Roman elegiac poets, who, like their Alexandrian models, delight in all manner of learned allusions, and favored by the possession of better manuscripts and new scholia, has presented us in this volume with an edition of the *Ibis* which will be considered final, so far as editions are ever final. Certainly no one will dispute the claim which he makes at the close of his preface: *Si in Nuce laudatur Wilamowitzius, in Epicedio Huebnerus, in Halieuticis Birtius, in Epistula Sapphus Comparettus, possum mihi vel maiorem laudem adrogare, qui ad Ibin, opus non leve et in quo maxima ingenia elaborarint, philologos iterum revocaverim.*

Perhaps some American specialist may reveal himself to whom the *Ibis* is a familiar book. Meantime, a preliminary account may be of some interest to those who have never had time to puzzle over the poem itself. Many years ago my attention was called to it by a passage in Niebuhr, and I have occasionally made use of it as a test. It is by no means a pleasant test. Niebuhr recommends "the study of it to any scholar who wishes to ascertain whether he is thoroughly conversant with poetical mythology and ancient history," and as a cure for self-conceit it is sovereign.

Ovid was banished, it will be remembered, in 761 or 762 A. U. C., and in the fresh bitterness of his misfortune composed the *Ibis*—an elaborate malediction of some unfaithful friend, who had slandered him in public, and had disturbed the sacred grief of his wife. Who that traitor was does not appear. In the lazy way in which hypotheses are often accepted, the recreant friend is perhaps most commonly supposed to be Hyginus, the librarian and fabulist, just as many people associate Sir Philip Francis with Junius, though they have no reason for the faith that is in them. Mr. Ellis disposes of Hyginus. Hyginus was a Spaniard, not an Egyptian, and an Egyptian we must have; Hyginus was too old to have been a boy when Ovid was a boy; he was too dignified to have behaved in the unseemly manner that Ovid describes so drastically. We must not seek the villain in the decorous head-librarian; he is some orator or informer. There was no lack of lampoonists, rabid declaimers, loose tongues and loose principles in that age, and Mr. Ellis calls up a number of them and discusses them at length, but dismisses them all. Cassius Severus was too famous. Had the *Ibis* been aimed at him we should certainly have known it. Titus Labienus (with

his *summa egestas, summa infamia, summum odium*) is dropped, one hardly sees why, in favor of Thrasyllus, the famous astrologer-in-ordinary of Tiberius; but Thrasyllus is in turn forsaken. We are richer by some sketches of noteworthy figures of the Augustan time, but no nearer a conclusion; and Mr. Ellis carries his suspense of judgment so far as to admit the possibility that Ovid himself did not know—which seems to me the only untenable hypothesis, unless indeed Ovid was not the author of the poem. Ovid's crime or fault or blunder, or whatever it may be called, his seeing too much—which, by the way, is a very common philological sin—passes next under discussion in the *Prolegomena*, and Mr. Ellis thinks that while the light-hearted poet was violating the sanctity of the temple of Isis, he became an eye-witness of some of Julia's escapades, and thus made himself guilty of a double offence. Mr. Ellis points out many allusions to the worship and mysteries of Isis in the *Tristia* and the *Epistulae ex Ponto*. Ovid is a second Osiris. Ovid is a shipwrecked mariner, and of such Isis is the tutelar goddess.

The notion of the Ibis, the movement, so to speak, Ovid borrowed from Kallimachos. Kallimachos was in high favor with the Romans, and his name occurs in other elegiac poems. When they are tired of calling him 'Callimachus,' they call him 'Battiades,' which has a finer effect and a more resonant close. Kallimachos was a scholar rather than a genius. *Battiades toto semper cantabitur orbe, quamvis ingenio non valet arte valet.* But the Romans liked such half-poets, half-pedants—because they could put life into their imitations of them. It is much easier to galvanize Lytton's Richelieu than to conceive Shakespeare's Lear. But scholars and pedants are not without feeling. If their love is shallow and frosty, their hate is deep and hot, and Kallimachos was much incensed with his younger contemporary Apollonios, the author of the *Argonautica*. Kallimachos thought that the time for long poems had passed, and when Apollonios composed an elaborate epic, Kallimachos, 'that fribble, that heap of rubbish, that mind of wood,' as Apollonios is supposed to have called him—took fire and blazed out against the audacious violator of his Newdigate canon. Forced to withdraw, Apollonios took refuge in Rhodes, but the quarrel did not cease with his withdrawal, and Kallimachos wreaked his vengeance on him by composing the Ibis, in which he devoted his enemy to all the infernal gods, and called down on him all the tortures that he could rake up out of his extensive stock of mythological miseries—a pillory and a puzzle on each hand. This is the poem on which Ovid based his Ibis, which seems to be a much more elaborate work than the original was, and to have taken up into its elastic structure much material from other sources. It is a dismal catalogue of men and heroes who have been blinded, torn by wild horses, struck by lightning, betrayed by their wives, drowned in the sea, bitten by serpents, devoured by wild beasts, thrown into wells, crushed by falling houses, shut up in cages, wedged in trees. It is a mythological and historical catechism of bad endings. The opening of the poem is the only part in which the poet shows his real power as a poet, the rest is ingenuity of the clever Ovidian pattern, and perhaps the admirers of Ovid will not regret that

the Ovidian authorship is not by any means absolutely established. In a special chapter, Mr. Ellis has discussed with abundance of interesting detail the name which Kallimachos gave to his poem. The ibis, which is supposed to represent Apollonios, was fabled to be a bird of singularly unclean habits, a serpent-eater and a scavenger of unparalleled voracity, endowed with all manner of unlovely peculiarities in its internal structure, a long-lived creature, whose hateful existence was protected by law. It was death to kill an ibis, for the bird was sacred to Hermes (Theuth) and to the moon (Hah). In modern books the ibis appears in a more amiable light, but the ibis of antiquity had to suffer for being a townsman of the enemy of Kallimachos, for Naukratis was the special haunt of the ibis as it was the home of Apollonios. The view which Kallimachos gave of the ibis was the Greek and not the Egyptian view, and Mr. Ellis sees in this a special malice of the poet, who wished to intimate that his adversary was a Greek and not a barbarian. But I cannot yield any further to the temptation of giving a résumé of Mr. Ellis's interesting *Prolegomena*, in which he has discussed the sources of Ovid, the distribution of the fables, the special allusions to Egypt, the influence of the poem, the manuscripts and the scholia. In his preface he has done ample justice to the marvelous erudition of Salvaing (Salvagnius), who when a mere youth prepared an edition of the Ibis which is a wonder of industry, acumen and learning. *Annum agens aetatis vicesimum* seems almost incredible, but the astonishment with which the revelation of Charles Graux's age has filled most of us, may teach older men to be less critical of similar claims. Those who know Mr. Ellis's manner of work will not be surprised at what may be called, without disrespect, an occasional perversity in his notes, critical and exegetical, perversity due to his restless desire of exploring every side of a subject and to a certain superfluous subtlety. So he makes *facis* in *sicut facis* v. 357 a verb, and has an evident leaning to Neubauer's incredible *mabor* (מעבר) v. 418. But in view of the enormous difficulty of the task accomplished, faultfinding in small details would be invidious, and is at any rate excluded from these pages for want of space. Scholars will all thank Mr. Ellis for bringing out the Ibis from its hiding-place; and his commentary, learned and ingenious, will add to the great reputation which he has gained by his memorable edition of Catullus, which in this country at least has been allowed to take its place among the standards without any special recognition of its great merits—such is the supineness of American criticism.

B. L. G.

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**THE ODYSSEY OF HOMER.** Edited with marginal references, various readings, notes, appendices, and three facsimile plates. By HENRY HAYMAN, D. D., Rector of Aldingham, Lancashire, &c. Vol. III. Books XIII to XXIV. London: David Nutt, 270 Strand. 1882.

We have now for the first time a complete edition of the Odyssey with English notes, which makes reasonable pretension to take rank among works of modern scholarship. Dr. Hayman's first volume appeared in 1866, the second

in 1873, and here is the third and last. It is much to his credit that he has had the pluck to go on with this laborious task after the unfortunate quarrel which resulted in his dismissal in 1874 from the head-mastership of Rugby. The book is plainly designed for the use of advanced scholars, aiming to establish a text, and to serve as a storehouse of learning and opinion on all points connected with the poem. The labor and patience shown in the work done are worthy of the highest praise in themselves. We are driven to borrow the old word *χαλκέντερος* (which we once heard a Greek in Athens apply to George Grote) to express our admiration of the sturdy stomach for work to which this book bears testimony. Still it labors somewhat under the mass of loose learning in it. The page is overcrowded, so that one cannot use it with comfort for rapid reading. It carries first the text, in which the *ἀπαξ εἰρημένα* are spaced, then a close column of marginal references, then a horizontal line or two of digammated words, then several more such lines occupied with critical notes, and finally two columns of explanatory notes. Reference to the margin is made by small English letters, which still further disturb one's comfort in reading the Greek. In this respect it compares unfavorably with Merry's edition, which when completed will be its natural rival.

The principal value of Hayman's edition we find in these marginal references. So far as we remember, this plan has not before been adopted in any edition of a classical author, although familiar in what are or used to be called reference Bibles. It offends the eye, we must say, on the page of Homer, but it will be of great use to a close student of the language of the poems. The references are confined, so far as we have observed, to the recurrence of similar phrases in one or the other of the two Homeric poems. This seems to be a wise restriction, for the rest of Greek literature is apparently so much later and so much influenced by these poems that illustrations drawn from it are comparatively useless. Of course, everything depends on the judgment with which such references are selected, and in this respect Dr. Hayman appears to have done pretty well. In comparison with this part of the apparatus, the exegetical notes are of no great value. We notice a number of purely grammatical notes, which ought to be needless for the mature scholars for whom as a whole the book seems designed. If we should try to put into one word the impression we get of the character of this edition, we should describe it as old-fashioned. This term is not necessarily one of disparagement. Even in philology, some things are better in so far as they are old-fashioned, and so every one is at liberty to interpret it here as suits himself. It is old-fashioned in its treatment of the text and of matters connected with the structure of the poem, in its interpretation of myths, in its discussions of moral problems and questions of locality, &c., in its suggestions as to etymology. Without stopping to illustrate all these points, we will explain our meaning as to the first. Dr. Hayman seems to find hardly any difficulty in regard to the unity of the poem, but he is ready at all times with the suggestion that a line or two which conflicts with some other "may easily be spared." This method may be quite as legitimate as that which considers it necessary to give a reason for assuming an interpolation besides the desire to get rid of a line, but it is distinctly less in the present fashion. In other cases he simply ignores the difficulties that have been pointed out. Thus, at the beginning of the fifteenth book there is no



notice taken of the awkward joining of the Telemachos story with the Odysseus story or of the resulting hitch in the order of days.

There remains an important part of the work not yet mentioned, the prefaces and appendices, which take up about 600 pages of the 1700 in the three volumes. The preface to the first volume is occupied with a partial discussion of the Homeric question, and an account of the Homeric scholars in ancient times. This last is full of minute detail and will be found useful for reference. The same volume contains a series of appendices on the language, geography, and characters of the poem, which are of unequal value, the essays on the characters being the most interesting. The appearance of Paley's *Iliad* shortly before the publication of Hayman's second volume gave a new turn to the latter's meditations, and he has devoted the prefaces of his second and third volumes to a discussion of Paley's theory of the date of the Homeric poems and of the literary use of the art of writing. Very likely some persons may think that theory hardly worthy of so extensive discussion, but as a pestilent heresy backed by a well-known name, it seems to us to deserve a thorough refutation. And after what Dr. Hayman has said upon it, to say nothing of other opponents, it has hardly a leg left to stand on. But we do object to having this long discussion incorporated into an edition of Homer. Those who want the Homer ought not to be compelled to pay for 300 additional pages of matter on a subject which has very little to do with the explanation of the author, and on the other hand the few who desire these essays will think it hard to have to buy the three volumes on Homer for the sake of the two prefaces. In another respect, too, Dr. Hayman has done unwisely in following Mr. Paley's lead (in his *Hesiod*), and that is in printing at the foot of every page of text a list of the digammated words in that page. A glance at Seber's *Index* under the forms of *ἔπος*, *εἶπον*, *εἶδον*, &c., will show what a great waste of ink and space in needless repetitions this practice involves. If the existence of the digamma had been discovered only twenty years ago, as one would imagine from the way in which some English scholars treat it, this might be necessary, but surely it is folly now.

L. R. P.

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ANECDOTA OXONIENSIA: Texts, Documents, and Extracts chiefly from manuscripts in the Bodleian and other Oxford Libraries. Classical Series. Vol. I, Part I. Contents: The English manuscripts of the Nicomachean Ethics described by J. A. STEWART, A. M. 91 pp. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press. 1882.

The Oxford authorities have begun to publish materials, chiefly inedited, taken direct from MSS., those preserved in the Bodleian and other Oxford Libraries to have the first claim to publication. The first part of Vol. I of the Classical Series contains Mr. Stewart's collations of six English MSS. of the Ethics, so much read and studied in England. Of three of these MSS. collations have not been hitherto published. The other three cannot be said to have been collated according to the exacting standard of modern manuscript-readers.

The three not before collated are MSS. in the British Museum (B<sup>1</sup> saec. xv, B<sup>2</sup> saec. xv, B<sup>3</sup> saec. xvi). A is a manuscript in the Cambridge University Library (No. 1879, I i, v. 44), saec. xiii, the Eliensis of Wilkinson, Zell and Michelet, O<sup>3</sup> of Susemihl. C is a MS. in the Library of Corpus Christi College, saec. xv, the CCC of Wilkinson, Zell and Michelet, O<sup>1</sup> of Susemihl. D is in the Library of New College, Oxford, saec. xv, the NC of Wilkinson, Zell and Michelet, O<sup>2</sup> of Susemihl.

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TRANSACTIONS OF THE CAMBRIDGE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY. Vol. I, from 1872 to 1880. Edited by J. P. POSTGATE, M. A., Honorary Secretary. London: Trübner & Co. 1881.

The Cambridge Philological Society has done well to publish its papers in a collected form. The difficulty of getting at scattered monographs is one of the greatest of philological troubles. Of course there is much in these papers that is merely tentative, much that is mere suggestion, but there are several elaborate and valuable articles, and the newly introduced feature of reviewing the literature of various classical authors during the current year will be peculiarly acceptable to English scholars. Such reviews are to be found in various German periodicals; as notably in the *Philologus*; and Bursian's *Jahresbericht* is especially devoted to this function, but the latter repertory comes out in so extraordinary a fashion—each part containing the *disiecta membra* of various volumes skewered together—that it is necessary to wait a long time before any one volume can be made available. It is much to be desired that this feature of the Transactions should be made prominent and increasingly useful.

In another part of this Journal the reader will find a list of the articles published in the Transactions for 1879-1880. An index to the whole volume is much to be wished, but hardly to be expected in the circumstances.

Professor Postgate has introduced the volume by a vindication of the *raison d'être* of the society, and has emphasized its *maieutic* function, the interchange of help, the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the literature of the various subjects under consideration, and the consequent saving of time otherwise wasted in fruitless and *rem actam agere* researches, the collection of lexicographical material, the discussion of those educational problems that grow out of philological studies, and the initiation of needed reforms. To this excellent presentation of the functions of a Philological Society I would add the testimony of my own experience. The institution of a Philological Association in connection with the Johns Hopkins University has been fruitful of good in nearly all the directions indicated by Professor Postgate. It has brought together workers from different parts of the same field, it has stimulated production, it has promoted mutual good feeling and mutual respect. The interest of our monthly meetings is not abated, and our experience is not of yesterday—for we shall soon reach our fortieth session—and I am confident that by the institution of similar associations in every centre of philological study in America, the development of the department would be accelerated beyond

the dreams of the most sanguine. But the society must be philological; it must deal with truly philological themes, and not lose itself in vague generalities, and it must be an organic part of the university or the college work. In communities where there is already a large philological element this latter feature may not be essential, but it seems to be clear that if a certain responsibility were not felt by each philologist here to his department as well as to the members of the association, there would not be the same activity or the same persistency. The example of the Cambridge Philological Society will serve to encourage and stimulate us to still more earnest efforts, even if we cannot hope to show evidence of studies so rich and so varied.

B. L. C.

Elis Saga ok Rosamundu. Mit Einleitung, deutscher Uebersetzung und Anmerkungen zum ersten Mal herausgegeben von EUGEN KÖLBING. Heilbronn (Henninger), 1881. 8°. Pp. XLI+217.

Tales of the Crusades and knight-errantry form a part of mediaeval romantic literature, the cultivation of which culminated at the beginning of the 12th century. Original to France, they soon spread to every part of Europe; into Norway, under the title of Riddara Sögur, they were introduced with the middle of the 13th century, and spread thence to Iceland, where during the 14th and 15th centuries most of the Scandinavian versions were written. The Riddara Sögur are more or less free prose translations and paraphrases from Latin, French, Anglo-Norman and German originals either in prose or verse; they are, however, principally from French and Anglo-Norman poems whose originals are in many cases lost. The Elis Saga, as the author states in his preface, is one of the most important, as its Old French versified original is still extant; it is the only one, with the exception of the Strengleikar (Lais)—Munch & Unger, Christiania, 1850—whose Old Norwegian version exists and the name of its translator is known. Prof. Kölbings book contains an introduction with MS. and text exegesis, the text with variants followed by a translation and notes, and indexes of the names of persons, places and peoples. The Elis Saga consists of two separate parts—the Elis Saga proper (pp. 1-116), which goes back to an Old French original, and a Continuation (pp. 116-139). The author of the first part is, as the MS. itself states, "the Abbot Robert," who made the translation for the Norwegian king Hakon Hakonson (1217-63). The second part is apparently the later original work of an unknown Icelander, a view shared by Klockhoff and Edzardi, though Raynaud thinks the same Abbot Robert to have been its author. The saga is contained in nine different parchment MSS., in but one of them, however, entire. The oldest and best of them, called by the author *A*, is the Cod. Delagard. 4-7 fol. of the University Library at Upsala, written in Norway in the middle of the 13th century; *B* is Cod. Holm. 6, 4°; *C* Cod. A. M. 533, 4°; *D* is Cod. Holm. 7 fol. from the second half of the 15th century, and is the only MS. which has the saga entire; *E F H I J* are fragments. The relationship of the MS. is as follows: *A* is assumed—certainly on rather insufficient grounds—to be but a transcript from an older MS.; *C B* form a group by themselves, and are from a common Icelandic original; *D* is a paraphrase by an Icelander of



mentioned were numerous, a fact on which the editor doubtless congratulated himself, since it proves, on the well-known principle, the substantial value of his work. One of these, that of the regius professor of Greek in the University of Cambridge, summed up finally in his *Studia Sophoclea*, Part I, is phenomenal among English reviews on account of its ferocity, and reminds one of the lamented Krüger. Dr. Kennedy's implacable and magisterial manner tempts Professor Campbell, who, with a Scotchman's power of resistance, refuses to be convinced, somewhere to remark with Socratic irony, ὦ γενναῖε, πρᾶττερόν με προδίδασκε, ἵνα μὴ ἀποφοιτήσω ἀπὸ σοῦ.

The complete work has magnitude. It covers over 1200 octavo pages, and includes an introductory essay on the language of Sophocles of more than 100 pages, a full list of the MSS., with an examination of the question how the chief MS. stands related to the rest, introductions to the seven plays and to the fragments, a revision of the text, and continuous interpretation of this text in notes put where they always should be put, on the lower half of the same page.

This volume appears only a little later than Professor Paley's edition of the same four plays in the *Bibliotheca Classica*. Thus two complete editions of Sophocles have appeared in England since the first publishing of the last complete edition in Germany. Such literary activity is creditable to English scholarship; and one's satisfaction is increased by the rumor of another complete edition of the poet by Professor Jebb, to be published soon by the Cambridge University Press.

It is a relief to conservative scholars to know that both Professor Campbell and Professor Paley have refused to follow the principles laid down by C. G. Cobet, whose brilliant work in the field of conjectural criticism compels our admiration, though it fails to win our assent to his sweeping condemnation of existing Greek MSS.; and that in establishing their text of Sophocles they have not fallen into the dark errors of a school that will tolerate no deviation from its preconceived notions of Greek grammar, but ruthlessly squares the author in hand to its own ideas of what he should have written. The outcome of this principle is seen at its worst in the vagaries of Mr. Blaydes, the editor of the first volume on Sophocles in the *Bibliotheca Classica*, who to his discredit may fairly be said to have rewritten his author, "dealing with him as 'an accomplished master would treat the iambic exercises of an advanced pupil.'" Professor Campbell, on the contrary, has adopted but few conjectures into the text of the plays,—twenty-one, by count, in the *Ajax*, two-thirds of which are in lyrical passages,—and these with few, if any, exceptions belong to Mr. Paley's category of corrections, "self-evidently either right or necessary," and have behind them the authority of great names. His critical apparatus is excellent, open to the apprehension of even an "adolescens," and sure to induce in him habits of proper respect for the authority of the MSS. There is no better edition than this with which to begin to study the text of Sophocles. The editor gives, perhaps, too much weight to the inferior MSS. There are occasional places where I think he would have done better to follow L. In *Phil.* 493, 494,<sup>2</sup> he is undoubtedly

<sup>1</sup> In the hands of such an editor,—οὐδαμῶς τιμαῖς \*Σοφοκλῆς ἐμφανής\* ἔρρει δὲ τὰ θεῖα.

<sup>2</sup> He reads,—

πατρὶ μ' ὡς δείξης φίλῳ,  
ὅν δὲ παλαί, ἂν ἐξότου δέδοικα ἐγὼ  
μή μοι βεβήκη.

right in reading *παλαί' ἄν*, and should have followed it up with *βεβήκοι*, completely parting company with the editors and adopting the reading of L. His text as it stands can hardly be interpreted. The supposition that *εἴη* is to be supplied is untenable, and in connecting the phrase *παλαί' ἄν ἐξέστου* with the last verb in the sentence he has himself supplied the key. If the particle *ἄν* is read, it belongs to *βεβήκοι*. The passage means,—“I fear that he would prove to be<sup>1</sup> long since gone.” Trach. 631 furnishes an exact parallel in the use of the mood to *δέδοικα μὴ βεβήκοι ἄν*.

It would be surprising if in a work of such magnitude as this the critic did not find what he regarded errors of commission and omission for which to bring the editor to book. It may not, for example—to continue with the Philoctetes—be ungracious to doubt whether Professor Campbell's note on 567<sup>2</sup> will gain credence. The passage when put side by side with vv. 253, 415, Elec. 1341, Trach. 289, can have but one interpretation. To supply *ἐστίν* here would be unusually harsh, and the order is adequately accounted for by the antithesis between *δρώμενα* and *μέλλοντα*. In none of these passages has the editor explained, or even noted, the subtle force of *ὥς*. He has also omitted any explanation of the rare aorists optative in 281, 282; and in the note on 961, the reference on *πρὶν μάθοιμι* (the mood does need explanation) to the note on 325 is not wholly satisfactory, since there is no note on 325.

Is it clear, further, in Ajax 1083 that *πεσεῖν* “denotes what is certain in the future,” and that it is not a gnomic aorist? Aesch. Prom. 667—cited as a parallel—since it involves a special reference to a particular person, is logically a very different case from this where the speaker gives utterance to a universal truth.<sup>3</sup> Professor Campbell refuses to follow Elmsley's lead in making Trach. 979 interrogative. If he had not, such a passage as Phil. 381 would have presented insuperable difficulties. It would have been better, perhaps, if he had gone further and made such passages as Ajax 75 and Trach. 1183 also affirmative. Whether he would explain these as Professor Jebb does (on Ajax 75), or take the more logical view of making the second question independent of the *οὐ*, is uncertain. He has nothing to say on *οὐ μή* either in his notes on these places or in his introductory essay.

Professor Campbell occupies a singular position in regard to Greek metres. He mentions Rossbach and Westphal, and gives a hint of Heinrich Schmidt; he has partially and with some hesitation, he says, made use of terminology which has of late become current in Germany; but he does not wish to be understood as committing himself to any positive judgment. When, therefore, he speaks of syncope or an irrational syllable, he does not mean it. He adopts into his work the metrical sign of the triseme long syllable, but if you disbelieve in the existence or importance of such metrical phenomena you may pass it by; as for himself, according to his own statement, he is making up his mind. I do not wish to jest about a serious matter—for Professor Campbell has lost an excellent opportunity to enlighten a great many persons on an important subject—but surely all this is surprising.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Thuc. i. 9, *αὐταὶ δὲ οὐκ ἂν πολλὰ εἴσαν*. The conjecture *βέβηκε* is wholly unnecessary.

<sup>2</sup> *ὥς ταῦτ' ἐπίστα δρώμεν', οὐ μέλλοντ' ἐτι*.

<sup>3</sup> Plat. Rep. 490 C is a parallel passage: *ἡγουμένης δὲ ἀληθείας οὐκ ἂν ποτε, οἷμαι, φαίμεν αὐτὴ χορὸν κακῶν ἀκολουθήσαι*.

Since Roszbach's book on Griechische Rhythmik appeared in 1854 the whole question of Greek rhythms has had a restatement; the literature of the subject is now formidable and deterrent. But the editor of so important a work as this may well be called upon to declare his opinion. Does he still believe in the existence of the twenty-eight feet recorded in that venerable book, the *Epitome Doctrinae Metricae*, or has he adopted the doctrine of syncope? Does he agree that the choruses of Sophocles were written to be sung, and agreeing, does he believe that the Greeks, differently from all the moderns, were able to shift within the compass of a few bars from triple to common, from three-eighths to five-eighths, time, and back again, and still have a melody? Professor Campbell in the division of the lines has refused to follow "recent innovations," and has nothing to say of the eurhythmical relations of the parts of the strophes to one another. Was Theodor Bergk, therefore, wrong when he said to Roszbach in 1847, "dass eine jede griechische Strophe ein Kunstwerk im vollen Sinne des Wortes sei, wo Alles auf architectonischer Gliederung beruhe und wo es nicht bloss auf den einzelnen Vers ankomme, sondern vor Allem darauf, wie der Vers zur Totalität der rhythmischen Composition passt"?

J. W. W.

## REPORTS.

ANGLIA. Herausgegeben von R. P. WÜLCKER und M. TRAUTMANN. IV Band, 2, 3 u. 4 Hefte. Halle, 1881.

II.—According to the new arrangement, Nos. 1 and 3 of the Anglia will contain essays and be edited by Prof. Wülcker, Leipzig; Nos. 2 and 4, book reviews, edited by Prof. Trautmann, Bonn. No. 2 opens with a full bibliography of books and essays in English philology which appeared in the years 1877, '78, '79.

Miss L. T. Smith presents a brief, but appreciative, notice of Prof. Dowden's Southey in the English Men of Letters series.

Wülcker follows with a review of Brother Azarias's Development of English Literature: Old English Period. He examines each chapter separately, and finds much to object to. His judgment of it as a whole is that there is little in it to praise. He considers it "vollständig veraltet," and charges that the latest German works on the subjects of which it treats have been completely neglected. A work on Anglo-Saxon literature cannot afford to neglect ten Brink's Geschichte der Englischen Literatur, I.

F. Kluge notices Zupitza's edition of Aelfric's Grammatik und Glossar, Erste abtheilung, text und varianten; and the second edition of his Alt- und Mittelenglisches Uebungsbuch. He praises both, but takes exception to the quantity of certain words as marked by Zupitza, and thinks that he has not always carried out his own principles consistently.

U. Zernial gives a very favorable review of Körner's Einleitung in das Studium des Angelsächsischen, II teil: Text, übersetzungen, glossar—notwithstanding the philological quarrel to which it has given occasion between Zupitza and Körner. After noticing at some length the extracts, translation, notes and glossary, he thinks that it fulfils its object well, but that the old principle of *ne quid nimis* has not been sufficiently regarded in the notes. He objects to some of the explanations, and gives his own views on these points, but on the whole recommends the book very cheerfully, as indeed it deserves, though I should think it would have been better, in a book intended for students, to dispense with the translation, as the notes and glossary furnish all requisite assistance in the elucidation of the text.

G. Tanger contributes the longest review on The First Quarto Edition of Hamlet, 1603: Two Harness Prize Essays, 1880. I. by C. H. Herford, B. A., and II. by W. H. Widgery, B. A. Tanger regrets that the results of the investigation of the Hamlet-question are as contradictory as ever. In his own studies (Part I published in Anglia IV 211, reported in this Journal, II 386; Parts II and III, in the Transactions of the New Shakspeare Society, June, 1881) he reached the conclusion that Q<sub>1</sub> is very probably printed from the poet's MS., the Folio from the actors' rolls, and Q<sub>2</sub> is pla-



giarized, whereas these two essays agree in regarding  $Q_1$  as a first sketch by Shakspeare based on an original Hamlet (by Kyd, according to Widgery), and  $Q_2$  as a later revision. I cannot follow the reviewer in his lengthy examination of the Essays, but must refer Shakspeare students to the article itself. He does not think that any new difficulties in the way of his theory are presented by these investigations.

A. Schröder notices briefly A. Würzner's Essay on Chaucer's Lyrical Poems, and Dr. John Koch's translations, in the metre of the originals, of Selected Minor Poems of Chaucer. He praises both works, especially the latter, and characterizes the translations as "vortrefflich."

J. Koch supplies corrections to his Selected Minor Poems of Chaucer, and M. Trautmann notices Müller's Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Englischen Sprache, zweite Auflage, and Skeat's Etymological Dictionary of the English Language, Parts I, II and III. Each of these works has its advantages. Müller supplies the literature concerning the derivation of a word, and Skeat treats specially its historical relations. He gives the word *gnaw* as an example from each, and while both works admit of corrections in particulars, he thinks that is no reproach, as only gradually can an etymological dictionary become perfect. He supplies additions to the following words: *burr, catch, catcher, collop, deal, dusk, fag, fudge, lurk, mellow, painim, stark.*

M. Trautmann closes the number with Sievers's Grundzüge der Phonetik, a second edition of his Grundzüge der Lautphysiologie, in the heading, but the ten-page article says little about Sievers's work. It is devoted to an attack upon the vowel-system of Bell and Sweet, which Storm and Sievers follow, and an exposition of Trautmann's own system, with a defence of it vs. Bell's. I have not space here for even a summary of the objections to Bell's system, and of the arguments in favor of his own system which Trautmann presents, but phonetists must read the article. Trautmann should have supplied key-words, so that a layman might determine more readily what sounds some of his diacritics designate; but his system seems much simpler than Bell's, and has a natural basis, the notes of the musical scale. He insists strongly upon the fact that the positions of the mouth *and* the sound determine the vowels, and neither will alone suffice. He says: "Bell's vokalsystem ist ein system, aber ein so wanschaffnes, dass ich nicht begreife, wie es anhängler hat gewinnen können," and, as a consequence, "Der abschnitt, in welchem Sievers die vokale handelt, ist ohne allen wert." Trautmann thinks to justify his views in his forthcoming book, "Die Sprachlaute im Allgemeinen und die Laute des Französischen, Englischen und Deutschen im Besondern." Here we have a very decided opponent of the system of Bell and Sweet, which seemed to be carrying everything before it, so as to convert even Sievers. "It is a very pretty quarrel as it stands," and we can only await further developments.

III.—O. Collman begins the third number with an essay on Alexander Pope and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. He notices their correspondence, their quarrels, and Lord Hervey's attacks on Pope, and gives a more particular examination to the Letter to a Noble Lord, with the object, as it

seems, of refuting Macaulay's assertion that Pope "lied and equivocated," and Dr. Johnson's that "he was sometimes wanton in his attacks—and mean in his retreat." He thinks this letter shows that Pope did not retreat, but had the last word.

H. Breymann supplies some corrections to L. Proescholdt's Collation of Marlowe's Doctor Faustus, having himself examined carefully all the existing quartos, with a view to a new critical edition of the play.

W. Sattler continues his examples of the Use of Prepositions in Modern English with—XII, *free from, free of*; XIII, *by the help, with the help*; XIV, *with a vengeance*.

G. Schleich follows with Beitrage zum Mittelenglischen Roland. He had made this poem the subject of a Berlin doctor-dissertation, and Wissmann, in his recension of it, had combated Schleich's view that the poem belonged to the border between the southern and west-midland counties, assuming an eastern and northern origin for it. Schleich defends his view by comparing the Roland with the Ferumbras and with Trevisa in certain dialectic peculiarities. He had also assigned the copyist to the northeastern border of the midland, which view Herrtage, the editor of the poem, opposed, as also Schleich's implication as to the date of the poem. Schleich furnishes additional arguments for his opinion, and takes exception to Herrtage's explanation of the metre of the poem. The main body of the article is taken up with critical notes on the text of the Roland.

The pièce de résistance of this number is Th. Wissmann's Studien zu King Horn, but I cannot do more than transcribe the titles of the sections of his sixty-page article. Wissmann's views as to the relation of the different forms of the *Hornsage*, i. e. King Horn, Roman de Horn, and Horn Childe, as given in his Untersuchungen zu King Horn, have been criticized by Prof. Stimming in Englische Studien, I 357, so section I, Verhältniss der verschiedenen Fassungen, is devoted to substantiating these views; section II treats the *Erziehung des Helden*; III, *Der Ritterschlag*; IV, *Bewaffnung. Kampf*; V, *Rittersitte*; VI, *Lebensart, Behausung*; VII, *Die Liebe*; VIII, *Die Gefährten des Helden*; IX, *Wunderbares*; X, *Christen und Heiden*; XI, *Bettler und Spielleute*; XII, *Schlusswort*, in which Wissmann denies that we have here the original of the various similar sagas which were spread over northern and central Europe in the Middle Ages, but thinks that there was a kernel of genuine saga, how much it is hard to say, which was worked up by different minstrels according to circumstances. The manners and customs of the 12th, or at latest the first half of the 13th century, are delineated in this poem.

R. P. Wülcker has a brief article on Caedmon and Milton, in which he shows from Milton's History of England that Milton could not read Anglo-Saxon, in particular the poem on the battle of Brunanburh, even if by the help of Wheloc's Latin translation and Henry of Huntingdon he could understand the prose-text of the Chronicle. Possibly he might have been made acquainted with Caedmon and his works by Junius, but we have no

evidence of it, and he not even mentions what Beda says of Caedmon. Finally, if he had known Caedmon, he would have been guilty of a falsehood in saying that he will sing

"Things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme."

J. Zupitza contributes some critical notes from a collation of the three MSS. (E., J., T.) of the Poema Morale, being reminded of them by the appearance of H. Lewin's edition of the poem.

A. Napier, on Andreas 1182, suggests *caldorgeard*=*domus vitae, corpus*, for the *eadorgeard* of Grimm and Grein.

Prof. W. W. Skeat and A. Schröder, on the Etymology of 'Catch,' defend the derivation from Old French *cachier*, so given in Skeat's, Müller's and Mätzner's dictionaries, as against Trautmann, who assumed (ANGLIA, IV 2, 52) its derivation from a supposed A. S. \**ceccan* or \**cæcan*.

H. Varnhagen, in Kleine Bemerkungen, Nachträge, Besserungen, gives passages from Early English works illustrating the use of bells on riding-horses.

O. Lohmann supplies Nachträge zu Anglia III 1; and A. Schröder, to Anglia IV 1.

C. Deutschbein contributes an obituary notice of Edward Müller, best known as author of the Etymological Dictionary of the English Language already referred to above, who died on April 7, 1881.

A mutual explanation from Zupitza and Wülcker, consequent upon a remark of Kölbing's, closes this number. It seems that the rivalry between the Englische Studien and the Anglia is anything but generous, as the *odium philologicum* crops out occasionally.

IV.—R. P. Wülcker gives an interesting résumé of the translations of "Beowulf," in connection with Lumsden's recent translation, noticed in this JOURNAL, II 7, 355. He includes brief notices of Thorkelin's Latin, Grundtvig's and Schaldemose's Danish, Leo's (in part), Ettmüller's, Grein's, Simrock's, Heyne's, and von Wolzogen's German; Sandras's (in part) Latin, and Botkine's French; Kemble's, Thorpe's, and Arnold's prose, Conybeare's (in part), Wackerbarth's and Lumsden's metrical English translations. He mentions also Longfellow's translation of Canto III, about seventy lines, and Klipstein's announcement of an edition with version, which was never published, and says: "Eine vollständige Übertragung des Beowulf ist meines wissens in Amerika nicht erschienen," which is true, although it is said that the late Prof. S. H. Carpenter prepared such a translation, and the present writer has completed one which may possibly see the light. While Lumsden's translation has a number of manifest errors, Wülcker thinks it is not injured thereby, as it is not written for students of Anglo-Saxon, but for the public, and he considers it a good and readable, though free, translation. He gives short extracts from Ettmüller, Heyne, von Wolzogen—the last in order to criticize it—Botkine, Conybeare, Wackerbarth, and Lumsden. This summary shows plainly the interest of scholars in our Anglo-Saxon epic.

Wülcker states in respect to his edition of Grein's *Bibliothek der A. S. Poesie*, of which the first half of the first volume has appeared, that he will give the accents of *Waldere* and *Beowulf* at the close of the first volume, and of those pieces in that volume not taken from the *Exeter-book*; the accents of the *Exeter-book* will be given at the end of the second volume. An alphabetical list of the accented words in the *Beowulf MS.* is given in this article. I think it a misfortune that Wülcker should have departed from Grein's own practice in respect to the accents, as I fail to see that anything is gained thereby.

Wülcker gives next a report of Kölbing's *Englische Studien*, III band, reported in this *JOURNAL*, II 545. The editorial differences already referred to appear here also. Wülcker notices lastly O. Brenner's German translation of S. Bugge's *Studien über die entstehung der nordischen götter- und heldensagen*, I heft. Bugge's work has excited much interest, as it attributes a great deal of the *Edda*-mythology to the influence exerted on the Vikings by the Christian schools in England, where Judæo-Christian and Graeco-Roman elements were united. Wülcker eagerly awaits the appearance of the other two parts, so that a judgment of the work as a whole can be formed.

E. Elnenkel reviews very favorably H. Lewin's critical edition of the *Middle-English Poema Morale* from the six existing MSS. Apart from a few mistakes which he finds, he thinks the author has accomplished his object, and dismisses the book with his best wishes.

J. Koch contributes the principal review in this number on The latest publications of the Chaucer Society and the transmission of the *Minor Poems*—being Nos. LVIII, LIX, LX and LXI of series I, 1879-80. After some general remarks on the MSS., Koch takes up each of the twenty *Minor Poems* separately and compares the different texts with each other, giving in some cases a scheme of the genealogy of the MSS. In an appendix he classifies the MSS. according to the libraries where each is found, and gives the contents of each.

Miss L. T. Smith gives an interesting summary of the contents of Cassell's *Library of English Literature*, selected, edited, and arranged by Henry Morley, in five volumes, 1876-81. She also notices briefly E. Oswald's *Thomas Carlyle, Ein Lebensbild und Goldkörner aus seinen Werken*, and J. Darmesteter's *Macbeth*, edition classique. From her description this appears to be an excellent edition of the play, carefully annotated, and provided with a valuable introduction to the study of Shakspeare.

M. Trautmann closes this number with a very hurried notice of Storm's *Englische Philologie*, reviewed in this *JOURNAL*, II 484. He regrets that he cannot speak of it as fully as he intended and as it deserves. After some quotations from the introduction, he gives a very brief summary of the contents of each chapter, taking exception, as already mentioned, to Storm's advocacy of Bell's vowel-system, and closes his notice as follows: "Was dem buche fehlt ist ein hinlänglich ausgereifter plan und rechte ordnung

in der verteilung des stoffes: es ist oft ein allzu dünnes und zuweilen kaum zu erkennendes logisches fädchen, was die einzelnen abschnitte zusammenhält. Sieht man jedoch lediglich auf den inhalt, so kann man nicht leicht zu überschwenglich loben."

J. M. GARNETT.

HERMES. 1881.

No. I.

Th. Mommsen. Die Remuslegende (pp. 1-23). The story of Romulus and Remus as it appears in Livy was fully developed as early as 300 B. C., at which time the tradition was fixed by means of coins and works of art. The figure of Remus is of later origin and purely supplementary. Roman rites and religious ceremonies, as well as legendary topography, fail to exhibit distinct traces or mementoes of Remus.

The name Remus in all probability was merely a differentiation of Romulus. The story of the contention between the brothers seems to have arisen in Republican times, and to have been moulded after the type of the two consuls. The element of the *auspicium* in the quarrel is rather dissonant; one and the same point of observation was an essential requisite for auspices referring to the intended founding and locating of one and the same city. Besides, the auspices were never considered the proper means of deciding a question of precedence between colleagues.

The female divinity *Remurina* is probably a personification which arose from the *ager Remurinus*, a hill on the Tiber about four miles from the city. This *ager Remurinus* had no connection whatever with *Remus*. As this spot, however, was a little too far away to fit into the *auspicium* of Romulus, the position of Remus was localized opposite the *Palatinus*, viz. on the *Aventinus*. This version of the story, by the way, seems to have been invented as late as the Augustan period.

Discrepancies between the earlier and later versions in the remaining portion of the legend are glaring enough. According to one version, Remus was slain immediately after the *auspicia*; according to another, the brothers were for a time joint rulers, *c. g. Verg. Aen. I 293*:

—Remo cum fratre Quirinus

Iura dabunt.

Th. Mommsen. A second fragment of the *Lex Rubria* of the year 705 of Rome. These fragments were found on parts of a plate of bronze which fitted together, in 1880, near Este. Julius Caesar had granted Roman citizenship to the communities of Gallia Transpadana in 705 A. U. = 49 B. C. Consequently the jurisdiction of these new citizens had to be modified so as to conform to their new legal status. This was done by the *Lex Rubria*, of which the present fragment evidently is a part. The fourth table of this *Lex Rubria* was found many years ago at Veleia. Mommsen thinks there can be no reasonable doubt that the fragment before us must be referred to the same law.

L. Roscius Fabatus, who introduced the bill, seems to have acted in the interest or at the order of Caesar: the vote was taken only twenty days before Caesar's arrival in Rome.

Both form and subject-matter being of great interest, we subjoin the text :

[Quei post hanc legem rogatam in eorum quo oppido municipio colonia praefectura foro veico conciliabulo castello territoriove, quae in Gallia cisalpeina sunt eruntve ad I virum II virum praefectumve in iudicium fiducia aut pro socio aut] mandati aut tutelae, suo nomine quodve ipse earum rerum quid gessisse dicetur, add(u)ctetur, aut quod furti, quod ad hominem liberum liberamve pertinere dicatur, aut iniuriarum\* agatur: sei is, a quo petetur quomve quo agetur, d(e) e(a) r(e) in eo municipio colonia praefectura iudicio certare [volet] et si ea res (sestertium decem milium) minorisve erit, quo minus ibei d(e) e(a) r(e) iudex arbiterve addicatur detur, quove minus ibei d(e) e(a) r(e) iudicium ita feiat, utei de his rebus, quibus ex h(ac) l(ege) iudicia data erunt, iudicium fieri exerceri oportebit, ex h(ac) l(ege) n(ihilum) r(ogatur). Quoius rei in qu(o)que municipio colonia praefectura quouisque I vir(i) eiusve, qui ibei lege foedere pl(ebi)ve sc(ito) s(enatus)ve c(onsulto) institutove iure dicundo praefuit, ante legem seive illud pl(ebi) sc(itum) est, quod L. Roscius a. d. V eid. Mart. populum plebemve rogavit, quod privatum ambigetur, iuris dict(i)o iudicis arbitri recuperatorum datio addictio[e fuit] quantaque rei pecuniaeve fuit: eius rei pecun(iae)ve quo magis privato Romae revocatio sit qu[ove mi]nus quei ibei i(ure) d(icundo) p(raerit) d(e) e(a) r(e) ius dicat iudice[m arbitrumve det,] utei ante legem sive illud pl(ebi) sc(itum) est, [quod L. Roscius a. d.] V eidus Mart. populum plebe[mve rogavit, ab eo quei ibei i(ure) d(icundo) p(raerit) ius di]ci iu[dicem arbitrumve dari oportuit, ex h(ac) l(ege) n(ihilum) r(ogatur)].

F. Blass adds some supplementary notes to his discussion of the papyrus fragments recently published by him, *Hermes* XV, p. 366 sqq., which now are identified as being derived from Aristotle on the Constitution of Athens.

H. Jordan. *Quaestiones Orthographicae Latinae* IV-V. Jordan notes that *quotannis* is merely the shorthand of *quotquot annis*, as inscriptions prove. *Quot calendis* (= omnibus calendis) occurs in Plautus (*Stichus*, 60). There was probably no other cause to prevent the establishment of *quot mensibus* as a definite adverb than the phonetic consideration. But what of *quotidie*? The MSS. fluctuate between *cotidie* and *cotidie*, between *cotidianus* and *cotidianus*, whereas they never exhibit the form *quotidie*, *quotidianus*. How then were the latter (the original) forms of the word changed into those above? The metamorphosis occurred just as *cum* (conjunction) was developed from *quom*, and *cur* from *quor* (which J. derives from abl. *quod*). *Quotidie* probably was in vogue down to the times of Cicero, although it was archaic in Quintilian's day (*Inst. Ov.* I 7, 6). What is the etymology of *classis*? Curtius and Pott derive the word from *κλῆσις*, Doric *κλῆσις*. This derivation Jordan calls into question: he fails to see how the peculiar sense of the Roman *classis* could have been derived from *καλειν*. Nor does *calare* exhibit the etymology of *classis*. Jordan compares the gloss *κληρός* = *οἰός* (heap, crowd, swarm) in Hesychius, and so = squadron, agmen, clausum, globus.

Carl Robert, of Berlin, presents an archaeological communication: *Der Streit der Goetter um Athen*. The author of this paper discusses the subject of a vase-painting now at St. Petersburg, and first published there by Stephani, in 1872. His view of the famous contest between Athena on the one side and

Poseidon on the other differs materially from that of the first editor as well as from that of Petersen and Brunn. Poseidon is making a motion with his trident as if to destroy the sacred olive on the Acropolis, while the sacred serpent wound around the tree poises her head against the assailant; Dionysus is hastening up to ward off the invader, and Athena is getting ready to thrust her lance against her rival. The bearded man seated near by is Cecrops; the nymph present is Pandrosos, the *genius loci*, and the small temple is the Erechtheion. The salt-spring was left as a memento of the struggle on the part of Poseidon, rather than as a gift useful to the community of Athens, and such also is the view to be taken of the olive of Athena. The people of Athens chose their tutelary deity not from utilitarian considerations, but as a matter of free choice and pure affection. This interpretation of the vase-painting—so Robert claims—agrees fully not only with the literary tradition in Herodotus, Polemo, Pausanias, Callimachus, etc., but also with the ancient representation of the same subject on the western front of the Parthenon.

E. Stutzer. *Beitrag zur Erklarung und Kritik des Lysias*, pp. 88-121. Stutzer discusses at great length the ninth, the fourth, and the twenty-seventh speeches of Lysias. He considers the ninth a mere abstract. Great familiarity with Lysianic literature is evinced by the author in the course of his disquisitions, but the article does not admit of condensation.

A. Breysig. Notes on Avienus, pp. 122-136.

M. Schanz contributes a communication on the Sources of Vegetius. Vegetius was an epitomator of military science who compiled his work in the fifth century A. D., being a contemporary of Valentinian (425-455 A. D.) Schanz finds that the authorities abstracted and compiled by him were books dating from Cato down to the time of Commodus (—180 A. D.), viz. Cato, Celsus, Frontinus, Paternus.

Vegetius quotes the *Constitutiones* of Augustus Trajan and Hadrian, but not at first hand, as Schanz points out. The reference to the *Constitutio* of Hadrian is evidently drawn from Paternus. Hence Schanz identifies another passage, I 27, as derived from Paternus by Vegetius as well as some others. One of these passages—derived from Paternus according to Schanz—possesses a curious interest. It seems that the soldiers had a kind of savings-bank in each cohort, into which half the donative was put. Each cohort had its special fund, and besides these there was a common burial fund for the benefit of any comrade in the entire legion.

## No. II.

W. Dittenberger, (Halle). Critical remarks on some Greek inscriptions.

A few years ago O. Riemann published a few inscriptions from Thyatira, from copies of Cyriacus of Ancona. But inasmuch as Cyriacus added the note 'ex insula *Θειαιρίπα*,' Dittenberger observes that probably he meant, not the Lydian town of Thyatira, but the island of Thera. The inscription referred to was read by Cyriacus some 435 years ago, and is published in C. I. G. 6819. The very form *Χαρτεριον* which Riemann failed to discover in Stephanus, and therefore proposed to change to *Χαρτιστηριον*, is found in three distinct inscriptions, one being from Thera and two from Cnidus, hence from *Doric* localities.

Another reading of a Doric inscription by Riemann is emended by Dittenberger. The services of some priest of Anaphê (near Thera) are commended in a decree: τὰν ποθερείαν καὶ τὰν ἐπιμέλειαν ἀξίως λείτων θεῶν κατὰ πάντα καιρὸν φαίνεται ποιοίμενος. This peculiar word λείτων Riemann explains as being = λαιτων (ap. Hesychium = δημόσιος); D. simply reads ΑΕΙ ΤΩΝ κτέ.

In another inscription Riemann's reading is ὁ ἱερεὺς τῆς ἀνωτάτης (of the most distant) Ἀρτέμιδος—after Cyriacus. D. calls attention to the ease with which Π might have been misread for ΓΙ and thus reads τῆς ἀνωτάτης.

Another particularly interesting inscription discussed by Dittenberger is one first published by Kumanudis in the *Ἀθήναιον* VII, p. 207, n. 2. It was brought to Athens and sold to the Archaeological Society there by some dealer. It refers to the sale of sacerdotal positions, an antiquarian matter mentioned only in one passage in extant Greek literature, viz. Dionysius Halic. *Antiqq. Rom.* I 21. Kumanudis suggested Erythrae, τῆς Αἰολίδος, as the source of the inscription. Apart from the fact that Erythrae is in Ionia and not Aeolis, the dialect of the inscription would point rather to the Doric Hexapolis, or to the Megarian colonies on the sea of Marmora and of the Black Sea. Special words seem to point to the latter region and in particular to Chalkedon; this location being supported by the name of the month Διονυσίος and the verb αἰσιμῶν (cf. αἰσιμνήτης, etc.) Both are found in the Chalcedonian inscription No. 3794 C. I. G. We note but one of the many interesting provisions of this decree, namely that which, according to Dittenberger's reading (p. 172, l. 15) stipulates: ἐξέστω δὲ καὶ (π)αιδι ὠνεῖσθαι ἀλλῶι δὲ μηδενὶ ἐξέστω τὰν κερωτεῖαν ἢ ἐαυτῶι; i. e. a father may buy (a priestly office) for his son, but nobody else may buy excepting for himself.

Another inscription commented upon is one of the Macedonian period, and of the times of the Achaean league; viz. regarding the accession of (Arcadian) Orchomenus to the Achaean league; published first by Foucart, *Revue Archéologique*, 1876, p. 96. The main point in which D. differs from the French scholar is in the date. Foucart assumes the year 129 when Orchomenus was dismissed from the Macedonian suzerainty, but Dittenberger assumes an earlier date, in the latter half of the 3d century B. C.

Important details of Greek history of this obscure period are contained in this interesting inscription.

The remaining observations of Dittenberger are of minor interest.

J. Freudenthal (Breslau) in his *Notes on Proclus and the younger Olympiodorus* reasserts a view of his as against Zeller, viz. that Olympiodorus in his prolegomena to Plato p. 26 reports of Proclus, that he ἐκβάλλει the Republic (τῆς Πολιτείας) of Plato as well as the Νόμοι. Zeller has explained this ἐκβάλλειν in a relative sense, viz. from the dialogues, but not from the body of Platonic works.

Of course the Prolegomena, as well as the βίος, are not the direct production of Olympiodorus, but a body of notes derived from lectures by Olympiodorus. This fact explains a number of blunders in these synopses. But Freudenthal suggests another explanation of the remarkable judgment of Proclus; he calls attention to the veritable deluge of books produced by Proclus in the course of a literary and academic career extending from his 24th to his 76th year.



Within the limits of so long a period of copious writing and lecturing, such an inconsistency may have well occurred as is implied in the statement ascribed to him above. A lively sketch of the literary and philosophical character of Proclus is given by Freudenthal on pp. 218-219.

A communication of uncommon interest is that by Jordan: Old Latin Inscription from Rome. This remarkable inscription was first published at Rome, by Dr. Dressel, in the *Annali dell' Instituto*, 1880, 158 pp., with an accurate colored representation of the earthen vessel on which it is engraved. Jordan's reading, which differs from that of the first editor, is as follows:

(I.) IOVEI SAT DEIVOS QOI MED MITAT NEITED ENDO COSMIS UIRCO SIED (intermediate space) ASTED NOISI OPE TOITESIAI PAK ARI VOIS

(II.) DUENOS MED FEC ED EN MANOM RINOM DZ E NOINE MED MAAO STATOD.

Passing by Jordan's criticism of Dressel and of Bücheler, let us consider his own views; according to which the equivalent in classic (or here = later) Latin would be about the following:

(I.) *Iovi Saturno divis qui me mittat, ne in te comis virgo sit; ast nisi Opi Toitesiae pacari vis.* Whoever sends me to Jupiter or Saturnus, let not a maiden be friendly to thee; except you are willing to make your peace with Ops Toitesia.

(II.) *Duenus me fecit in manum enim die noni me ma(n)o sistito: i. e.* Duenus made me; he shall place me at the festival of the manes on the ninth day.

The sacrifice referred to is that made to a dead one nine days after the burial. Nine days was the regular limit for the *lucus*; both Jupiter and Saturn are to receive an offering at the end of this period of nine days' special mourning.

Jordan then proceeds to discuss many points in the history of Latin etymology, *e. g.* the change of *s* to *r*, and expresses his conviction that in the present case the Latin of the writer was influenced by the Umbrian and other dialects.

In the syntactical portion of his paper he classes *endo* with the dissyllabic spurious prepositions *ergo*, *tenus*, *inter*; in the present instance *endo* (Lucretius *indu*) is postpositive.

As regards date, Jordan observes that the inscription belongs to the time before the Second Punic War. Professor Bücheler, of Bonn, wrote an article on this same inscription in the *Rheinisches Museum* 36, 235 sqq.<sup>1</sup>

Chr. Belger. A new mathematical fragment from Bobbio. This is a fragment of a mathematico-physical treatise on the construction of the burning-

<sup>1</sup> M. Bréal (Académie des Inscriptions, séance du 2 Mars 1882) reads:

IOVEIS AT DEIVOS QOI ME DMITAT, NEI TED ENDO, COSMIS IRCO, SIED.  
Jupiter aut deus qui me admittat, ne te endo, commissi ergo, sit

AS[T] TED NOIS, IO PETO, ITES IAI PACARI VOIS.  
Ast te nobis, eo penso, Aitais iis, pacari velis.

DZENOS MED FEKED EN MANOM. EINOM DZENOI NE MED MALO STATOD.  
Dzenos me fecit in bonum. Nunc Dzeno ne me malo sistito.

The vase is the speaker, placed by the side of a dead man. It contains offerings to the god. "Jupiter, or whoever may be the god who shall receive me, may not this man (the dead) fall into thy power for his faults. But let thyself, by virtue of this gift, be appeased by these prayers. Dzenos made me for good. Do not take me amiss for Dzeno." M. Bréal assigns the inscription to the third century B. C. A suggestion was made to read *QOI MED MITAT cui me mittat*—"Jupiter, or whoever may be the god to whom he sends me."—B. L. G.

glass (πύριον), derived from the Benedictine monastery of Bobbio and preserved in the Ambrosian library at Florence. There is a great deal of a kind of shorthand in this fragment, and many other particular modes of abbreviation, e. g. κν- for κύκλος, γω- for γωνία, τμ- for τμήμα. The fragment is probably from some Byzantine textbook of the sixth century A. D.

Johannes Weber contributes a minor article on Interpolations of the Roman Fasti; from a collation of one particularly ancient MS. of Diodorus. A number of errors in the MS. used by Dindorf, as well as in the Fasti Capitolini, are shown. The magistrates referred to in the present communication are particularly the military tribunes with consular power, of the age of Camillus, 410 sqq. B. C.

H. Droysen examines the Athenian decree in honor of Zeno, i. e. the founder of the Stoic school, who died about 265-264 B. C. This decree is preserved in Diogenes Laertius VII 26, 16. The standard of criticism employed by Droysen is the set form of an Attic ψήφισμα of that age as expressed in the inscriptions of the same time. His result is a twofold one: 1. The general character of the document, apart from some minutiae of formulation, seems to be genuine; 2. Two distinct decrees are blended into one. The first, providing public commendation and a golden wreath, was passed of course before the death of the philosopher; the burial in the Ceramicus was decreed after his death.

E. Hübner enumerates the several parts of the armament or military garb of Roman legionaries, basing his description largely on two relief-portraits of a *centurio* and a *signifer* of the age of Nero and of Vespasian at Verona.

M. Schanz. Note on Stichometry. The specimen of line-counting which Schanz adduces is found in the Clarkian MS. of Plato, and there in the Cratylus and Symposium. By computing the intervals, Schanz has noted that the average distance of these marks is about 100 times 35 letters. Now 35 letters is the average length of an hexameter. Hence it would seem that the length of the hexameter was the unit of measurement, the distance of one hundred of these being marked off each time. The value of such marking of lines is palpable enough to guarantee the integrity of the copy both from a critical and commercial point of view.

E. G. SIHLER.

#### MNEMOSYNE, Vol. IX, Part III.

In the first article in this part (pp. 225-244) Naber continues his *Sophoclea*. His conjectures are not always happy. For instance, on O. T. 1143,

φέρ' εἰπὲ νῦν, τότ' οἶσθα παῖδά μοι τινα  
δοῦς, ὡς ἐμαντῶ θρέμμα θρεψαίμην ἐγώ;

he writes, 'in tali sententia nonne requiritur futurum θρεψοίμην? In vicinia eadem mihi suspicio nata est, vs. 1174,

Οἶδ. ἢ γὰρ δίδωσιν ἦδε σοι; Θερ. μάλιστ' ἀναξ.  
Οἶδ. ὡς πρὸς τί χρεῖας; Θερ. ὡς ἀναλώσαιμι νιν.

Ibi quoque ἀναλώσοιμι malo. Potuisset respondere: ὡς ἐμοῦ ἀναλώσοντας, non sane ἀναλώσαντος. Forma orationis mutata est; sed nullam causam video, cur simul cum modo tempus quoque commutetur. Recte editur Oed. Tyr. vs. 792,

ὡς μητρί μὲν χρεῖη με μεχθῆναι, γένος δ'  
ἀτλητον ἀνθρώποισι δηλώσοιμι ὄραν.

ibidemque vs. 1271

ἀνδῶν τοιαῦθ', ὁδοῦνεκ' οὐκ ὀφειντό νιν,  
οὐθ' οἱ' ἐπασχεν οὐθ' ὅποι' ἔδρα κακά,  
ἀλλ' ἐν σκότῳ τὸ λοιπὸν οὐς μὲν οὐκ ἔδει  
ὀφιοῖσθ', οὐς δ' ἐχρῆζεν οὐ γνωσίοιτο.'

It seems very surprising that Naber should see no distinction between the nature of the last two passages and that of the former pair. In the latter the optative forms are due to the indirect mode of statement, and would be represented in direct speech by *χρή, δηλώσεις, ὀφονται, γνῶσονται*. But Naber surely would not say that *θρέψομαι* or *ἀναλώσω* represents the meaning of the optative in either of the former passages. Again on O. C. 41 (τίνων τὸ σεμνὸν ὄνομ' ἂν εὐξάμην κλύων;) he writes: 'Vertit Nauckius, "quarumnam sancto audito nomine invocabo (illas)," et hoc ut probet, affert Oed. Tyr. 117: ὅτου τις ἐκμαθὼν ἐχρήσατ' ἂν. Itaque non videtur animadvertisse κλύων praesentis temporis esse et ea potestate facile ferremus aoristum ἀκούσας, sed absonum est praesens ἀκούων. Nihil aliud latet nisi: τίνων τὸ σεμνὸν ὄνομ' ἂν εὐξάμην λέγων;' Naber appears here to limit unduly the functions of κλύων. Cf. Eur. Hec. 967 (λέγουσα μύθους ὧν κλύων ἀφικόμεν), Or. 1554, I. T. 901, &c. On the other hand, some of his proposed changes are ingenious, if not probable. For instance: on O. C. 727 (θάρσει, παρέσται· καὶ γὰρ εἰ γέρων ἐγώ, τὸ τῆσδε χώρας οὐ γεγήρακεν σθένος) he argues that Oedipus had not asked for the aid of the other citizens, but of the Chorus itself (v. 724 ἐξ ὑμῶν ἐμοὶ φαίνονται ἂν ἦδη τέρμα τῆς σωτηρίας), and that the old men were not too weak to repel Creon's violence, as is shown by l. 815, 840, 857. He therefore proposes to read *χεμῶς* for *χώρας*. In El. 567, where Electra reports the cause of the anger of Artemis, she says that her father παῖζων κατ' ἄλσος ἐξεκίνησεν ποδοῖν στικτὸν κεράστιν ἑλαφόν, and unfortunately vaunted his achievement. 'Primum jam satis difficile est *pede* cervum ἐκκινεῖν, sed *pedibus* quomodo id fieri possit, non video.' It appears one inferior MS. reads *ἐξενίκησεν*. 'Non lubenter recipere solemus deteriorum Codicum lectiones: tamen verum est *ἐξενίκησεν*. Agamemnon cervum cursu vicit.' On El. 596 he notes that *ιεῖς, τιβεῖς* are the correct forms, not *ιης, τίθης*, as Porson maintained; and quotes a large number of instances in which the MSS. present the correct spelling. But here Wecklein has already adopted them in his edition. On El. 1457 (χαίροις ἂν, εἰ σοι χαρὰ τυχάνοι τάδε) he writes: 'Si non habes dicere, quo optativus pertineat, mecum fortasse non recusabis scribere: *τυγχάνει*.' But here the indic. was proposed by Herm., and has been adopted by Wolff and Jebb. In Phil. 617 Odysseus is said to have promised, after hearing that the presence of Philoctetes was indispensable to the success of the Greeks, τὸν ἄνδρ' Ἀχαιοῖς τόνδε δηλώσειν ἄγων· οἴοιτο μὲν μάλισθ' ἐκείσων λαβάν, εἰ μὴ θέλοι δ', ἀκοντα. On this Naber writes: 'Ad illud οἴοιτο primum Nauckium audiemus: *ein dem Deutschen gebrauch entsprechender Optativ in fortgesetzter orat.*

obliqua. Deinde ut probet Graecos similiter dixisse, affert Aesch. Agam. 606 ἀπάγγελον πῶσει ἤκειν, — γυναικα πιστὴν δ' ἐν δόμοις εὐροι μολῶν, sed haec dum scribebat, fortasse non potuit cognoscere Cobeti disputationem, qui luculenter evicit scribendum esse ἐνδον εὐρήσει.' [This conjecture of Cobet's seems very unnecessary: εὐροι no doubt expresses an ironical wish.] 'Sed nihil opus est pluribus ostendere οἷοιτο esse corruptum, quod nihil significabit, etiamsi quis ad mirum usum optativi modi connivere velit. Emenda, nam hoc emendare appello ubi ne umbra quidem dubitationis superest, οἷόν τε μὲν μάλιστ' κτέ. Sic convenientia Graeci sermonis cum Germanorum usu tenues dilabatur in auras.'

C. M. Francken contributes the next article (pp. 245-272) on Cicero's oration *pro A. Caecina*. He thus begins: 'Quae ad causam Caecinianam pertinent nuper tam copiose quam eleganter exposita sunt a viro Consultissimo J. Kappeyne van de Coppello in libro: *over VIM FACERE in het interdictum uti possidetis. Uitgegeven door de Kon. Akad. van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam. Amst. 1880.* Eam disputationem non esse Latine scriptam doleo non tam nostra causa quam exterorum. Nemo enim apud nos existet, qui hoc genus orationis nitidum et fustum aspernetur: exteris autem sic aliqua difficultas obiicitur; et in perpetuo flumine librorum et libellorum, quo prela sudant et viri docti paene obruuntur, ea potissimum appetuntur, quae, ceteris quidem (ut aiunt) paribus, sine putamine molesto fructum offerunt et saporem.' He therefore thinks it worth while 'quaedam ex ea commentatione delibare non iurisconsultis sed philologis. Qui si eam orationem, quoniam in iure versatur tota, iurisconsultis relinquunt ac non contra vindicant, non tantum magna se privant voluptate, sed etiam officio desunt. Est enim una ex optimis Tullianis, et ad eius ingenium et eloquentiam cognoscenda quantivis pretii.' The article is very able and interesting, but does not yield much that can be briefly extracted. On the passage in § 39 'huiusce rei vos statuetis nullam esse actionem, nullum experiundi ius constitutum, qui obstiterit armatis hominibus, qui multitudo coacta non introitu sed omnino aditu quempiam prohibuerit?' he denies that any passage of Cicero can be adduced that will justify the use of *qui* for *in eum qui*. 'Tum demum credam Latinum esse si e.g. "invehitur qui eum laesit prior" putare licebit dici pro "invehitur in eum, qui—" Quantum video, non potest locus in integrum restitui, nisi duas literas si excidisse statuamus.'

The third article (pp. 273-302) is by Naber, entitled ΤΡΙΤΟΝ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΕΡΧΟΜΑΙ, and contains a large number of conjectural emendations on the

<sup>1</sup>I fear that it is useless to protest against the way in which Dutch scholars are rewriting Greek syntax. If the examples in Krüger 154 6 A. 4 and Kühner p. 593 Anm. 2, cited for the change to the optative, are not satisfactory, I am at a loss to know what will satisfy the Batavian mind. It is true that the Greek does not fall into *oratio obliqua* as readily as does the Roman, but *ἐνείχετο* in the passage cited from Sophokles is introduction enough. In Lys. 13, 9 the very word οἷοιτο occurs. See Frohberger on the passage. Krüger says (l. c.) that in this continuation of the discourse *ὅτι* or *ὡς* cannot be used with the opt. The reason for this seems evident. The change of construction from the infinitive to the opt. is due to an anacoluthon of which the writer or speaker would be reminded by the *ὅτι* or *ὡς*, and the essence of the change is unconsciousness. Hence in Xen. Anab. 4, 3, 29, *ὅτι* is to be construed causally and not objectively—"because" not "that." Anthon calmly combines the two views: "'because that one would be the best man': i. e. adding that he would be, &c." Evidently puzzled by the inconsistency of K.'s note (q. v.), he compromised by taking both statements.—B. L. G.

text of the New Testament. It will perhaps be best in this case to give a considerable number of his suggestions, though room cannot be found for the reasoning by which they are supported. Matt. v. 13. ἐὰν δὲ τὸ ἅλας μαρανθῇ (for *μωρανθῇ*). 25. καὶ εἰς φυλακὴν βληθῇ (for *βληθήσῃ*). 33. ἐμπεδώσεις δὲ τῷ Κυρίῳ τοὺς ὀρκούς σου (for *ἀποδώσεις*.) Matt. vii. 25. προσέπεισαν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἐκείνῃ (for *πρόσπεσαν*). Matt. xii. 41. ἐν τῇ κρίσει κατὰ τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης (for *μετά*). Matt. xviii. 24. ὀφειλέτης πολλῶν ταλάντων (for *μυρίων*). 42. καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἔχει ἀποδοθῆναι (for *καὶ ἀποδοθῆναι*). Matt. xxiii. 25. ἔσθωεν δὲ γέμονσιν ἐτι ἀρπαγῆς καὶ ἀκрасίας (for *ἐξ ἀρπαγῆς*). On Matt. xxvii. 17. τίνα θέλετε ἀπολύσω ὑμῖν, Βαραββάν ἢ Ἰησοῦν τὸν λεγόμενον Χριστόν, he refers to a tradition reported by Origen and a schol. that Ἰησοῦς was the personal name of Barabbas: and from this he suggests doubtfully that the words in v. 20 ἵνα αἰτήσωνται τὸν Βαραββάν τὸν δὲ Ἰησοῦν ἀπολέσωσιν should read ἵνα Ἰησοῦν τὸν Βαραββάν ἀπολύσωσιν. Mark vi. 5. ἐθαύμασε λίαν τὴν ἀπιστίαν αὐτῶν (for *ἐθαύμασεν διὰ*). Mark vii. 4. βαντισμοὺς ποτηρίων (for *βαπτισμοὺς*). 19. ἐκπορεύεται θύραζε πάντα τὰ βρώματα (for *καθαρίζων*). [Naber does not seem to have thought of the construction, adopted by the late Revisers, which makes *καθαρίζων* agree with the subject of the previous *λέγει αὐτοῖς*, with the sense, 'thus making all meats clean.'] Mark x. 21. ἡλέησεν αὐτόν (for *ἡγάπησεν*). 30. The words οἰκίας καὶ ἀδελφούς. . . μετὰ διωγμῶν are to be expunged. Luke vii. 44-46 ὕδωρ-οὐκ ἔδωκας, φίλημα-οὐκ ἔδωκας, τὴν κεφαλὴν-οὐκ ἤλειψας, the negatives are to be removed; on the ground that the omission of the ordinary marks of civility is incredible. 'Liberum erat Simoni Jesum non vocare, sed postquam vocavit, ut rusticitatis crimen effugeret, id omne praestare debuit quod moribus requirebatur. Ibidem liberum erat Jesu non ire ad Pharisaicum, sed statim abire debuit, postquam animadvertit sibi debita officia non praestari.—Quo diutius locum considero, eo mea ratio certior videtur.' Luke xi. 3. τὸν ἄρτον αἰτούσιν ὁδὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον (for *ἐπισύσιν*). Acts xix. 16. κατακυριεύσας ἄφνω λαχσε κατ' αὐτῶν (for *ἀμφοτέρων*). Acts xxii. 23. ῥηγνύντων τὰ ἱμάτια (for *ῥιπτούντων*). Acts xxvi. 28. ἐν ὀλίγῳ με πέποιθας Χριστιανὸν ποιῆσαι (for *πείθεις*). Acts xxvii. 38. ἐκβαλλόμενοι τὸν ἱστὸν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν (for *τὸν σῖτον*.) It is argued that v. 18 shows that everything had been thrown overboard which could be dispensed with, even τὴν σκευὴν τοῦ πλοίου: and it must be supposed that the τροφή spoken of in vv. 34 and 38 was only a small portion of the cargo (probably of wheat) reserved for the food of the ship's company. 'Nimia ea fuit imprudentia eicere quem solum habebant commeatum.—Deinde si in mare eiecissent illud omne unde victus sibi suppeteret, quantillum id erat ut navis levaretur? Verum, ut conjicio, ἐκόνφιζον τὸ πλοῖον, non ἐκβαλλόμενοι τὸν ΣΙΤΟΝ, sed τὸν ΙΣΤΟΝ. Hoc extremum consilium perditis rebus supererat. Metuebant praeterea, uti arbitror, ne sibi accideret quod Achilles Tattius scribit naufragis accidisse, p. 91, 27; ibi enim navis λανθάνει προσενεχθεῖσα ὑφάλῳ πέτρᾳ καὶ ῥηγνύται πᾶσα, deinde ὁ ἱστὸς ἐπὶ θάτερα πεισὼν τὸ μὲν τι κατέκλασε, τὸ δὲ τι κατέδυσεν αὐτῆς. Simul autem cum malo maiore, nam τὸν μέγαν ἱστὸν simpliciter ἱστόν appellant, perierat magnum velum, quod aliquot diebus ante cum reliquis armamentis fortasse jam eiectum fuerat, unde per tot dies incerti et consilii inopes διεφέροντο ἐν τῷ Ἀδρίᾳ. Sed supererat ὁ ἀκάτειος ἱστός, malus minor, cui parvum velum adaptari potuit. Hinc, ut est vs. 41, ἐπάραντες τὸν ἀρτέμωνα τῇ πνεύσῃ κατεῖχον εἰς τὸν αἰγυάλον.

Nunc demum intelligimus cur exciso et abjecto maiore malo, τοῦ ἀπρέμνου mentio fiat.'

Cobet next has an article (pp. 303-339) containing corrections of Cornelius Nepos. Two or three specimens of his notes may be quoted. Themist. VII 5. *Apud quam iam bis classes regias fecisse naufragium.* This statement is false; since after the battle at Marathon the fleet returned safe to Asia with the prisoners from Eretria. 'Multum igitur mihi arridebat Peerlkampii emendatio qua omnis difficultas removetur: *OPES regias. Opes* enim et apud alios et saepe apud Nepotem dicitur de copiis tam terrestribus quam navalibus.—Quamquam autem *OPES* ab initio Multum arridebat, tamen *ai* δεύτερα φροντίδες meliorem lectionem suggesserunt, quam recipimus: *bis COPIAS regias fecisse naufragium.*' Them. VII 6. *Quare si suos legatos recipere vellent, quos Athenas miserant, se remitterent: aliter illos numquam in patriam essent recepturi.* The fault should be corrected by reading *esse REVERSUROS.* 'εὐφροῦνῃα haec est, sed quid dicat satis est perspicuum. Apud Suetonium in *Caesare* cap. 13, *Caesar pontificatum maximum petens, cum mane ad Comitia descenderet praedixisse matri osculanti fertur domum se nisi Pontificem non reversurum.* Caesar, si repulsam tulisset, manus [*sic*] sibi consciscere decreverat. Themistocles Lacedaemoniis dixit nisi ipse remitteretur legatis eorum necem esse paratam.' On Cim. IV 3, he refers to his correction given in this Journal, Vol. II, p. 249, and adds, 'Quod Scaliger alicubi dixit *Codices esse sterquilinia* vel hic unus locus quam verum sit declarat. *Pro coquebatur* sunt qui exhibeant *QUO QUEREBATUR*: *pro invocatos convocatos*: *pro devocaret devoraret* et *devorarent*: *pro intermittebat PRAETERMITTEBAT*: *pro quotidie cotidie* et *COTTIDIE.* [But see Neue, i. 676.] Quid eo homine facias qui scribat: *cottidie sic cena ei quo querebatur ut quos convocatos vidisset in foro omnes devoraret.*' On Alcibiad. V 1, itaque tempus eius interficiendi quaerere instituerunt, he prefers to read *instituerunt*, id est *coeperunt.* He shows by a large number of examples that we should say 'iter, viam, cursum *insistere*, non *instituire.*' Caesar, he maintains, always used this form, 'sed in expellendo verbo antiquiore librariorum natio tamquam coniurasse videtur.' On Datam. V 2, *qua celeritate cum magnam benevolentiam regis Datames consecutus esset, non minorem invidiam aulicorum excepit,* he writes: 'non est Latinum *Datames invidiam aulicorum excepit.* Corrigendum arbitror: *non minor eum invidia aulicorum excepit.* Idem nunc video olim Bosio placuisse: "*sic enim* (inquit) *solent Latini scriptores.*" Sed deinde nactus, ut putabat, simile exemplum apud Curtium, bonam correctionem abiecit dicens: "*excipere est suscipere.*" Cras credam.' On Attic. XXI 6, *quare a vobis peto PRIMUM ut consilium probetis meum, DEINDE ne frustra dehortando impedire conemini.* he says: non duas res ab amicis petit sed *unam.* *Primum* et *deinde* eodem sensu ponuntur quo Graece *μάλιστα μὲν* — *εἰ δὲ μή.* Sic datur optio ut quod potissimum velis addatur verbis *μάλιστα μὲν (primum)*, quod cum fieri non possit verbis *εἰ δὲ μή* subiicitur id quo contentus sis.' [In Hdt. I 59 we have a similar use of *πρῶτα μὲν* — *δεύτερα: συνεβόλενε Ἰπποκράτει πρῶτα μὲν γυναῖκα τεκνοποιὸν μὴ ἀγεσθαί ἐς τὰ οἴκια, εἰ δὲ τυγχάνει ἔχων, δεύτερα τὴν γυναῖκα ἐκπέμπειν.*]

The concluding portion of the *Epistula Critica* of J. B. Kan to Cobet follows (pp. 340-354). He criticises passages in Caesar, *Bell. Gall.*, in Cicero's orations, and other Latin writers, and also in Xenophon's *Hellenica*, Demosthenes' *de Corona*, Aeschylus' *Agam.*, and Sophocles' *Oed. Tyr.*

In the last article (pp. 355-360) Cobet offers emendations for some passages in Galen and Appian. In commenting on a passage in Galen he takes occasion to correct Plat. Rep. 345 c. τὸν ὡς ἀληθῶς ποιμένα — ΠΟΙΜΑΙΝΕΙΝ οἶμι τὰ πρόβατα. 'Mendosum esse ποιμαίνειν: requiritur enim verbum significans pastoris in curando grege studium et diligentiam. Graeculus nescio quis sensit vitium et repperit Platonis sententiam sed non Platonis manum: substituit enim παχίνειν pro ποιμαίνειν. Sed Plato scripserat ΠΙΑΙΝΕΙΝ, id est πίονα ποιεῖν, pro quo Galenus dixit κατασκευάζουσιν αὐτὰ πίονα.' He says that after writing this he looked into Bekker's *Commentarius Criticus*, and found that the Paris MS. A, the best of all, had πιαίνειν, which Stallbaum had neglected to note.

He quotes a passage from Galen, viii, p. 190, illustrating Dem. 54, 9 (Conon) Θεώμενος δέ τις ἄλλος ἀλεκτρυόνας ἔδοντας, ὥσπερ ἐκείνη τὰς πτέρυγας προσέκρουον πρὸ ψόης, οὕτω καὶ αὐτὸς τοὺς βραχίονας προσκρούων ταῖς πλευραῖς ἐμμεῖτο τὴν φωνὴν τῶν ζώων. And another merely for its curiosity: Φόβος δ' ἦν ἄλλῃ μῆπως ὁ βασιλεύων τὸν κόσμον Ἀτλας ἀποσεισθαι κεκμηκῶς αὐτὸν οὕτως τε καὶ αὐτὸς συντριβεῖν καὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτῷ συναπολέσειεν.

C. D. MORRIS.

# REVUE DE PHILOGIE. Vol. VI.

## No. I.

I. Pp. 1-21. In his studies on Demosthenes (II), H. Weil discusses the authenticity of the first oration against Aristogeiton. (This précis gives an outline of the *method* rather than of the substance.) I. First, the author states the views of scholars, ancient and modern. Among the former, Dionysius Hal. and a few others held that the oration was unworthy of Demosthenes, whilst Plutarch and nearly all others regarded it as genuine. Of the moderns, since Casaubon, hardly any except Ruhnken agree with Hemsterhuys and Valkenaer in regarding it as a work of the great orator. The author, without first setting forth his views, gives the general presumptions against the authenticity. II. He then propounds the question: Is the oration *authentic*?—that is, a real speech, made on some occasion by some orator, whether D. or not, against a defendant named Aristogeiton; or is it a mere essay, written for an imaginary process, and attributed to D.? He here discusses the special arguments against authenticity (in the sense defined above) with such impartiality that we can only gather gradually which side he advocates; and in the discussion he produces strong arguments in favor of authenticity. III. He then takes up the question: Who was the orator? and shows that the oration of Hypereides πρὸς Ἀριστογείτονα should never have been identified (as has been done) with this oration κατὰ Ἀριστογείτονος, the former being a *defence*, the latter a *prosecution*. He shows further that the style is not that of H., and points out strong resemblances between this oration and some genuine orations of D., especially the *perorations*. But this entire speech is of the nature of a peroration; in other words it is an *αὔξησις* following the speech of Lykourgos. He then gives a number of details showing that there is no sufficient reason for doubting that the author was Demosthenes himself. The political and judicial affairs at Athens from the battle of Chaironeia to the death of Demosthenes (the speech

can be shown to have been delivered not long before his death) were of such a character as tended to produce the modifications which are visible when we compare this oration with the *De Corona*. In fact the *In Midiam* exhibits an intermediate state, bearing about the same stylistic relation to the *De Corona* that our oration does to the *In Midiam*. The rhythmic and euphonic laws (relating to succession of short syllables and to hiatus) are the same as in the unquestioned works of D.<sup>1</sup>

2. P. 21. In Quintil. VIII 3, 26, L. Havet divides *dicendi uersum ei* so as to secure *diuersum ei*, but attempts no further emendation.

3. Pp. 22-27. And now the Fut. Indic. with *ἄν* is no more. In an article entitled *De futuro iuncto cum particula condicionali apud Homerum*, H. van Herwerden, stating at the outset that scarcely any scholars now-a-days defend this construction in other authors, proceeds to remove the examples from Homer. He divides the discussion into six sections: I. Examples with *ἄν*, in which the verb is really in the *subjunctive with a short vowel*, as in B 488: οὐκ ἄν ἐγὼ μὲν θήσομαι οὐδ' ὀνομήσω. Six indisputable instances are cited, and a seventh (I 167: τοὺς ἄν ἐγὼν ἐπιόψομαι) is shown to belong here. II. Similar examples with *κε(ν)*,—more than thirty in number. III. Examples where there is MS. authority for the absence of *ἄν* (*κε*), or for the subj., as Z 260, καὶ τὸς for κ' αὐτὸς. Eight or nine instances. A 139: ὁ δὲ κεν κεχολῶσεται was pronounced spurious even by Alexandrian critics. IV. Examples where it is a question of interpretation of early copies, as A 174: οἱ κέ με τιμήσουσι, i. e. ΤΙΜΗΣΟΥΣΙ—τιμήσωσι as well. Eight instances. V. "Emendations" by means of slight changes, as A 523: ἐμοὶ δέ κε ταῦτα μέλγεται: read δέ γε. Five or six examples. VI. Only two examples remain. 1. Θ 404-5, repeated 417-18. These verses can well be spared at either place, and contain two impossibilities: first, ἐς δέκατους, instead of ἐς δέκα . . . ἐνιαυτοὺς or ἐς δέκατον . . . ἐνιαυτόν, and secondly, the "vim et usum verbi μάρπτειν inauditam." 2. Δ 176: καὶ κέ τις ᾧδ' (ὡς because of following *φ*) ἐπέει, —an expression which occurs only here, whereas the idea is expressed elsewhere by a fixed formula, καὶ ποτὲ τις εἶπεν(αι), which occurs several times, or ᾧδε δέ τις ἐπέει which occurs, indeed, only once, but ᾧδε τις εἶπεσκε repeatedly. Besides, "pro spurio habet Nitzchius." Hence this, being the only example about which there can be any reasonable doubt, cannot be regarded as establishing the construction. [Though comments are out of place here, I venture a remark or two. If I did not almost distrust my own judgment when it is favorable to an "emendation" of Herwerden's, I should regard the case as pretty well made out. But inasmuch as Herwerden thinks that Θ 404-5 was interpolated by a "poetastro non satis callente epicum sermonem ante tempora Alexandrina," may it not be that others, influenced by the misunderstood Homeric examples, admitted the construction, and that too even in prose? If so, it became Greek. Besides the few examples of the Fut. Opt. with *ἄν*=Fut. Indic. with *ἄν* in indirect dis-

<sup>1</sup> In a paper on the articular infinitive published in the Transactions of the American Philological Association for 1878 I gave the general result of my examination of the usage of the orators in this regard. The statistics there presented brought out very clearly Demosthenes' notorious fondness for the construction. Deinarchus comes nearest to him, but only to his lower level,—that of the private speeches. I have never published the detailed work, and in view of M. Weil's discussion it may be worth while to note that the average of articular infinitives in the speech against Aristogeiton is nearly the same as that in the speech against Meidias.—B. L. G.



course are also involved. Herwerden, however, assumes that there are no defensible instances of the Fut. with *av* outside of Homer, and I suppose he includes the Opt. This theory, if accepted, with the recent explosion of the *ν ἐφελκυστικόν* doctrine, will lead to material modifications of our grammars.]

4. Pp. 28-36. The *Carmen Paschale* and the *Opus Paschale* of Sedulius. (Gaston Boissier). The Christian poet Sedulius wrote the *Carmen Paschale* (recounting in heroic verse the miracles of the Old and the New Testaments) between A. D. 424 and 450, dedicating it to the priest Macedonius, who, fearing that the exigencies of verse might have forced the author to depart from the strict line of orthodoxy, induced him to write a prose paraphrase to accompany the poem; hence the *Opus Paschale*. We are thus enabled to compare the language of prose with that of poetry during that period. I. The poetry of S. is much simpler and clearer,—in fact, from our standpoint, more prosaic, than his prose. This is due in part, no doubt, to the fact that he first wrote the poetry, and then had to seek new modes of expression for his prose paraphrase. But this does not explain all the differences; and we may by this work judge the prose of the period, except such as was written in imitation of Cicero. To judge, then, by the works of S., the language of prose was much less simple, less correct and more corrupt, than that of poetry. Words from the vulgar dialect had crept in, with the meanings which they now have in the romance languages, as *populatio* = population, perhaps even *causa* = thing (*cosa, chose*). Also constructions, as *de aqua baptizatus, similitudinem de juvenco*. Especially striking is “*curavit ut vacuasset*” for “*ut vacuaret*.” [This shows the origin of the French imperf. subj. Comp. Amer. Jour. of Philol., Vol. I, p. 410 ff.] Many words had experienced a change of meaning, or were used with vagueness; and there seems to have been an aversion to saying anything in simple, direct language. Compare the following passages relating to the slaughter of the innocents. The *Carmen* says simply:

Haec laceros crines nudato vertice rupit,  
Illa genas secuit;

whilst the *Opus* puts it thus: “*Haec effusam vultibus comam miseranda dilacerans crinalis damni foeditate nudum verticem sauciabat; illa madidas lacrimosis imbris genas unguum protervitate sulcabat.*” II. Hence we see that two distinct languages were used, one for prose, the other for poetry; and however strange the fact may seem to us, the language of prose no doubt seemed natural, and that of poetry forced and obscure to the majority of the people. But the corruption was due not only to the influence of the *sermo popularis* which existed already in classic times, but to a certain strained effort to speak with elegance—to a disinclination to express thoughts directly and simply; in short, to an aesthetic movement in the lettered world.

5. Pp. 37-51. Variants of a Strasburg MS. containing, among other things, the Harmonic Elements of Aristoxenos. (C. E. Ruelle). The author collated a part of this MS. a very short time before it perished along with the library, when the Protestant seminary was destroyed by the artillery of Baden in 1870. This article is of great importance for students of Aristoxenos, especially as the MS. in question no longer exists.

6. P. 51. Note on Paulini Carmen ad Nicetam, v. 292, by Chatelain, showing that for *labis unquam* we must read *nulla labes*.

7. Pp. 52-72. Critical Remarks on the Menippeae of Varro. (L. Havet.) This article is divided into six sections. It is impossible to give in a brief compass more than a most meagre table of the contents. I. The titles and sub-titles of *Menippeae*. Thirty works have these double titles, the one in Latin, the other (sub-title) in Greek (*περί* with a noun), as *Testamentum, περί διαθηκῶν*. The titles of both kinds were probably prefixed by Varro himself, the Latin at the time the works were composed, the Greek at a later day when the young humorist had become the old philologist. II. The *Eumenides*. Outline of contents. Discussion of five fragments, with emendations. III. *Testamentum*. Fragment emended. IV. *Sesquiculus*. Five fragments discussed. V. *Ταφή Μενίππου*. General investigation. Two fragments discussed. VI. *Parmeno*. This Menippea is made up of very unlike portions, which the author sorts. 1. Two fragments in acatalectic cretics emended. 2. A fragment in catalectic cretics emended. 3. Five paeonian fragments discussed.

8. Pp. 72-75. Grammatical Notes (continued), by O. Riemann. (a) The impersonal passive in Greek. A few exceptions to Krüger's rule pointed out, where the tense is a perfect, as *ἐμοὶ βοηθήσεται τῷ νόμῳ*. One example where the tense is not perf.: Thuc. I 73, 2. (b) Objective genitive of personal pronouns in Greek. As to the second person, the truth lies between Krüger (47, 7, A 8) and Kühner (II, 454, 3, A 11). Cf. Soph. Elect. 1036. (c) *λέγω, δεικνύμι*, etc., *ὥς*. Criticism of Madvig's rules. Examples cited where *ὥς* does not imply any doubt on the part of the narrator. It is used even after verbs of *knowing, learning, showing*. (d) The author corrects a mistake which he made, Rev. de Phil. V, p. 166, l. 21-22.

9. Pp. 76-103. Unpublished scholia of Juvenal. (C. Beldame.) The municipal library of Nice owns a MS. of the 12th century containing the Satires of Juvenal and Persius, with numerous notes on the margin and between the lines, by far the greater part being of earlier origin than the MS., and having been copied by the same hand as the MS. That the copyist is not the author of the notes is shown by instances where he wrote the wrong word in the text, but copied the explanation correctly, as:

-I- testiculos

"More supervacuum cultris abrumperé carmen,"

in which he mistook *carnem* for *carmen*. Several instances of this are found. The age of the author cannot be fixed with precision. He alludes to the old church of St. Peter, built in 326. He seems to have been well read in Greek and Latin, and refers to a work of his own on orthography. He invokes the authority of Homer, Sophokles, Plato, Plutarch. He refers to many Latin authors (from Varro to Priscian), sometimes quoting their exact words. Among these quotations are seven from Festus "de verborum significatione," but they are very much like the corresponding passages in the abridgment of Paulus Diac. The scholia are generally explanatory, but sometimes they are critical—a rare thing in those days. Beldame gives the scholia to the first six satires, amounting to 24 pages.

10. P. 103. L. Havet calls attention to Cic. de Off. III 3, 15, as cited by Nonius (Quicherat, p. 488 M, 20), showing that Nonius has preserved the true reading, "quod *idem*."

11. CHARLES GRAUX. A biographical sketch by E. Chatelain. The career of this wonderful genius demands some space. Charles Graux was born at Vervins (Aisne), Nov. 23, 1852, and died at Paris, Jan. 13, 1882. At the college of Vervins he omitted two years (the sixth and the fourth classes) by extraordinary promotion, and yet carried away all prizes throughout his course. In 1868 he went to Paris and received the degrees of *Bachelier ès Sciences* and *Bachelier ès Lettres*. In 1871 he entered the *École des Hautes Études* as a pupil, and studied palaeography under Tournier; and in 1872 was admitted as *Licencié ès Lettres*, his Greek thesis attaining the highest grade. From this time on he had access to the Greek MSS. of the National Library, and Greek Palaeography became his vocation. Prosecuting his studies further, in 1873 he was considered by Tournier competent to direct palaeographic discussions in his stead. The 10th vol. of the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études* contains his first works. In October, 1874, he became "*répétiteur de philologie et d'antiquités grecques*," which place he held for seven years, being made "*maître de conférences*" in 1881. During the summer vacation of 1875 he visited 60 libraries in Spain and examined 450 MSS. The general results of this mission are summed up in the *Archives des missions*, 3d series, Vol. 1, pp. 111-163. During the vacation of 1876 he executed a similar mission to Denmark and Sweden, the immediate result of which was an article of 104 pages in the *Arch. des Miss.* VI 2, in which he described 100 MSS. of the Royal Library of Copenhagen, with an appendix describing 30 MSS. belonging to the university of that city.

On his return he was made assistant librarian of the *Bibliothèque de l'Université*. In 1881 he became librarian. Here his services were invaluable, and the library was greatly improved. His faculty for organisation had already been displayed when he was a pupil of the *École des Hautes Études*, at which time a society was formed among the members of the *conférences*, where his services were so indispensable that when he was forced to withdraw by pressure of labor, the society soon ceased to exist.

In 1877 Tournier revived the *Revue de Philologie* (founded by L. Renier in 1845, but soon discontinued), and L. Havet undertook the Latin department. They conceived the idea of annexing to their periodical a *Revue des Revues*, in which should be published *résumés* of all articles of scientific value relating to classical philology that were to be found in journals of a high grade in any part of the world, amounting annually to about 80,000 pages to be epitomized. There seemed to be but one man capable of organizing the work, and that man was Charles Graux, then twenty-four years of age. He had to prepare a list of the journals to be reviewed, find co-laborers at home and "general editors" in foreign countries competent to review and to select assistants, and (what was probably the most difficult task of all) he had to see that the work was done in time and done properly. It may be added that he had to examine all the manuscript reports and prepare them for the press, correcting the style, abbreviating, etc.; and this he did with such care that a misspelled name, even of a foreigner, rarely escaped his eye. For the first volume he himself epitomized

mized 45 volumes of reviews. He was at the same time secretary of the *Revue de Philologie*, corresponded with contributors, and corrected proofs. Besides, he contributed many valuable articles of his own, including critical editions of several works that had never before been published. These articles amounted to more than 300 pages in five years.

In the vacation of 1879 he again visited Spain to collate and photograph various MSS., and in the Easter holidays (1880) he went once more to that country to complete his task. Some of the results he embodied in his Doctor Dissertation: "*Étude sur les origines du fonds grec de l'Escorial*," a work of 662 pages.

In 1879 he resigned the chief editorship of the *Revue des Revues* and undertook the classical department of the *Revue Critique*, to which he had already contributed several important articles, and here again his services were of the highest value. Up to his death he had himself contributed 60 valuable articles to this review.

Having received the degree of *Docteur ès Lettres* (Jan. 11, 1881), he was made *maître de conférences à la Faculté des Lettres*, and held two conferences (something like the German seminaries) per week, but still continued his duties at the *École des Hautes Études* and at the library.

In August, 1881, he went to Italy and searched the libraries of Venice, Milan, Florence, Rome, extending his excursion to Naples, Pompeii, Paestum. He found many uncollated MSS., and many more which had been used to little advantage. He collected material for a new article on Stichometry, a subject to which he had already made a very important contribution. His leave of absence was extended that he might comply with a request to examine and classify the 451 Greek MSS. (Palatine) of the Vatican, of which they were preparing a catalogue; and he worked at this task with a feverish ardor which may have contributed to his fatal malady. He returned Dec. 23 to Paris, assisted at a doctor examination the 26th, went home to visit his relatives, returned the 31st, and on the 6th of January, 1882, he was prevented from resuming his university labors by an indisposition which rapidly developed into a malarial fever against which all the resources of science were unavailing. On the 13th he passed away at the age of twenty-nine.

In addition to the works already mentioned, Graux had published an edition of the *Oeconomicus* of Xenophon, and of Plutarch's *Life of Demosthenes*, to which he was soon to add the *Life of Cicero*. He had also contributed two articles to Saglio's *Classical Dictionary*, and had published a treatise of 33 pages on the fortifications of Carthage at the time of the third Punic war. He had undertaken a large edition of Xenophon, and had many other works nearly or quite ready for the press. [It should be remembered that Graux did no rehashing; he went to the very foundation of things, and made valuable contributions to every subject he touched.] He intended to publish a general treatise on Greek Palaeography, a subject which he had declared and shown to be in its infancy. Posthumous works will appear in the course of time.

From 1877 he was an officer of the Academy, and in 1879 was made a member of the commission for examining classic text-books for schools and colleges.

Graux was affable and obliging, and was often consulted by scholars of foreign lands as to the MSS. in France, Spain, and Denmark. In this way he became the virtual author of many anonymous works.

A volume of miscellaneous philological articles, contributed by his friends in every part of the world, is soon to be published and dedicated to the memory of Charles Graux.

12. The last page of this number begins with these impressive words: Au moment où la première livraison de notre *Revue* allait paraître, nous avons été cruellement frappés. Les obsèques de Charles Graux n'étaient pas encore terminées que nous avions la douleur de perdre un collaborateur, notre ancien maître, dont les conseils éclairés et la direction amicale étaient pour nous d'un prix inappréciable. Charles THUROT est mort subitement le 17 Janvier, 1882, dans sa cinquante-neuvième année." Thurot had taken the place of Tournier as one of the editors. The next number will contain a detailed notice of him, which will be reported for this Journal.

M. W. HUMPHREYS.

#### ROMANIA.<sup>1</sup>

##### No. 36.

Inventaire des Manuscrits en Langue Française possédés par Francesco Gonzaga I, Capitaine de Mantoue, mort en 1407. By Braghirolli, Meyer and Paris. At the end of the XIVth century the illustrious family of the Gonzagas of Mantua had gathered around them a fine collection of works of art and books, as is shown by numerous inventories still extant. One of the most important of these inventories is that made by the trustees at the death of Francesco Gonzaga in 1407, "poichè in esso, insieme con molte altre cose di pregio, sono descritti i codici latini, italiani e francesi, che costituiscono la biblioteca di quel principe." This library consisted of about 400 volumes in manuscript. These books and others of the Gonzagas were sold at Venice in 1708 at the death of the Duke of Mantua, Ferdinand-Charles IV. A great number of them was purchased by J.-B. Recanatì (†1734), who left by will his manuscripts, to the number of 200, to the republic of Venice. Others became a part of the Abbé Canonici's collection, which was acquired by the Bodleian Library in 1817. It is thus that the only complete MS. of the great epic of the south of France, *Girart de Roussillon*, is now at Oxford. The list here published of the French and Provençal MSS. of the Gonzaga collection is the fellow to that of the MSS. owned by the Este family, which was published by Rajna in Romania II, p. 49. Both show the great esteem in which French literature was held at Mantua and Ferrara in the XIVth century. The list numbers 67.

Sur un épisode d'Aimeri de Narbonne. By G. Paris. In the song of Aimeri de Narbonne there is a famous episode, which relates that Aimeri, wishing to marry, sent some of his knights to ask the hand of Hermenjart, daughter of Désier, king of the Lombards. Arrived at Pavia, the king invites them to eat at his table, but they refuse, saying they are rich enough to pay their own way. The king then issues an order to the townspeople to charge the strangers exorbitant prices for everything. This does not prevent them from buying a

<sup>1</sup> See Amer. Jour. of Phil., Vol. II, p. 261.

large quantity of provisions, whereupon the king utters another order that no wood shall be sold them at any price. The Frenchmen, however, are equal to the emergency and buy up all the nuts and wooden vessels (*noix et hanaps de madre*) which are brought them. Using these as fuel they serve a splendid repast and invite all to partake who wish. Then admitted to the palace, for want of seats they fold up their rich cloaks and sit upon them. On departing they leave their cloaks in the hall; and when the king sends messengers to tell them they had forgotten their cloaks, they return the answer that they are not in the habit of carrying their seats about with them.—This passage of the *Aimeri* Fauriel cites in proof of his theory of the southern (*méridionale*) origin of the *chansons de geste* in general and of *Aimeri de Narbonne* in particular. "Ces luttes de fierté," he says, "d'orgueil et d'ostentation de magnificence" were characteristic of Provençal manners. This same episode was invoked by the eminent historian, Dozy of Leyden, to show the Norman origin not only of *Aimeri* but also of the Narbonne cycle in general. Léon Gautier opposes Dozy in his "Epopées françaises" (vol. III, 216). Gaston Paris examines very thoroughly, in the present article, all the evidence, and concludes that there is nothing to justify Fauriel's conclusion; that Dozy's would be much more probable; but he himself is of the opinion that the story of *Aimeri* is neither French nor Provençal, but borrowed by them from some of their adjacent neighbors. The remarkable statement, *Les Normands, en fait d'épopée n'ont rien créé, mais ils ont facilement accueilli ce qu'avaient créé leurs voisins du sud et de l'est*, surely calls for something more than the mere assertion.

Un mariage dans le Haut-Foréz. By Victor Smith. This is a lively and entertaining account of the marriage ceremonies which obtain in the neighborhood of Velay and Vivarais, together with the songs and metrical formulas used on such occasions. These songs, though violating the laws of French versification in nearly every line, though lacking the sanction of a more refined state of society, breathe a freshness and melody which we seek in vain in much of the stilted twaddle that we are asked to admire as poetry in contemporary French literature. The article can not be summarized.

*Mélanges.* Ulrich proposes *de-ex-ripare* as derivation of *desver*, and Joret, *pultus, pultura* for *poutare*. J. Cornu gives a collection of examples from the *Demanda do Santa Graal* and other sources, to show that the Portuguese particle *er, ar*, regarded by Diez as identical with Provençal *ar, er* (from *ora*), is the Latin prefix *re* become separated.

*Comptes-rendus.* An exhaustive criticism is given by G. Paris of Hugo Andresen's edition of Wace's *Roman de Rou et des ducs de Normandie*. Much praise is bestowed upon Andresen's work, only his critical method is pronounced "l'idéal de la confusion."

The *Périodiques* and *Chroniques* complete the 9th volume of the *Romania*.

Nos. 37 and 38.

Una versione in ottava rima del libro dei *Sette Savi*. Pio Rajna published the first notice of this important MS. in *Romania* VII, 23-51, where he seeks to establish its outward history, or in other words, the general group of versions to which it belongs and its geographical position. In the first place it forms the middle part of a codex containing two other

episodes (*Appollonio di Tiro et Pusella Gaia*), covers 124 folios, and is composed of 23 *canti*. These are distributed into 706 stanzas, all of which are in the regular *ottava rima*. The date of composition is put down for about the middle of the XVth century (1420-1470 are assigned as limits), and until recently belonged to the Seibante library of Verona. The title given it in the collection just named is *Storia di Stefano*, though the contents show that it belongs to the cyclus of the Septem Sapientes, with reference to which Italy alone seemed to form an exception to other European countries, in that she possessed no rimed version of this story. France, Spain, Germany and England each had one, but up to the discovery of this document only prose versions were known to belong to the Peninsula.

We have to do here with a copy made in the Eastern Venetian Dialect territory. The rimer himself is a Venetian, and gives us all the *idiomatic* peculiarities, whether phonetic, morphological or lexicographical, of his native dialect. Alongside of these, however, Rajna finds numerous Tuscan forms, and, after a careful comparison of the Tuscan and Venetian dialect elements, comes to the conclusion that the author wished to write in Italian proper, but, with his imperfect knowledge of it, constantly fell back into his old dialect usages. This peculiar language mixture (*tosco-dialettale*) sprang up in North Italy in the second half of the XIIIth century, and became very popular with the patriotic literati in opposition to those who used the *Franco-dialettale* species, *i. e.* a mixture of langue d'oïl with the special Italian dialect.

In his second article (Romania VII, 369-406) Mr. R. attempts to show us the inner history of the MS., *i. e.* its relation to the different members of the Italian groups. Accepting Mussafia's terminology (*versio Italica*) for this set, he finds that to the five prose versions which originally composed it, this *versione rimata* must be added. Two of these five (designated by the letters *m*, *c*) are simple translations of the Latin (marked *l*), but the relation of *r* (*rimale*) to *l* is more difficult to determine.

Two hypotheses are suggested with reference to them: (1) *l*, *r*, both come independently from the same stock; (2) *r* came from *l*, but was corrupted by the aid of another outside version.

Of these suppositions R. thinks that, though the first is the simpler, it is more difficult to establish than the second. In no possible case can the direct sources of *r* be found in *l*, and between them we must always suppose some popular manipulation of the subject (*volgarizzamento*). But which, now, shall this be, *m* or *c*? Not *m*, because of the great discrepancies between it and the others, both in age and in the presentation of the subject-matter. With reference to *c*, as the intercalated member, numerous arguments are cited for and against it, and the question is left unsettled in the hope that future discovery of some MS. may throw new light upon it.

So far as the genealogy of the *versio Italica* is concerned, it is suggested that possibly it may be a sort of middle term between the European groups on the one hand and the Oriental on the other. This is rendered likely from the intimate relations which Venice held at this time with Constantinople and the East generally.

Of the different members of the *versio Italica*, *m* is Venetian, *r* do., *l* belongs to the region of the Po, *c* was produced by a Tuscan residing also in this region,

while *em es* (the remaining members of the group) are due to Venetian and Lombard authors.

At the close of this paper R. discusses the relations of the various European centres of this episode, and observes that in the Italian group we have a new case of a literary fact which up to this time has been observed only in chivalric subject-matter, viz. just as the *chanson de geste* produced in the region of the Po new families entirely distinct from the corresponding development on the other side of the Alps, so with the episode of the *sette savi*, which is not perpetuated by simple reproduction, but gives rise here to a new species.

Phonétique française. By G. Paris. For several years scholars have been expressing their dissatisfaction at Diez's treatment of the Romanic vowel system. Much that the master wrote was necessarily tentative, and will not now stand the test of criticism. With the exception of Boehmer's article on the vowel *o/u* (Rom. Stud. III, 597-602), the discontent has been expressed in hints and allusions rather than systematic criticism. Mr. Paris, taking Diez as a starting point, proposes to give a thorough revision of the French vowels, confining himself in the present article to the narrow *o* (*o fermé*). Rejecting Diez's division of 1st tonics and atonics, and 2d tonics long, short and in position, he speaks of 1st, *voyelles toniques ou atones*; 2d, of *voyelles libres ou entravées*. By *voyelle libre* he means when it is final, followed by a vowel, by a single consonant, or the groups *pr, br, tr, dr*; a *voyelle entravée* is followed by two consonants other than those mentioned. Special cases are made of *cr, gr, pl, bl*, and where *j* (yot) is combined with a consonant. Translating *libre* by *free*, and *entravée* by *bound*, his division of the vowels would be:

1st. Tonics	{	short	{	free.	2d. Atonics	{	short	{	free.
				bound.					bound.
	{	long	{	free.		{	long	{	free.
				bound.					bound.

He formulates thus the rule for the Romanic narrow *o* (=Latin *o* and *u*): 1st, *o* tonic free, whether it comes from classic *o* or *u*, becomes in French *eu*; ex. *fleur, gueule*; 2d, *o* tonic bound gives *ou*; ex. *tour, goutte*. He then proceeds to discuss these two classes in detail.

La Chirurgie de Roger de Parme en vers Provençaux. By Antoine Thomas. This is a notice and discussion of a MS. of the Library of Bologna, containing a metrical translation of the *Practica Chirurgica* of Roger of Parma. The author thinks that the publication of this medical treatise must be put considerably earlier than the usually accepted date, 1230. In 1859 Puccinotti, in his *Storia della Medicina*, proposed 1180; Thomas thinks this is not too early, as he shows that the Provençal version was made between 1168 and 1209, probably about 1200. A contemporary of Roger, Raymond Amiller, himself a physician, executed the translation. The translator adds a preamble of his own, with comments of the text. He confines himself likewise to the first three books of the *Practica*, omitting the fourth. Some extracts from the poem are given.

Études sur le Poème du Cid. By J. Cornu. These studies are mostly etymological, and are not of a sufficiently general interest to call for reproduction here.



Contribuições para um Romanceiro e Cancioneiro popular Portuguez. By Z. Consiglieri Pedroso. The Portuguese, like many others of the European nations, have not been slow to appreciate the value of their popular songs and traditions; and while they have no folk-lore society, as far as I know, there have not been wanting vigorous workers in this most interesting field. Among the most ardent of these are Adolpho Coelho, *Romances populares e rimas infantis portuguezas* (Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil. III, and Romania III 263), and Pedroso, who has already published six numbers of a work entitled *Contribuições para uma mythologia popular portugueza*. His present article is a short exposé of his studies in folk-lore, of which he makes three great divisions (tres grandes capitulos). Of these he speaks as follows: O primeiro occupa-se especialmente do maravilhoso popular, dos restos e vestígios da mythologia do povo que ainda se conservam na tradição oral, das superstições, crenças, prejuizos, etc., que a esse maravilhoso se referem. O segundo trata dos contos populares. O terceiro, que começamos com a presente publicação, refere-se aos romances, aos cantos, orações, jogos infantis, etc., aos elementos enfim, que devem constituir o nosso romanceiro e cancioneiro popular. He gives twelve or fifteen pages of specimens from his collection, which is extensive and has been made by himself, wife and mother, assisted by Senhora D. Elvira de Macedo Damasio.

Contes populaires lorrains recueillis dans un village du Barrois à Montiers-sur-Saulx (Meuse). By Emmanuel Cosquin. Continued from Romania No. XXXV. (See Am. Jour. of Phil., Vol. I, p. 507).

Chants populaires du Velay et du Forez. By Victor Smith. The reader will find here fifteen "complaintes criminelles," which tell of divers crimes. Some of these crimes, on account of their naïve cruelty and the marvellous attaching to them, have a legendary character; others again represent more real circumstances, and seem to point to determinate facts, which must have made a profound and durable impression upon the popular mind.

The *Mélanges* contains among other things: A Letter from A. d'Ancona to G. Paris on the Wandering Jew in Italy in the XIIIth Century; De l'influence régressive de l'f atone sur les voyelles toniques (see Romania VII, 360), by J. Cornu; Une épître française de Saint Etienne copiée en languedoc au XIII siècle, ed. by G. Paris; Mélanges catalans: I, Plainte de la Vierge; II, Du MS. Douce 162 et de la prédiction de Vincent de Ferrer en France, by P. Meyer; Deux manuscrits de Gonzague, and Sur un prétendu fragment inédit de Desclot, by Alfred Morel-Fatio; Notes sur la langue des *Farsas y églogas* de Lucas Fernandez; A stanza from a *ronde bretonne* (Le Prisonnier de Rennes), here given, will show that the expression "hoop la," so frequently heard on our streets, was not imported from the Celestial Empire, as is generally supposed. It is:

Dans la ville de Rennes,  
Houpp' la la la, houpp' la,  
Dans la ville de Rennes  
Il ya-t'un prisonnier.

Jacob Stürzinger proposes a long list of corrections to the Sacrifice d'Abraham, ed. by Ulrich in Romania VIII, 374.

*Comptes-rendus.* The following important publications are noticed: *Untersuchung über die Chronique ascendante und ihren verfasser*, H. Hormel, Marburg, 1880; *Betontes é + i und ö + i in der normannischen Mundart*, P. Schulzke, Halle, 1879; *Guilhem Figueira, ein provenzalischer Troubadour*, Emil Levy, Berlin, 1880; *Leben und Werke des Troubadours Ponz de Capduoill*, Max von Napolski, Halle, 1880; *La légende d'Œdipe, étudiée dans l'antiquité, au moyen âge et dans les temps modernes, en particulier dans le Roman de Thèbes, texte français du XII siècle*, par L. Constans, Paris, 1880; *Recull de eximplis e miracles, gestes e faules e altres legendes ordenades per A. B. C., tretes de un manuscrit en pergami del començament del segle XV, ara per primera volta estampades* (Barcelona, 1881); *Nouveau recueil de farces française des XV et XVI siècles*, par Emile Picot et Christophe Nyrop, Paris, 1880; *Faune populaire de la France*, par Eugène Rolland, 3 vols—Vol. I, *Les mammifères sauvages, noms vulgaires, dictons, proverbes, légendes, contes et superstitions*; II, *Les oiseaux sauvages*; III, *Les reptiles, les poissons, les mollusques, les crustacés, et les insectes*—Paris, 1877-81. There will be two more volumes of this great and important work, which will be devoted to domestic animals.

The *Chronique* gives a short notice of the death of Gaston Paris's father, Paulin Paris, which took place at Paris, February 13, 1881. The deceased has been a recognized authority for the last fifty years in the literature (especially French) of the Middle Ages. A review of his life and work is promised for a future number of the *Romania*.

The premature death of the young Romanic scholar, Henry Nicol, is likewise chronicled, a much finer appreciation being shown of the value of his work than any accorded him by his countrymen at the time of his decease (January 30, 1881). He was but thirty-six years old when he died, and the talent displayed in the work he had already done caused great expectations to be entertained of him. His death leaves England without a representative of Romance philology.

SAMUEL GARNER.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### A. H. SAYCE ON THE LANGUAGE OF HOMER.

*Sir*: I have been waiting in vain for some one to expose, as they deserve, the errors in regard to *fact* in Sayce's Appendix on the language of Homer, published in Mahaffy's History of Greek Literature. Neither G. Hinrichs (in the Deutsche Literaturzeitung, No. 20, 1881, and the Zeitschrift für Oesterreichische Gymnasien, 1881, p. 423) nor D. B. Monro (in the Cambridge Journal of Philology, No. 18, 1880), both of whom have dealt the essay some hard blows, has done justice to this point, though the latter has noticed a number of inaccuracies not included in the list below. If I may trust my Seber, my Dunbar, etc., there are the following actual mistakes, which can hardly be misprints, in Sayce's statements.

P. 496. "The short quantity of the first syllable of *θῆω*, *λίω*, *φῆω*, and *τίω* reminds us that Homer . . . is thus less primitive than the Attic poets who preserve the original length of the syllable in question." Now *θῆω* occurs only once in Homer, *ο* 260, and *θῆω* and *τίω* often. On the other hand, *θῆω* occurs in Eur. El. 1141, Cycl. 334, *θῆω* in Aesch. Sept. 535, 622, Soph. Frag. 757 (D. 824 N.), and *τίω* appears to be the only form in the tragic poets (Aesch. Ag. 259, 531, Sept. 77, Eur. Heraclid. 1013).

P. 500. "The digamma has been lost in the language of our Iliad and Odyssey in *ἰον*, a violet, and *ἰδιος*." But on Mr. Sayce's principles (see his note on p. 498) *ἰον* has the digamma in *ε* 72, and *ἰδιος* in *δ* 314.

P. 503. "The contracted form *προβῆκε* betrays its more recent date." But it occurs in Archilochos, fr. 38 Bgk.

P. 503, N. 6. "Homer also offers us the Herodotean *φύλακος* (Z 35, I 85, K 56, Ω 566, *ο* 231)." Two of these lines, the second and third, contain the form *φυλάκων*, which may imply *φύλαξ* as well as *φύλακος*. The first and last contain *φύλακος* as a proper name. This leaves only Ω 566 with *φυλάκου* to prove a nom. *φύλακος* in the common noun.

P. 508. "The compound *ἀν κεν* is found once (N 127)." It is found also in *ε* 334, and three times (Δ 187, *ε* 361, ζ 259) with only *μέν* between the two words. The coincident use of the two words, which also Mr. Sayce regards as a remarkable feature of the language of Homer, is seen also in Archilochos, Alkman, and Tyrtaios, though they are not combined in one phrase.

P. 510. *Ὀδυσῆ* is quoted from τ 136 as "a genuine Atticism." But in fact it is there a conjecture of Porson's against the uniform text of the MSS., according to Bekker, La Roche, and Hayman. The only support for the conjecture is the mention of the form in the scholion on Δ 384, where the text has *Τυδῆ*.

P. 517. "Further proof of the artificial nature of the Homeric dialect is found in two facts. . . . The second fact is that short syllables are lengthened

... as in the first syllable of ἀθάνατος." This word is used with the same metrical value by Sappho, whose dialect is not usually thought artificial.

P. 520. "Among words found only in the Odyssey occur . . . ἀριθμός, εὐχή, κτήμα." But ἀριθμέω occurs in B 124, εὐχολή and κτήματα often in the Iliad.

P. 520. "The same word has different significations" in the two poems. "In the Iliad κλείς is a *collar bone*, . . . ὤτειλή a *wound* . . . ἐρίς the *battle-strife*. In the Odyssey the same words mean *key*, *scar*, *rivalry*." In fact κλείς, besides meaning in both poems a *bolt* and a *thole-pin*, means *collar bone* only in the Iliad, *tongue* of a brooch once in the Odyssey, and *key* often in the Odyssey and once (Z 89) in the Iliad; ὤτειλή is always *wound* in both poems (κ 164, τ 456, ω 189; the word for *scar*, occurring only in the Odyssey, is οὐλή); ἐρίς is *conflict*, *quarrel* in both poems, *battle-strife* in the Iliad, *rivalry* in the Odyssey and once (H 111) in the Iliad. "The accusative of ἐρίς in the Odyssey is the analogic ἐριν of the Attic dialect." But ἐρίδα also occurs twice in the Odyssey (ζ 92, θ 210).

P. 520. "*By means of* is represented by ἐκπι in the Iliad, by ἰότητι in the Odyssey." In fact, ἐκπι is used only in the Odyssey, ἰότητι in both poems.

P. 520. "It is perhaps of little moment that the later analogic comparative of φίλος, φίλτερος, is found only in the Iliad, φιλίων being alone employed in the Odyssey." φιλίων occurs twice in the Odyssey, and φίλτερος once (λ 360). φίλτατος, which implies φίλτερος, appears three times in the Odyssey.

P. 520. "We cannot overlook the significance of the fact that the contracted (*sic*) form of παρά, πάρ, occurs only before the letters γ, ζ, ξ, σ, and τ in the Iliad, and only before κ and μ in the Odyssey." It should be said that πάρ occurs before δ, λ, ν, and π in both poems, before γ, ζ, ξ, σ, and τ only in the Iliad, and before κ and μ only in the Odyssey, although the compounds παρκατέλεκτο, παρμέμβλωκε, παρμένετε occur in the Iliad.

Very probably more such errors might be found on a more careful examination, but this will do for a *Blumenlese*. Surely in an essay on minute points of language, designed to instruct a wide circle of students, such carelessness deserves censure. It makes a reader hesitate to receive any statement in the essay without verification. It will be observed that I have made no reference to any divergence in the *opinions* expressed in this essay from well-established doctrine, or to the method followed in the discussion.

LEWIS R. PACKARD.

#### ON THE DIPYLON VASES.

Sir: In my report (Vol. II, p. 258) of the Mittheilungen des deutschen archäologischen Institutes in Athen, in the abstract of Arthur Milchhöfer's *Gemalte Grabstelen*, is the following passage: "The absence of [funereal] monuments in the Vth century [B. C.] he explains thus: The mound, he thinks, was crowned by vases in the VIth century, the so-called Dipylon vases. These were succeeded by the black-figured *prothesis* amphoræ with funeral scenes," &c. I see that in condensing thirty-one pages into twenty-seven lines I have committed Milchhöfer to a date for the "Dipylon" vases when he had not expressed an opinion on that point, saying only that the black-figured *prothesis* vases were, so he conjectured, the direct successors

of the large "Dipylon" vases in the office of furnishing an apex for the burial-mound. Taking into consideration, however, the time when the black-figured style came into fashion, his words would imply that he placed the close of the "Dipylon" vases in the VIth century B. C. It may be well to group here the opinions on the period of this interesting class of early Greek pottery. A very fine specimen is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, the great vase of Curium in the Cesnola Collection (Cesnola's *Cyprus*, plate 29, p. 332). A large number are figured in the plates of Conze's *Zur Geschichte der Anfänge griechischer Kunst* (Vienna Academy *Sitzungsberichte*, Philos.-Hist. Classe, 1870). Others in *Monumenti dell' Istituto*, vol. 9, plates 39-40, and the *Annali*, 1872, plates I-K. The decoration (*i. e.* not including scenes with human figures) of the pottery called "Oriental," "Asiatic," "Corinthian," consists of animals, especially Asiatic carnivora, lion, tiger, panther; monsters of Asiatic fairy tales, crosses between bird, beast and man; arabesques from the vegetal world. This class of pottery has long been familiar to archaeologists, and its period is VII-VIth centuries B. C.

The other system of early Greek decoration, the "geometric," consists of short right lines arranged in various patterns; undulating lines, spirals, concentric rings; a few European animals; no vegetal arabesques, no savage beasts and monsters of Asiatic plains and imagination. The decoration of the "Dipylon" vases is a subdivision of the "geometric," adding to the above the special feature of concentric rings united into rows by oblique tangents. As a separate independent class of Greek pottery the "geometric" vases have been known hardly more than ten years. They were confounded with the very different "Corinthian" vases until Conze, in 1870, in the Vienna Academy's *Sitzungsberichte*, established them in their rights. He proved that they belonged to an entirely different system of decoration from the "Corinthian," "Asiatic," "Oriental," and finding this "geometric" decoration spread over primitive Europe (Germany, Britain, Italy), he pronounced it Indo-European. The "geometric" pottery of Greece he assigned to a day earlier than the time when Phoenicians and other Orientals came into contact with Greeks, namely, before the close of the second millennium B. C., acknowledging that many of the individual vases in our possession may well have been made after this contact. We may, therefore, take Conze's date, as stated by him in 1870, as about 1000 B. C. (Additional discussion by him in Vienna Academy's *Sitzungsberichte*, 1873.) Brunn, in his *Probleme in der Geschichte der Vasenmalerei* (Bavarian Academy's *Abhandl. Philos. Philol. Classe*, vol. 12, 1871, p. 107), declared in favor of Conze's views. G. Hirschfeld, in publishing, 1872, in the *Annali* and *Monumenti dell' Istituto* some freshly discovered vases dug up at the Dipylon Gate in Athens, gave in his adhesion to the views of Conze, but doubted the existing specimens being so old as the second millennium B. C., admitting, however, that undoubtedly a long interval intervened between the "Dipylon" and the "Corinthian" vases. It was the place of discovery of the large number of which Hirschfeld treated in the *Annali* that gave this class its present name of "Dipylon" pottery. Since 1872 the date has been

brought still further down. Within the last ten years our knowledge has been extended far back into pre-classic Greece by increased devotion to the historical method, by excavations in Mycenae, Olympia, the Aegean coast and islands, &c., by the presence of the German Archaeological Institute in Athens.

Furtwängler and Löschcke, who belong to the younger generation of German archaeologists, have done most within the last decade in establishing the development of early Greek decoration, as Milchhöfer in the early sculpture. The views of Furtwängler and Löschcke are as follows: (Furtwängler, *Bronzeperiode aus Olympia*, Berlin Academy's *Abhandlungen*, 1879, pp. 7-10, 27, 34, 43; Löschcke, *Annali dell' Istituto*, 1878, p. 306; Furtwängler, *Annali*, 1880, pp. 120, 121.) The usual view that the "geometric" decoration came first, then the "Oriental," is wrong. From the earliest times known to us down to the classic decoration with human figures and arabesques of lotos flower and palm leaf, both systems existed together, for in the oldest graves of Mycenae vases with merely vegetal decoration were found accompanied by others with "geometric" patterns. Thus the "Corinthian" was only a later stage of the Mycenaean, adding the wild beasts and monsters of Asia to the early use of vegetal ornament. Furtwängler showed that the "Dipylon" decoration was a subdivision of the "geometric"; that its home was on the Aegean islands and coast; that its characteristic feature is the rows of concentric rings united by tangents; that so far it has not been found west of Greece, neither in Italy nor in Northwestern Europe, and that even in Western Greece it is at present known only in very early remains lately dug up in Olympia and Dodona. As to the date of the "Dipylon" pottery, these archaeologists think it flourished in the VIIth century, and in its decline extended well into the VIth century B. C.

A. D. SAVAGE.

*New York, February, 1882.*

*Sir:* One word more on the Fragments of Sophocles, in reply to Mr. R. Ellis.

1. It is right that I should send a brief rejoinder to the acute and learned criticism with which Mr. Ellis has honoured me, if only to make the proper *amende* for having misapprehended his interpretation of Fr. 593.<sup>1</sup> Of course, as soon as my attention was recalled to the place, I understood Mr. Ellis's meaning perfectly, and I can only regret that I had not communicated with him in time to correct the error in my book. With regard to the interpretation, however, I must still think Mr. Ellis's view of the passage somewhat forced, both in respect of the language and the meaning. Mr. F. A. Paley, who agrees with me in joining *ἔνθ' (sic)* to *ποταμίων ποτῶν*, suggests *\*στραθείσα* as a correction of *ῥοπαθείσα*—an emendation which to my mind is perfectly convincing. 'And in the meadow, making a sudden stand, she all at once beholds her reflected image, where she is mirrored by the liquid stream.'

<sup>1</sup>Amer. Jour. of Philol. Vol. II, p. 421.

2. On Fr. 86, Mr. Ellis thinks καὶ \*τὰπρόσικτα tautologous. I would reply that the distinction between 'the untrodden' and 'the unattainable' is sufficient for a poetical climax, and that although such pleonastic antitheses as πρὸς τε τὰβαρα καὶ πρὸς βέβηλα certainly occur, it would be strange to find the feeble and superfluous καὶ πρὸς βέβηλα at the beginning of an iambic line.

3. On Fr. 221, in advancing his own learned suggestion, Mr. Ellis passes over my conjectural emendation of l. 3, στέρημ' ἀνίας ἥδ' οὐ κοίμησις τ' ἄσης, perhaps as too 'bold.'

I will only add that many of Mr. Ellis's remarks are well worthy of mature consideration, and I have no intention of dismissing them in these few hasty lines.

LEWIS CAMPBELL.

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#### MR. ELLIS ON THE FRAGMENTS OF SOPHOCLES.

Sir:—I have had a note from Professor Tyrrell of Dublin, in which he tells me that he has made the same emendation, Eur. fr. 1008 [Am. Jour. of Phil. Vol. II, p. 423], in *Hermathena* for 1875, p. 289, οἱ' for οἱ. I shall be much obliged if you would mention this in your next number.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

Trinity College, Oxford, April 30, 1882.

#### ERRATUM.

P. 83, l. 8 from top, for "often" read "offer."

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Thanks are due to Messrs. B. Westermann & Co., New York, for material furnished.

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Allen (Grant). *Anglo-Saxon Britain*. New York, 1881. 12mo, 8+237 pp. Cloth, 75c.

Cicero (M. T.) *De Finibus bonorum et malorum, Libri V.* Ed. J. N. Madvigius. New York, 1882. 185 pp. Cl. 55c. Pap. 36c.

Crowell (E. P.) *Selections from Catullus, Lucretius, Tibullus, Propertius, Ovid and Lucan.* (Latin text). Boston, 1882. 4+300 pp. D. cl. \$1.55.

Plutarch. *Life of Themistokles.* By Rev. Hubert A. Holden. *Macmillan*. New York, 1881. 16mo, 56+232 pp. Cloth, net, \$1.10.

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Aristotle on the Parts of Animals. Translated, etc., by W. Ogle. Roy. 8vo, 280 pp. 12s. 6d.

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Chandler (Henry W.) *A Practical Introduction to Greek Accentuation.* 2d ed., revised. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

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— Rendered into English Verse by G. A. Schomberg. Books 13 to 14. 8vo, 354 pp. 12s.

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Godefroy (Fr.) Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française. Fasc. 12. Paris, 1882. 4to. Vol. II., p. 81-160. 5 fr.

Gras (Felix). Toloza, geste provençale. Avec la traduction française littérale. In-12. *Fischbacher*. 4 fr.

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Aristophanis comoediae. Annotatione critica, commentario exegetico, et scholiis graecis instruxit Frdr. H. M. Blaydes. Pars 4. Aves. (xx, 510 S.) Halle. *Buchh. d. Waisenh.* n. 10. (I-IV. n. 25.)

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Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen. Herausg. von Adb. Bezenberger. VII Bd. Göttingen, 1881. *Peppmüller.* 8vo, 1 Hft., 104 pp. 10m.

Bibliothek, assyriologische, hrsg. v. Frdr. Delitzsch u. Paul Haupt. I. 4 Lfg. gr. 4. Leipzig. *Hinrichs' Verl.* n. 14. (1-4. n. 36.) Inhalt: Akkadische u. sumerische Keilschrifttexte, nach den Originalen im Brit. Museum copirt u. m. einleit. Zusammenstellgn. sowie erklär. Anmerkgn. hrsg. v. Privatdoc. Dr. Paul Haupt. 4 Lfg. Erklärende Anmerkgn. [1. Grundzüge der akkad. Grammatik. 2. Kurzes akkad. Glossar. 3. Anmerkungen zur Schrifttafel. 4. Belegstellen zur Zeichen-sammlg.] (S. 133-220.)

Bibliothek indogermanischer Grammatiken, bearb. v. F. Bücheler, B. Delbrück, K. Foy, etc. 4 Bd. gr. 8. Leipzig. *Breitkopf & Härtel.* n. 4. Inhalt: Introduction to the study of language: a critical survey of the history and methods of comparative philology of the indo-european languages. By B. Delbrück. Authorised translation, with a preface by the author. (xiv, 142 S.)

Birt (Thdr.) Das antike Buchwesen in seinem Verhältniss zur Litteratur. Mit Beiträgen zur Textgeschichte d. Theokrit, Catull, Properz u. anderer Autoren. gr. 8. (vii, 518 S.) Berlin. *Hertz.* n. 12.

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## EDITORIAL NOTE.

The life of a periodical that addresses itself to a limited range of readers is so precarious that the editor may congratulate the friends of this enterprise on the beginning of another volume. It is true that the support accorded to the Journal by the philological public of America is far from being adequate to the realization of the original plan, but even with the present subscription list it will be possible to maintain the Journal for the current year at the measure of usefulness that it has already reached. Thanks to the philological activity of the contributors, there is no danger of any lack of material, and there is no reason to fear that the Journal will not serve a good purpose as a vehicle of communication among American scholars. A wider circulation would enable the management to improve many details of the work, and every effort on the part of the friends of the Journal to extend its usefulness will be met by a corresponding effort on the part of the editor to make it more worthy of its name.

The special thanks of the editor are due to those self-sacrificing scholars who have so faithfully performed the onerous task of preparing the "Reports" of the foreign periodicals. As the Journal undertakes to cover the whole philological ground, it has not been an easy work, indeed, it has sometimes been impossible, to present in each number a table of contents that would have at least some especial attraction for every subscriber, and in this effort to hold the balance among the different departments, the reporters have been of the greatest service. The editor is happy to announce that not one of the honored scholars, who have given him such efficient aid, has shown the slightest symptom of growing weary in the good work.

In the matter of reviews the space is so limited and the help so inadequate that many important works have been passed by without notice, or the notice deferred until the interest has in a measure ceased. As nothing seems to be more needed in American philology than impartial and competent criticism, it is much to be desired that this department of the Journal should assume its proper proportion, and it is hoped that in future a more active coöperation will be secured.

The price of the back-numbers of the Journal has been reduced to \$2 a volume.



# AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

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VOL. III.

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## I.—THE NEW REVISION OF KING JAMES' REVISION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

### II.

#### AN EXAMINATION OF THE REVISION OF S. MATTHEW.

In this and the following papers it is intended to give an account of the changes in the Greek text and in the translation. To the changes in the text will be added the editorial or the MS. authority or both; and to the changes adopted in the translation will be appended the authority of the earlier version or versions, whether public or private, and whenever the changes of the Revisers are original, this will be indicated by the phrase *by a new rendering*. Wycliffe, Tyndale, Cranmer, the Genevan, the Rheims, and the Authorized Version will be referred to together, and in this order, and the phrase *the rest* will designate all of these versions that follow the one mentioned or all beside those mentioned. In some instances a word or phrase will be discussed which the Revisers adopted from the Authorized Version; and wherever a word or phrase, quoted or discussed, was first introduced by the Authorized Version, this also will be indicated by the phrase *by a new rendering*. Where a rendering had appeared in any previous version, such rendering for convenience will be said to be *after* such version, whether actually derived from it or not.

Wycliffe translated from the Latin Vulgate and of course had no definite article before him, but he will be said to retain or omit this article just as the other versions are said to do.

The use of the italics in King James' Revision or in the New Revision or in both will be regularly noticed in the first five chapters, but afterward only special cases will be noticed.

The following works are referred to in the course of this examination and the abbreviated forms of citation are appended in parentheses.

I. GREEK TESTAMENTS, described in the introduction (*Lachmann*) (*Tischendorf*) (*Tregelles*).

## II. CELEBRATED AND PUBLIC VERSIONS OR REVISIONS.

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## III. PRIVATE VERSIONS OR REVISIONS.

The Gospel according to Saint Matthew. Translated from the Greek by Sir John Cheke, the First Regius Prof. of Greek under Henry VIII. 8°. Lond. 1843. (*Sir John Cheke.*)—The Four Gospels. Translated from the Greek with Preliminary Dissertations, etc. By George Campbell, D. D., Principal of Marischal College, Aberdeen. 2 vols. 4°. Lond. 1790. (*Dr. Campbell.*)—Die Heilige Schrift. Uebersetzt von Dr. de Wette. 8° maj. Heidelberg, 1839. (*de Wette.*)—Le Nouveau Testament selon la Vulgate. Par L'Abbé J. B. Glaire. 16°. Paris, 1861. (*the Abbé Glaire.*)—The New Testament. A new Translation from a Revised Text of the Original. [By John Nelson Darby, Founder of the Sect of the Plymouth Brethren.] 2d ed. revised. 16°. London, 1872. (*Mr. Darby.*)—The New Testament. Translated from the Greek Text of Tischendorf. By George R. Noyes, D. D. [Prof. in the Divinity School of Harvard College]. 12°. Boston, 1868. (*Dr. Noyes.*)—The New Testament, etc. By Henry Alford, D. D. 16°. London, 1869. (*Dean Alford.*)—The New Testament. Translated from the critical Text of von Tischendorf. By Samuel Davidson, D. D. 12°. Lond. 1875. (*Dr. Davidson.*)—Das Neue Testament. Uebersetzt von Carl Weizsäcker, D. Th. 12°. Tübingen, 1875. (*Weizsäcker.*)—Le Nouveau Testament d'après le Texte Grec par Louis Segond, D. en Th. à Genève. 12°. Oxford, 1880. (*Dr. Segond.*)

## IV. WORKS IN ENGLISH LITERATURE.

Addison: The Spectator. 12°. Tonson, Lond. 1749. (*Addison, Spect.*)—Beckington: Journal by One of the Suite of Thomas Beckington a. 1442. 8°. London, 1828. (*Journal of Beckington.*)—Bentley: Eight Sermons preached at the Boyle Lecture, 1692. 8°. Oxford, 1809. (*Bentley's Sermons.*)—Burke: Thoughts on the Present Discontents. 12°. Oxford, 1874. (*Burke's Thoughts, etc.*)—Davison: Life of William Davison, Secretary of State, etc. to Queen Elizabeth. By Sir Harris Nicolas. 8°. Lond. 1823. (*Life of Davison.*)—Dryden: The Prose Works of John Dryden. Ed. by Malone. 4 vols. 8°. Lond. 1800. (*Dryden.*)—Ellis: Original Letters Illustrative of English History. By Sir Henry Ellis. Third Series. 4 vols. 8°. Lond. 1846. (*Ellis, Original Letters.*)—Felltham: Resolves Divine, etc. By Owen Felltham. 12°. Lond. 1840. (*Felltham.*)—Fox: History of Reign of James II. By Charles James Fox. 12°. Lond. 1857. (*Fox's History.*)—Liddon: Sermons preached before the Univ. of Oxford

By H. P. Liddon, D. D. Second Series. 12°. Oxford, 1879. (*Liddon's Univ. Sermons.*)—Maundrell: A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, A. D. 1697. By Henry Maundrell, Fell. of Ex. College. 12°. Oxford, 1703. (*Maundrell's Journey.*)—Morley: Edmund Burke: A Historical Study by John Morley. 8°. Lond. 1867. (*Morley's Burke, Hist. Study.*)—Selden: Table Talk, etc. of John Selden. 8°. Lond. 1696. (*Selden, T. T.*)—Sidney: The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia, by Sir Philip Sidney. fol. Lond. 1655. (*Sidney's Arcadia.*)—Spedding: Reviews and Discussions, by James Spedding. 8°. Lond. 1879. (*Spedding's Reviews, etc.*)—Temple: The Works of Sir William Temple. 4 vols. 8°. Lond. 1770. (*Temple.*)—Walton: The Complete Angler. By Izaak Walton. 12°. Lond. 1876. Facsimile reprint of First Ed. 1653. (*Walton's Angler.*)

CH. I. v. 1. *The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham*: so A. V. after Wycliffe, but in the Greek there is no article, as if this were the heading of this Gospel or of the genealogy; and so it may be rendered more closely: Book of the generation of Jesus Christ, son of David, son of Abraham; and so Mr. Darby and Dr. Davidson. — v. 2, etc. *Judah-Perez*, etc., being conformed by the rule of the Revisers to the usage of the A. V. in the Old Testament, which gave the names directly from the Hebrew instead of adopting the forms of the Greek in the LXX. — v. 6. *And David*, by a change of text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles; And David the king, A. V. — v. 11. *at the time of the carrying away to Babylon*, after Mr. Darby nearly; about the time they were carried away to Babylon, A. V. after Tyndale: the marginal of the Rev. is better, the removal to Babylon, as this expresses the euphemism of the Greek (ἡ μετακεία = change of abode) for exile in the Hebrew (cf. LXX. 4 K. 24, 16 ἡ μετακεία for גִּזְלוֹ, and 1 Chron. 5, 6 μετακίω for גִּזְלוֹ). So Cicero would never consent to denote his exile as such, but by the terms *discessus* and *absum*; as de Leg. 2, 17; pro Sest. 34. — v. 17. *are*, supplied, but not italicized; *are*, A. V. It was the general intention of A. V. to distinguish (that is, in their own ed. of 1611, to put into small Roman letters) all the words they supplied as wanting in the Greek. This they did not carry out fully and consistently, though it is in general a valuable and important feature of their work. The Greek under certain circumstances omits the object of a verb as easily as its subject, but A. V. italicized the former when they supplied it, but not the latter; it easily omits the copula *is* and *are*, and this they regularly italicized; they often supplied the definite article without italicizing it. They sometimes used italics under a misapprehension, as in 10, 17; and sometimes omitted them even when the insertion was important, as in 2, 12, 22. The Revisers

use italics sparingly. When the object of a verb has once been expressed and then omitted, they repeat it by a pronoun, as *him, her, it, them*, etc., without italics. They do not italicize the forms of the copula *is* and *are*, but do italicize other forms of it, as *shall be*, 10, 36. They supply the definite article without italics. When a word is regularly employed absolutely in Greek, they supply the complement sometimes in italics, as 1, 6; 10, 2, 3; S. Mark 16, 1; and sometimes in Roman letters, as cold water for cold *water*, 10, 42. They italicize forms inserted to remove an ambiguity in the Greek, as in 3, 15; 5, 37; 6, 13; or to remove an ambiguity from an English form, as in 9, 19. They italicize a preposition when they repeat it, where the Greek uses it only once; but they do not italicize it, when they repeat it as denoting the mere case of a Greek word. But it is to be remarked that the Revisers do not practise nor profess strict consistency in this complicated matter. *the Christ*, after the Greek. The Greek often employs the article with the name of a person, as mentioned before, well known, and for other reasons; as, *ὁ Ἰησοῦς*, 2, 1; 3, 13, etc., which, of course, does not admit of translation. And *Χριστός*, being often the title of our Lord, will take the article in English wherever it is used as a title; as, 16, 16; S. Mark 12, 35; S. Luke 2, 26 (where the English article does double duty), S. John 1, 20, and elsewhere; but where it seems to be a mere name, whether with or without the article in the Greek, the article should be omitted in translation, and it is omitted here by de Wette, Dr. Noyes, Dean Alford, and the Germ. and the Holl. Rev. This use of the same word both as a title and as a mere name is harsh, and it would relieve the matter, wherever it seems to be used as a title, if it were translated after the Hebrew, *the Messiah*, or by the English, *the Anointed*. But even *ὁ Μεσσίας* is rendered by *Χριστός* without the article in S. John 1, 42, and in the only other passage in which it occurs, S. John 4, 25, it is itself without the article. — v. 18. *When*, after Wycl. and the rest except A. V. *When as*; so Ecclesiasticus, Prol. This is a double form like *while as*, which the Rev. have allowed to stand in Heb. 9, 8, and *what time as* in Ps. 105, 13 Cranmer, and the familiar *whereas*. *When as* seems to occur more frequently in poetry than in prose; as, in Shaksp. M. V. v. 999, and eight times in all; and in Herrick's Noble Numbers, Lond. 1859, p. 524, and four times in all. It is found in prose in Selden, T. T. p. 9; and in Walton's Angler, p. 55. *had been betrothed*, nearly after Tynd. and Gen., was betrothed; was espoused, A. V.; was spousid, Wycl. and Rh. — v. 19. *And*, after Wycl.; *Then*,

A. V. after Tynd. and the rest. *righteous*, after Cran.; *rightful*, Wycl.; *just*, A. V. after Gen. and Rh. — v. 20. *when he thought*; while he thought, A. V. after Wycl., and so substantially all the rest. But the aorist stands here in the Greek, denoting a precedent action, and therefore it should be rendered, when he had thought on these things, or with Dean Alford, while (better, when) he was thus purposed; in Acts 10, 13 we have this verb in the present (*ἐνθυμούμενος*), and there the Rev. properly follow A. V., while Peter thought. The aorist participle is always to be rendered, in Hellenistic as well as in classical Greek, as a past form except where the exigency of the case requires a present; as in the frequent *ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπε* 3, 15; 4, 4, etc., which interchanges with *ἀπεκρίθη λέγων* 25, 9; S. Mark 15, 9; S. Luke 4, 4; S. John 1, 26; or where the loose use of the English present participle may well enough represent the Greek aorist, as 19, 26 *ἐμβλέψας*, an aorist, and Acts 1, 11 *βλέποντες*, the present, both of which A. V. and the Rev. give by the present, looking. *an angel*, after the Greek; the angel, A. V. and all the rest. — v. 21. *it is he that*, by a new and free rendering to bring out the emphatic *αὐτός*, which the simple *he* of A. V. and all the rest seems adequately to express, as in 3, 11; 8, 24; 14, 2; 16, 20; 21, 27; it might have been rendered by *himself*, used absolutely, as in 8, 17 *Himself* took our infirmities, and S. John 4, 53; 5, 20; Heb. 13, 5 and often elsewhere, which is a thoroughly English use of the pronouns; see Life of Davison, pp. 240, 289 *himself*, absolute; pp. 238, 337 *herself*; p. 327 *myself*; Sir Philip Sidney's Psalms of David, p. 162 *myself*; p. 163 *thysself*; and Pref. of A. V., p. 116 a. — v. 22. *that it might be fulfilled which was spoken*; A. V. after Cran., Gen. and Rh. and so Dean Alford; that it schulde be fulfillid that, etc., Wycl.; to fulfill that which was spoken, Tynd. and 1st Gen. This form was found also in A. V. in 2, 15; 2, 23; 8, 17; 12, 17; 21, 4; 27, 35 (now rejected from the text), and has been retained by the Rev., and 13, 35 (*it—that*) has been conformed to the others. In 2, 17 and 27, 9, A. V. had, then was fulfilled that which, etc. The pronoun *it* is regularly either enclitic or proclitic, and therefore should not be used, as it is not except very rarely, as simple antecedent to a relative, or where it would take an emphasis. Cases like, he it is that, S. John 14, 21; Ps. 108, 13, and, It is this which, South's Sermons, III. p. 204; 'tis false which they charge the Bishops with, Selden, T. T. p. 28; present no difficulty, as the emphasis does not fall on the word *it*. A better rendering here therefore would be, that that might be fulfilled which was

spoken, as Mr. Darby gives it. This form, in its various senses, occurs now and then; as, to receyve that that shalbe shewyd him, Ellis, Original Letters, I. pp. 241, 248; here is that that causeth the offence, Life of Davison, p. 323; as for that that is said, Selden, T. T. p. 99; and so, I answered that that needed not, Life of Davison, p. 247; so A. V. and the Rev. allow, we remember that that deceiver said, in 27, 63; S. John 21, 23; and the Rev. have even introduced it into Heb. 12, 13, that that which is lame, etc. There are, however, instances of the form we have criticized, in which this pronoun can hardly be read without emphasis; as, but on whomsoever it shall fall, 21, 44; as for the light of mine eyes, it also is gone, Ps. 38, 10; to be bound unto it and none other, Bp. Bancroft at the Conference after the accession of James I.; to bury it and them, Walton's Angler, p. 224; to get money out of other Mens Pockets, and to it into their own, Selden, T. T. p. 107; owing to that cause and to it alone, Spedding's Rev. etc. p. 74;—the natural intellect of man. It, too, grows, even in the most uneducated, Liddon's Univ. Sermons, p. 122. —v. 23. *the virgin*, after the Greek; a virgin, Wycl. and all the rest (that mayde, 1st Gen.) *which is, being interpreted*, a change of order to conform to Acts 4, 36; which being interpreted is, A. V. after Rh., which seems better, as bringing the verb directly before its predicate. —v. 24. *And (δέ)*, after Wycl., Tynd., Cran., 1st Gen., and Rh.; Then, A. V. after 2d Gen. *arose*, after Wycl., roos. *his sleep* (τοῦ ὕπνου), the article in such case being equivalent to an unemphatic possessive pronoun, a fact which A. V. did not recognize, and therefore when they employed the possessive under such circumstances it is italicized; as, *our* sicknesses (τὰς νόσους) 10, 17; *thy* cloke (τὸ ἱμάτιον) 5, 40; 9, 5 (where the text is now changed); *his* hand (τὴν χεῖρα) 8, 3; 8, 20; 10, 24; *their* nets (τὰ δίκτυα) 4, 20, and so often elsewhere. *commanded* (Greek aorist), after Wycl. and Rh.; had bidden, A. V. after Cran.; this is one of the few instances in which the Rev. have made a pure English word give place to a Latin or a Romance word, and here for the sake of dignity. The pluperfect is more exact in this passage, and Dr. Campbell, Dr. Noyes, and Dean Alford have employed it here, as the Revisers themselves have done in 26, 1; 26, 57; 27, 31, 35 and elsewhere. —v. 25. *and*: so A. V. after Wycl. and all the rest. There can be no doubt that the Heb. ׀, used with a loose simplicity not only for *and*, but also where more cultivated languages employ *and yet*, *but*; *for*, *therefore*; *that* (both final and demonstrative), etc., gave a coloring to καὶ in the LXX. and in the N. T.; and the more precise

word here would be *but*, as the 2d Gen., Dr. Campbell, and Dr. Second give it. This fact is recognized more frequently by A. V. than by the Revisers, who have even obscured some passages by neglecting it, as 11, 19 and S. Luke 7, 35. *a son*, by a change of text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles; her first-born son, A. V. and so the Germ. and the Holl. Rev.

CH. II. v. 1. *wise men from the east came*, by a change of order; there came wise men from the east, A. V. after Wycl. and all the rest, and so de Wette, and the Germ. and the Holl. Rev. — v. 2. *saw*, after the Greek aorist; have seen, A. V. after Wycl. and all the rest. The Rev. make it a point generally to render the Greek aorist tense by the English imperfect, and the Greek perfect by the English perfect, and in many instances this gives a more exact and better representation of the original, but it sometimes sacrifices the English idiom to the Greek. — v. 3. *And* (καί), rendering the particle after Rh., which A. V. and the rest omit. *it*: supplied by the Rev. but not italicized; see on 1, 17; *these things*, supplied by A. V. after Cran. — v. 4. *gathering together*, after Gen.; when he had gathered, A. V. after Cran.; inquired, after Rh.; demanded, A. V. after Cran. *the Christ*, after the Greek and as a title; see on 1, 17; Christ, A. V. and all the rest. — v. 6. *land of Judah*, after Wycl. and Rh., which both insert the article; *in the land of Judah*, A. V., neglecting to italicize the article, after Tynd. *in no wise least*, closer to the Greek, after Mr. Darby; not the least, A. V. and all the rest. *shall come forth*, closer to the Greek, after Rh. and substantially Wycl.; shall come, A. V. after Tynd. *a governor, which*: by a new rendering; that, A. V. and all the rest. The propriety of continuing to use *which* of persons in our English Bible has been called in question especially in this country, where it strikes the generality of the people not so much as an archaism as a mark of ignorance. This use would naturally be less offensive to the common people of Great Britain. But let us inquire into the actual use of *which* in this way in some good English taken at random of the century preceding the A. V. of 1611, of the time of the A. V., and of the century following.

Of Ellis' Original Letters, in 236 pp. 12mo, of state papers and letters of distinguished persons in the early part of the reign of Henry VIII, we find *which* used of persons 32 times only, and in the 21 instances in which reference is made to God and the Persons of the Holy Trinity, *which* is employed once only.

In Sir Harris Nicolas' Life of William Davison, Secretary to

Queen Elizabeth, we find in 166 pp. 8vo. of documents, *which* used of persons 8 times only.

In the Preface to the A. V. of 1611, making 16 pp. 4to in Dr. Scrivener's edition (in amount about equal to two-thirds of S. Matt.), we find *which* used of persons 3 times only.

In Walton's Angler, making 246 pp. 12mo, we find *which* used of persons 8 times only.

Of Dryden's famous prose, in the *Epistle Dedicatory* to the *Rival Ladies*, in the *Epistle Dedicatory* to the *Essay on Dramatick Poetry*, and in the *Essay* itself, these pieces making in all 129 pp. 8vo. in Malone's edition, we find *which* used of persons twice only.

We will add the usage in this particular of three poetical works of about the last half of the 16th, and the first half of the 17th century.

In *The Psalmes of David translated into Verse by Sir Philip Sidney and the Countess of Pembroke, his Sister*, 43 in number and making 111 pp. 12mo, we find *which* used of persons only twice.

Shakspeare indeed used *which* of persons, but in his Julius Caesar, which we chanced to take for this examination, we did not find *which* used of persons in a single instance; for *armies which*, IV 2, is a case of *which* referring to a collective noun, and this is a common modern as well as ancient usage.

In Herrick's *Noble Numbers*, making 105 pp. 12mo, we find *which* used of persons only once.

Now in the Revision of St. Matt., which makes only about 46 pp. 12mo, we find *which* used of persons 58 times, and of these instances 23 are of God or of the Persons of the Holy Trinity, 4 of these 58 being added by the Revisers, making more than one case of this use of *which* to a page; while in the old English adduced above, making in all 1081 pp. 4to, 8vo, and 12mo, we find *which* used of persons only 52 times or once in about 2.1 pp. So that had the Revisers of 1611 never in a single instance used *which* of persons in their work, the absence of it would scarcely have occasioned remark in comparison with the best English of one hundred years before their time, of their own time, or of one hundred years after; and such being the case, ought this frequent use of it in the Revision of 1881 to be regarded as justifiable? — v. 7. *privily called*, after Tynd. and Gen.; when he had *privily called*, A. V. after Cran. *lernyde*, Wycl. and Rh.; *enquired*, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. *carefully*, by a new rendering; *diligently*, A. V. after Tynd., but this word is now obsolete in this



sense. — v. 8. *bring me word*, after Tynd.; *bring me word again* (*i. e.* make reporte to me, Rh.) after Cran., which more fully gives the Greek (ἀπαγγέλλω, not ἀγγέλλω). *that I also may come and worship him*, to keep closer to the order of the Greek (καὶ γὰρ); that I may come and worship him also, A. V. after Tynd., but not by oversight. *Also* stands directly after and directly before its word; as, after, 5, 39; 5, 40; 10, 33, etc.; before, 12, 45, etc.; but it has a certain freedom of position, as here, and the Revisers themselves have allowed it elsewhere; as 6, 14; 6, 21, etc.; compare Fox's History, p. 382, Upon the Duke of York's return, Monmouth thought he might without blame return also, for *he also*; then indeed St. Paul's preaching was vain and our faith is vain also, for *our faith also*, Bp. Lightfoot, Pref. to Com. on Gal. — v. 9. *And they, having heard the king, went their way*, after Rh. nearly, Who, having heard the king, went their way; When they had heard the king, they departed, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. — v. 10. *And when*, after Gen.; When, A. V. after Tynd. and Cran. omitting the particle (δέ). — v. 11. *And they came into the house*, after Wycl. nearly, and thei entriden in to the hous; And when they were come into the house, A. V. by a new rendering. *opening their treasures they offered*, after Rh.; when they had opened their treasures, they presented, A. V. after Wycl. nearly. — v. 12. *of God*, in italics, which are omitted by A. V., and so in v. 22; see on 1, 17. — v. 13. *Now*, by a new rendering; And, A. V. after Wycl. *an angel*, after the Greek, and so Rh.; the angel, A. V. after Wycl. and the rest. *until I tell thee*, after Rh. nearly, until I shal tel the. — v. 14. *And he arose and took*, after Rh. nearly, Who arose, and tooke; When he arose, he took, A. V. after Tynd. — v. 15. *Did I call*, after the Greek (aorist), by a new rendering; have I called, A. V. after Wycl. and the rest; see on v. 2. — v. 16. *The male children*, to mark the gender of the Greek (τοὺς παῖδας), after Gen. and Rh.; the children, A. V. after the rest. The Greek expression in itself, like *nati* in Latin, and even *pueri* in the Old Latin, might include both sexes. de Wette observes the distinction here; the Germ. Rev. and the Holl. disregard it. *borders*, after Rh.; coasts, A. V. after Wycl. and the rest. *Jeremiah*; see on 1, 3. — v. 18. *A voice was heard in Ramah*, after Rh. nearly, A voice in Ramah was heard; In Ramah was there a voice heard, A. V. nearly after Gen. *weeping and great mourning*, by a change of text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles; lamentation and weeping and great mourning, A. V. *because they are not*, after the Greek (ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶ), after Wycl.

and Rh. ; but better, because they were not, after Tynd., Cran., and Gen., by attraction into the past tense, which the Revisers themselves commonly use in such cases ; as *was* (*ἦν*) 16, 20 ; *was passing by* (*παράγει*) 20, 30 ; *was coming* (*ἔρχεται*) 24, 43, and often elsewhere. — v. 20. *they are dead that*, after Wycl. and Rh. ; they are dead which, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest. This is one of the few cases wherein the Rev. have given up the use of *which* of persons. — v. 22. *and*, after Wycl. and Rh. ; notwithstanding, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and 1st Gen. *he withdrew*, by a new rendering ; he turned aside, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. — v. 23. *that he should be called a Nazarene*, after Gen. ; and so de Wette, Dr. Noyes, Dr. Davidson, and Weizsäcker ; or equally well, He shall be called a Nazarene, A. V. after Tynd. and Cran.

CH. III. v. 1. *And in these days*, after Gen. and Rh. ; In those days, A. V. after Wycl., Tynd., and Cran., who neglect the particle (*ὅτε*). *saying*, by a change of text after Lachmann and Tischendorf ; And saying, A. V. — v. 3. *Isaiah* : Esaias, A. V. ; see on 1, 3. *Isaiah the prophet*, by a change of order to conform to the Greek, after Wycl. and Rh. *make ye ready*, after Wycl. ; prepare ye, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest. — v. 4. *Now John himself*, by a new and exact rendering ; And the same John, a new rendering of A. V., which here and sometimes elsewhere treats the Greek pronoun (*αὐτός*) with inexactness. *food*, after Dr. Campbell, Dr. Noyes, and Dr. Davidson ; *meat*, A. V. after Wycl. and all the rest. — v. 5. *unto him* ; to him, A. V. and all the rest ; *unto* improves the sound. *Jordan*, after A. V. and all the rest ; the Jordan, after the Greek, Dr. Campbell, Dr. Noyes, Mr. Darby, and Dr. Davidson. This omission of the article with the name of a river has been quite obsolete for a long period. We have observed the following in regard to this matter. In the 16th century, in Ellis' Original Letters I. pp. 146, 147 *bis* *Themys* (Thames) is found ; in the 17th century, in Walton's Angler, this form is found three times in all : *Trent*, p. 131 ; *Severn*, p. 188 ; *Thames*, p. 135 ; but, *the Thames*, p. 85 ; in Maundrell's Journey it is found 8 times in all : *Eleutherus*, pp. 24, 25 ; *Adonis*, p. 36 ; *Casimeer*, p. 47 ; *Jordan*, pp. 80 *bis*, 82, 83 ; while in Dryden's Prose and in Sir William Temple, the present writer has noted only the form with the article ; as, Dryden, I. p. 35, *the Thames*, and again p. 36 ; Temple I. p. 69, *the Rhine*, and so on pp. 77, 103, 114 *bis* ; and a single page of Gibbon (Decline and Fall, etc., Lond. 1854, ch. I. p. 157) gives us the following : *the Tagus, the Rhine, the Po, the Adige, and the Tiber*. Nor have

the Revisers been consistent in their own use. While this word in the Greek Testament (as well as in the Hebrew Bible with only two exceptions easy to be explained) always has the article, the Revisers have omitted it here and in 4, 15; 4, 25; 19, 1; S. Mark 3, 8; 10, 1; S. Luke 3, 3; S. John 1, 28; 3, 26; 10, 40; but have retained it in 3, 13; S. Mark 1, 9; and S. Luke 4, 1.—v. 7. *coming*, after the Greek, and so Wycl. and Rh.; come, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest. *Ye offspring of vipers*, after Dr. Campbell; O generation, etc., A. V. after Tynd. *warned*, after the Greek aorist; so Wycl., *shewide*; hath warned, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest; see on 2, 2.—v. 8. *fruit worthy of*, after Rh. and substantially after Wycl.; fruits meet for, A. V. by a new rendering.—v. 9. *our father*, supplying *our* but not italicizing it; *our father*, A. V.; see on 1, 17.—v. 10. *even now*, after Tynd., Cran. and 1st Gen.; and now also, A. V. after 2d Gen. *every tree therefore*, after Rh. to preserve more closely the order of the Greek; therefore every tree, A. V. after Wycl.—v. 11. *with the Holy Ghost and with fire*, repeating the preposition, after Tynd., Cran., and Gen., and italicizing it after A. V. The preposition where expressed as here only once may of course be repeated or not according to the exigency of the passage. In this passage the repetition adds dignity, and well suits 5, 25, but in 5, 45 it seems properly omitted by the Rev. against A. V.—v. 12. *is*, supplied, but not italicized; *is*, A. V.; see on 1, 17. *thoroughly*, after A. V.; it does not appear why this quite obsolete spelling should be retained when our modern form thoroughly as well as throughly is found in A. V. Throughly is found twice in the O. T., Ex. 21, 9 and 2 K. 11, 18; and thorughly is found in the 15th century, Nicolas' Journal of Beckington a. 1442, p. 20. *cleanse his threshing-floor*, by a new rendering; nearly after Wycl., clense his corn flore; purge his floor, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Rh. *the chaff he will burn up*, by a change of order to keep closer to the Greek, after Wycl. and Rh.; he will burn up the chaff, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen.—v. 13. *the Jordan*, after the Greek; Jordan, A. V. omitting the article, after Wycl. and the rest; see on v. 5.—v. 14. *John would have hindered* (the Greek tentative imperfect), after Dr. Davidson; John forbad, A. V. after Wycl.—v. 15. *Suffer it now*, with the marginal, *Or me*; *Suffer it to be so now*, A. V. after Tynd., Let it be so now, and Rh., *Suffer me at this time*. *he suffereth*, by a new rendering after the Greek; he suffered, A. V. after Wycl. and the rest.—v. 16. *from the water*, after the Greek (ἀπό) and Wycl.; out

of the water, A. V. inexactly after Tynd. and the rest. *as a dove*, closer to the Greek (*ὡσεὶ*) after Wycl. and Rh.; like a dove, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest. *coming*, a literal rendering of the Greek after Wycl. and Rh.; *lighting*, A. V. and the rest, which is a technical rendering and followed by Dr. Campbell.—v. 17. *out of the heavens*, close to the Greek (*ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν*) by a new rendering; from heaven, A. V. and all except Wycl., from hevenes. *in whom I am well pleased*, after Cran., Gen., Rh., and A. V.; in whom is my delyte, Tynd.; in quo mihi complacui, Vulg.; in which Y have plesid to me, Wycl.; in whom I have found my delight, Mr. Darby. We have here a Greek aorist, not present, and the phrase occurs without variation of tense in 12, 18; 17, 5; S. Mark 1, 11; S. Luke 3, 22; 2 Pet. 1, 17; and in all these passages also the Revisers translate the past tense by a present. But Meyer, the greatest of the German commentators, and some others, regard it here as a real past and would so translate it, *in whom I was well pleased, in whom I found delight*, considering it as said in reference to the Son's assumption of the Mediatorial office, as distinguished from the love which naturally enters into our conception of the mutual relation of Paternity and Sonship (Dr. Addison Alexander on this place). Compare the aorists also in our Lord's discourses of his relation to the Father; as, *ἠγάπησέ με ὁ πατήρ*, S. John 15, 9; 17, 23, 26; *ἤκουσα* *ib.* 15, 15; *ἔδωκας*, *ib.* 17, 2, 8; *ἐσφράγισεν*, *ib.* 6, 27.

CH. IV. v. 3. *And the tempter came and said*, after Wycl. nearly, And the tempter cam nyge and seide; And when the tempter came to him, he said, A. V. after Cran. *If thou art the Son of God*, after the Greek (indicative, not subjunctive), and Wycl., if thou art Goddis sone; if thou be, etc., A. V. after Tynd. and the rest. The Revisers have made it a special point in their work to distinguish between the Greek indicative mood and the subjunctive, but in the following cases in S. Matt. they have left the subjunctive of A. V.: 6, 23, if the light that is in thee be darkness; 14, 28, Lord, if it be thou; 26, 63, whether thou be the Christ; though the indicative stands in the Greek. The numerous changes by the Revisers of the subjunctive to the indicative have given a modern tinge to their work, as the subjunctive from the circumstance that it can be distinguished only in a few forms, as *is—be, has—have, was—were*, and the third person singular of the present, has become greatly disused, and even the distinction between *was* and *were*, which is often very important, has been disregarded not unfrequently by eminent English writers. The

tendency among the old writers to use the subjunctive after certain particles, without strict reference to the thought, is well known, but we will instance in a single writer, Walton. In the *Angler* we found *if* with the subjunctive 34 times, with the indicative 5 times; *unless* with the subjunctive 10 times, with the indicative not once; *except* with the subjunctive once, but not with the indicative; *though* with the subjunctive 8 times, with the indicative 5 times; *whether* with the subjunctive 3 times, but not with the indicative; *till* with the subjunctive 4 times, and *until* once; *till* with the indicative 4 times. *become*, after Dr. Campbell, Dr. Noyes, Mr. Darby, and Dr. Davidson; be made, A. V. after Wycl and the rest. — v. 5. *taketh him*, after the Greek and Wycl. (took, and so 2d Gen.); *taketh him up*, A. V. freely after Cran. *he set*, by a change of text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles; *he setteth*, A. V. *the pinnacle*, after the Greek, and so Wycl. and Rh.; a *pinnacle*, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest, who neglect the definite article. — v. 6. *If thou art*, etc., after the Greek and Wycl.; *If thou be*, etc., A. V. after Tynd. and the rest; see on v. 3. *on*, by a new and exacter rendering of the Greek (*ἐν*); *in*, A. V. after Wycl. and Rh. *their*, supplied after Tynd. and the rest except Wycl., but not italicized; *their*, A. V.; see on 1, 17. *in hondis*, Wycl. *haply*, by a new rendering, but substantially after Wycl., peraventure, and Rh., perhaps; at any time, A. V. after Cran. and Gen. — v. 7. *Again it is written*, change of order to conform to the Greek; *It is written again*, A. V. after Cran. and Gen. — v. 8. *the devil taketh him*; *taketh him up*, A. V. after Tynd. (toke hym up) and Cran. *unto*, after Gen.; *into*, A. V. after Wycl. and the rest. — v. 9. *he said*, by a change of text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles; *he saith*, A. V. after Cran. — v. 10. *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God*, after A. V. and the rest except Rh., which preserves the more forcible Greek order, *The Lord thy God shalt thou worship*; so the Vulgate. — v. 12. *when he*, by change of text after Tischendorf and Tregelles; *when Jesus*, A. V. This is a variation which we often meet with, the proper name having been introduced into the Lectionary for the sake of perspicuity, as in the case of our own Liturgical books. *was delivered up*, after Rh.; *was cast into prison*, A. V. by a new and free rendering. *he withdrew*, by a new rendering; *he retired*, Rh.; *he departed*, A. V. after Tynd. and Cran. The Revisers have in many cases, as here, substituted pure English words for Latin or Romance words; as in 8, 3; 20, 34; 26, 74; and so *mindest* for *savourest* 16, 23; *lead*

*astray* for *deceive* 24, 4 ; and *hearing* for *audience*, S. Luke, 20, 45 ; and again archaic for common forms ; as, *must needs come* for *must come* 24, 6 ; *he repented himself* for *he repented* 21, 29 ; *thrice* for *three times* Acts 11, 10. — v. 13. *by the sea*, after Wycl. nearly, beside the sea ; upon the sea coast, A. V. after Cran. — v. 13. *Zebulun and Naphtali* ; see on 1, 3. — v. 15. *Toward the sea*, by a new rendering, the Rev. supplying, but not italicizing the preposition ; *by the way of the sea*, A. V. after Cran. ; see on 1, 17. *beyond Jordan*, the Greek article being omitted after Wycl. and the rest ; see on 3, 5. *a great light*, by a new rendering ; great light, without the article Wycl. and the rest. *To them did light spring up*, by a new and more exact rendering ; light is risen to them, Rh. ; light is sprung up, A. V. after Wycl. and the rest, who omit the pronoun (*airois*). — v. 17. *began Jesus*, new and improved order after the Greek ; Jesus began, A. V. after Wycl. and the rest. *Repent ye*, by an insertion of the subject after Wycl. as in 3, 2 ; Repent, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest. The subjective pronoun of the imperative mood, as well as of the other finite forms, is often not expressed in Greek, but its insertion sometimes adds dignity as here, sometimes earnestness, sometimes marks emphasis or contrast, and sometimes gives a pleasing fulness to the expression. — v. 18. *he saw*, by change of reading after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles ; Jesus—saw, A. V. ; see on v. 12. *Simon who is called Peter*, after Rh. and more close to the Greek ; so substantially all but A. V., by a new rendering, Simon, called Peter. — v. 19. *Come ye after me*, closer to the Greek after Wycl. and Rh. ; Follow me, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest. — v. 20. *the nets*, after the Greek ; so Wycl., Cran., Gen., and Rh. ; *their nets*, A. V. after Tynd. and 1st Gen. ; see on 1, 24. — v. 21. *other two brethren*, archaic order after A. V. and the rest except Wycl. who gives us the modern order, *tweyne othere britheren*. The Revisers have retained the archaic order also in 25, 16, 20, *other five* ; 25, 17, *other two* ; but in 25, 22 they have changed the *two other* of A. V., Tynd., Cran., and Gen. into *other two*. In the old language we often find *other* also before the noun and article ; as, all other the creditors, Life of Davison, p. 224 ; others the commissioners, *ib.* pp. 231, 242. — v. 21. *from thence*, A. V. after Tynd. and all the rest. The Rev. have done well in retaining, on occasion, this pleonastic form, found also in *from hence*, *from henceforth*, and *from whence*, which interchange with the simple forms *hence*, *thence*, *henceforth*, and *whence*, in the best English of all periods ; *from hence*, Dryden, Dram. Poesy, p. 70 ; Temple, I.

54; *from thence*, Dryden, Dram. Poesy, pp. 91 and 152; Temple, I. p. 67; Bentley's Sermons, p. 292; Addison, Spect. No. 74, who rarely uses these forms; *from whence*, Dryden, Dram. Poesy, p. 64. With these forms we may compare the Latin *abhinc*, *dehinc*, *deinde*, *exinde*, and the English *hitherto*, which is formed after the same analogy. *the son*, correctly after the Greek, son only being italicized; the son, A. V. *the boat*, by a new and exact rendering; a ship, A. V. after Wycl., Gen., and Rh.; Tynd. and Cran. preserve the article. — v. 22. *straightway*, by a new rendering by a pure English word; see on v. 12; *furtherwith*, Rh.; immediately, A. V. after Cran. the boat; the ship, A. V.; see on v. 21. — v. 23. *in all Galilee*, by a change of text after Tischendorf and Tregelles; all Galilee, A. V. — v. 24. *the report of him*, by a new rendering; the bruit of him, Rh.; his fame, A. V. after Wycl. and the rest. *went forth into all Syria*, by a new and more exact rendering; wente in to al Sirie, Wycl. and Rh.; went throughout all Syria, A. V. by a new rendering. *all that were sick*, by a more exact rendering, nearly after Wycl. and Rh.; all sick people, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest. *holden*, by a new rendering; that were taken, A. V. after Wycl., Tynd., Cran., and Gen. *possessed with devils* (δαιμονιζομένους), after A. V., Tynd., Cran., and Gen.; hem that hadden feendis, Wycl.; such as were possest, Rh. We find in the Greek Testament διάβολος, a *supernatural wicked spirit*, and in this sense always in the singular number and almost always with the definite article, and this Dr. Noyes translates and prints *the Devil*. We find also δαιμόνιον, a *demon* or *evil spirit*, δαιμονιώδης, *like a demon* (adj.), and δαιμονίζομαι, *to be possessed with a demon*. Some learned scholars think that these words δ διάβολος, δαιμόνιον, etc., should thus be carefully distinguished. But Wycliffe interchanged them; as (δ διάβολος), 4, 1 *the feend*; but 25, 41 *the devel*; (δαιμόνιον) 7, 22 *feendis*, but 9, 33 *devel*; (δαιμονιώδης) Jas. 3, 15 *feendli*; (δαιμονίζομαι) 4, 24 that hadden *feendis*, but 8, 16, that hadden *develis*. Luther, Tynd., Cran., Gen., and Rh. rendered all alike *devil*, *devilish*, possessed (*with devils*). Dean Alford ignores the distinction, and so do the Revisers of 1881, de Wette, and the Revised German. But Dr. Campbell, Diss. VI. Pt. 1, insisted at great length on the distinction and carefully observed it himself in his translation of the Gospels, and he is followed in English by Dr. Noyes, Mr. Darby, and Dr. Davidson; the distinction is observed also in French by the Abbé Glaire and Dr. Segond, by the Holland Revision, and in German by Weizsäcker. *epileptic*, by a new word; those which were lunatic, A. V., substantially after Wycl.

and the rest. *palsied*, by a new form ; those that had the palsy, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. *great multitudes*, by a new and closer rendering of the Greek (ὄχλοι πολλοί) ; great multitudes of people, A. V. after Cran. ; myche puple, Wycl. and Rh. *from Galilee and Decapolis and Jerusalem and Judaea and from beyond Jordan*, after the Rh., which supplies the preposition only before the last noun ; A. V. supplies and italicizes the preposition with the last four nouns after Wycl. and the rest, and the effect is good ; see on 3, 11. *Jordan* : so A. V. after Wycl. and the rest ; see on 3, 5.

CH. V. v. 1. *the mountain*, after the Greek ; a mountain, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest, omitting the definite article ; an hil, Wycl. *had sat down*, after the Greek, and so Dr. Noyes ; was set, A. V. after Wycl. and the rest. — v. 3. *are*, supplied, but not italicized, and so vv. 4–10 ; *are*, A. V. ; see on 1, 17. — v. 3. *theirs*, after the form of the 1st ed. of A. V. ; their's, in the later editions ; so *ours*, *yours*, *hers* for *our's*, *your's*, *her's*. — v. 6. *they that*, after Wycl. and Rh. ; they which, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., Gen. ; see on 2, 6. — v. 9. *sons*, after the Greek ; children, A. V. after Wycl. and the rest. — v. 10. *they that*, after Wycl. and Rh. ; they which, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest ; see on 2, 6. *have been persecuted*, after the Greek perfect ; are persecuted, A. V., by a new rendering ; suffren persecusioun, Wycl. and the rest ; see on 2, 2. — v. 11. *reproach*, by a new rendering ; revile, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest except Wycl., curse. *say*, after Rh. omitting the auxiliary *shall* of A. V. after Tynd. This omission, a change well made in several places by the Revisers, gives a unity to the sentence. — v. 13. *if the salt have lost its savour*, by a new rendering, introducing a new form, here as well as elsewhere, on occasion, into the Revision ; his savour, A. V. after Cran. and Gen. ; hir saltness, Tynd. The form *its* does not occur in A. V. (of its own accord in Lev. 25, 5 is a modern change ; in the original ed. of 1611 it stands, *of it owne accord*) nor in Spenser's works, is rare in Shakspeare and Bacon, more frequent in Milton, and had quite established itself in Dryden's time (Morris, Hist. Eng. Grammar, § 133). This is not quite correct as to Dryden. In about 120 pp. of Vol. I. that we examined we found *its* 11 times and *its own* 5 times, but *his* for *its* occurs on p. 86. In about 100 pp. of South, who was of the same period as Dryden, we found *its* 23 times, but no case of *his* for *its*. *His* in the Old English was the possessive masculine and neuter (comp. the Greek αὐτοῦ, *his*, *its*, and the Latin ejus, *his*, *hers*, *its*) and *her* feminine ; and *his* and *her* did duty for the modern *its*, as *his* in this passage.



We find the interchange of *his* and *her* in S. Matt. 24, 32 *his branch*, and S. Mark 13, 28 *her branch*, and *her* again used with *it* in 1 Cor. 13, 5 *itself—her. and trodden*, a new form for the sake of unity; see on v. 11; and to be trodden, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., Gen., and Rh. — v. 14. *a hill*, new form in accordance with good modern usage; an *hill*, A. V. after Wycl., Tynd., Cran., and Gen., the form *an* before *h* being common down through the 17th century. — v. 15. *lamp*, by a new and unnecessary rendering; candle, A. V. after Tynd. and all except Wycl., *lanterne. the bushel*, after the Greek; a bushel, A. V. after Wycl. and the rest, omitting the definite article. *the stand*, by a new rendering; a candlestick, A. V. after Wycl. and the rest. *shineth*, by a new rendering to conform it to the next verse; giveth light, A. V. after Wycl. and Cran. — v. 16. *Even so let your light shine*, by change of order after Wycl. and Rh., and by supplying *Even* without italicizing it; Let your light so shine—that, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. — v. 17. *came*, to preserve the Greek aorist, and so Wycl.; am come, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest; see on 2, 2. *came*, as before. — v. 18. *pass away—pass away*, by a new and exact rendering; pass—pass, A. V. after Wycl., Cran., and Rh. *all things be accomplished: all things* after Wycl. and Gen., *be accomplished*, by a new rendering; all be fulfilled, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Rh. — v. 19. *one of these least commandments*, after Wycl. and the rest; so Meyer, Dean Alford, Dr. Noyes, Mr. Darby, Dr. Segond, and the Germ. Rev.; one of these commands even the least, de Wette and Dr. Davidson, and so substantially Weizsäcker; one of the least of these commands, Sir John Cheke and the Holl. Rev. By *these least commands*, our Lord means, according to Meyer, what he had just designated by *one jot or one tittle*, and if this be so, the Revisers are right; and so the Vulg. without ambiguity, *unum de mandatis istis minimis*. Two passages in the Gospels closely connect themselves with this: 25, 40 ἓν τούτων τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου τῶν ἐλαχίστων, and 25, 45 ἐνὶ τούτων τῶν ἐλαχίστων; the former of which is rendered by A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen., one of the least of these my brethren; and the latter, one of the least of these, but the Vulg. by an unambiguous form excludes this second partitive construction from each, *uni ex his fratribus meis minimis* and *uni de minoribus his*, and the Rev., after Wycl. and Rh., follow the Vulg. It must not be imagined that the order of the words settles the construction in these passages; for we find the partitive genitive intermediate in 7, 9 τίς ἐστιν ἐξ ὑμῶν ἄνθρωπος—; and before it in S. Luke 5, 6, ἰχθύων

πλήθος, and 9, 17; 13, 21; and in S. John 1, 35 ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ δύο, and 6, 70; 6, 71; 9, 16; 12, 42, and 18, 9; and this order is not unfrequent in classic Greek; as, τῶν ὀπλιτῶν τὸ πλήθος Xen. Anab. 5, 2, 21; Thuc. 6, 35; τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοὺς ἀχρειστάτους Thuc. 2, 6. *shall be called*, by a new rendering; he shall be called, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen., *he* not being expressed in the Greek in this clause, but it is expressed in the last clause of the verse. *them*, added but not italicized; *them*, A. V.; see on 1, 17. *he*, after Rh. (οὗτος, expressed); the same, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. This old demonstrative, *the same*, the Rev. have well retained in many instances, have sometimes changed to *he*, etc., as here where either form might well stand, but have sometimes changed to the injury of the passage, as in 12, 50, which see. — v. 20. *the righteousness of the Scribes*, after Tynd., Cran., and Gen., supplying *the righteousness* and italicizing it, while in a similar passage, Acts 12, 20, they have supplied the noun, but have not italicized it; *that* of the Scribes, Rh., as the English idiom requires and as the Rev. have given in S. John 5, 36; sometimes the Greek expresses the noun twice and then it may be given in English, as in S. Luke 11, 51, from the blood of Abel unto the blood of Zachariah; and in S. John 12, 43, they loved the praise of men more than the praise of God, Rev. after A. V. and the rest. *in no wise* (οὐ μή), by a new rendering; *in no case*, A. V. which was the first to render this strengthened form at all. — v. 21. *it was said to them*, after Wycl. and the rest except A. V., which gave *by them*, by a new rendering, after Beza and others; but the Rev. here follow S. Chrysostom, Luther, Bengel, de Wette, Meyer and others, and this view is in accordance with the use of ῥηθῆναι τιμι in the N. T. — v. 22. *every one who* (πᾶς ὁ—), closer to the Greek, after Wycl. nearly, ech man that; whosoever, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest. *with his brother*, with an omission from the text after Lachmann and Tischendorf; with his brother without a cause, A. V. (Tregelles puts it in the margin). *and whosoever* (ὅς), after Gen. and Rh.; but whosoever, A. V. after Wycl. (but he that), Tynd., and Cran., and to render this same particle in this and the preceding clause by *but* will bring out the opposition and climax here. *the hell of fire*, literally and awkwardly after Rh.; the fier of helle, Wycl.; hell fire (from A. S. helle fyr, *fire of hell*), A. V. well after Tynd., Cran., and Gen.; and this phrase is used by Shaksp. H. IV. 3, 3, 36; H. V. 2, 3, 44. — v. 23. *If therefore thou art offering—and there rememberest*, with both verbs in the indicative

mood after Wycl. and Cran.; Rh. has both verbs in the subjunctive; if thou bring—and there rememberest, A. V. after Gen. with the first verb in the subjunctive and the second in the indicative, and this not by an error of grammar, as Canon Westcott supposed (Hist. Eng. Bible, p. 171), but by a change of conception. Instances of such change are by no means wanting in our older English: If he *be sent*—and he *finds*, etc., Selden, T. T. p. 118; If a constable *command* me—and *has* power to make me, etc., *ib.* p. 128; If it [the affair] *be* more intricate or *suffers* delay, Sir Wm. Temple, I. p. 124; though there *be* a vast distance between him and them, and they *are* to obey him, yet, etc., Selden, T. T. p. 53; though the preference *seem* decided—and it *is* capable of, etc., Sir Wm. Temple, I. p. 50; whether it *be*—whether this *has had*, South's Sermons, III. p. 358; and compare in Greek, *εἰ τις ἡμῖν ἐροῖτο, ἀλλ' εἰ τις φαίνοιτο*, Xen. Ages. 11, 3 (Goodwin, Gr. Moods and Tenses, § 51, n. 3); *ἢν ἐθέλωμεν—εἰ δὲ φοβησόμεθα*, Isocr. Archid. § 107 (Goodwin, *ib.* § 50, n. 1.) *ought*, by a new form to remove the ambiguity of the form *ought*; *ought*, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest. — *v. 25. whiles*: so A. V. after Tynd. and the rest; and in Acts 5, 4 after A. V. by a new rendering. This is a very rare old genitive of the noun *while* used adverbially, as, for a while, 13, 21; after a while, 26, 73, etc., which is still common; so Chaucer, C. T. 35 (Harleian MS., Skeat); Pref. to Doway Bible; Bp. Hall's Sat. 2, 6 (1597); and according to Schmidt, Shaksp. Lex., used 19 times by Shaksp. including three cases of uncertain form; so also *otherwhiles*, Life of Davison, p. 353, and Shaksp. H. VI. 1, 2, 7; so the noun *way* gives the adverb *always*, *need* gives *needs* (M. Eng. *needes*), and *gate* (from the Danish *gate*, *way*, *manner*) gives *algates*, and also *othergates* (= otherwise), Shaksp. 12th N.V. 198; the preposition *beside* gives the adverb *besides*, and so A. V. properly distinguishes in the O. T. and N., and the Rev. follow them; as, the *preposition*: beside women and children, 14, 21; 15, 38; beside all this, Luke 24, 21, etc.; the *adverb*: besides, I know not, etc., 1 Cor. 1, 16; thou owest to me even thine own self besides, Philem. 19, which are the only two cases in the A. V. of N. T.; and the adjective *unaware* (it may be so taken in Sh. M. V. 823, 1116) gives the adverb *unawares*, Luke 21, 34 (A. V.); Heb. 13, 2. This suffix *s* therefore being properly the sign of the genitive and converting words into modifiers, ought not to be appended to words already modifiers as *afterward*, *henceforward*, *together* (comp. the old form *togethers*, Ellis, Original Letters, p. 328), nor to prepositions as such, as *toward*, *beside*, *among*

(comp. the old form *amonges*, Ellis, Original Letters, p. 361), etc. This principle, already fixed in the case of certain words and becoming settled in others, the Revisers have observed uniformly in S. Matt. except in 17, 49 *towards his disciples*, where we might suppose that they used this form as a mere matter of sound before *his*, but the examples, *toward Abraham*, S. Luke 1, 55; and *towards their own*, etc., 1 Tim. 5, 4, show that they did not make or at least did not carry out such a distinction. They seem to use the regular form *always* (18, 10; 26, 11 *his*; 1 Thess. 1, 2; 2 Thess. 1, 11), and the less common and poetic form *alway* (28, 20; Acts 10, 2; Phil. 4, 4; 2 Thess. 1, 3; 2 Thess. 2, 13) without discrimination, but it would have been better to reserve *alway* for the more solemn passages as 28, 20, where they have well allowed it to stand after A. V. *in the way*: so A. V. after Wycl. and the rest; and so Dean Alford, Mr. Darby, and Dr. Davidson; on the road, Dr. Campbell and Dr. Noyes; and the Revisers themselves have given *on the way* in S. Mark 16, 12; S. Luke 8, 14; 10, 4, and have even changed the parallel passage in S. Luke 12, 58 from *in the way* to *on the way*, but have left it here, and in 15, 32; 20, 17; S. Mark 10, 32; S. Luke 9, 57; 24, 32, 35. *In the way* was indeed formerly used as here; as, in my way to my Lord Chancellor, Life of Davison, p. 235; They may serve him well enough in the Way, but when he comes to Court, etc., Selden, T. T. p. 180; in his way from New Market, Fox's Hist. p. 388; in their road to New Market, *ib.* p. 385; but this form now is commonly used of an obstruction; as, the difficulties in the way of Burke's promotion, etc., Morley, Life of Burke, Lond. 1880, p. 139. We should have been glad therefore to see the Rev. change this and the other similar passages also to *on the way*, and they would have had even Elizabethan authority for it; having visited Mr. Secretary Walsingham on my way, Life of Davison, p. 262. *lest haply*, after Rh. nearly, lest perhaps; Wycl., lest peradventure; lest at any time, A. V. after Cran. — v. 26. *till thou have paid* (Greek subjunctive), after Tynd. and Cran.; till thou hast paid, A. V. after Gen.; see on 4, 3. *the last farthing*, after Wycl. and Rh.; the uttermost farthing, A. V. after the excellent rendering of Sir John Cheke. — v. 27. *Ye have heard that it was said*, with an omission from the text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles; Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, A. V. — v. 28. *every one that*, closer to the Greek ( $\pi\alpha\varsigma \delta$ —) and nearly after Wycl., *everi man that*; whosoever, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest. — v. 29. *if thy right eye causeth thee to stumble*, by a new rendering with an

endeavor to keep the primary meaning of the Greek verb (σκανδαλίζω) in its secondary sense. The Greek verb signified properly *to cause to stumble*, pass., *to stumble*; and secondarily, *to give offence to*, *to offend*, pass., *to be offended*; and as a causative, *to make offend*, pass., *to be made to offend*; and A. V. has admirably and satisfactorily always rendered this word by these secondary meanings, only it does not distinguish, as for example in this passage, between the general meaning *to offend* and the causative *to make offend*, using the form *to offend* for both. The Revisers seem in this instance to forget that a secondary meaning may become primary, as was probably the case with this word and with the Latin *offendo*. The primary use of *offendo*, *to hit against*, very seldom occurred, and was perhaps commonly no more present to the minds of the Romans than it is to ours when we employ *to offend*. If this was the case with σκανδαλίζω also, the Revisers' new rendering is not only not a faithful representation of the Greek, but even a misrepresentation of it, to say nothing of its awkwardness in many passages. They have thus unfortunately changed the A. V. in S. Matt. also in 5, 30; 11, 6; 13, 21; 17, 27; 18, 6; 18, 8; 18, 9; 24, 10; and elsewhere in the N. T., but have fortunately left the A. V. unchanged in the following passages: S. Matt. 13, 57; 15, 12; 26, 31; 26, 33 *bis*; S. Mark 6, 3; 14, 27; 14, 29 (in Rom. 14, 21 σκανδαλίζω is now omitted from the Greek text). If thy right eye offend thee, A. V. after Tynd.; if thy right eye cause thee to offend, Gen. excellently, and so Dr. Noyes and Dr. Davidson. *cast it*; *cast it*, A. V.; see on 1, 17. *that one of thy members should perish, and not thy whole body be cast into hell*, by a new and excellent rendering to unify the sentence, and so in v. 30; see on v. 11; that one of thy members should perish, and not that thy whole body should be cast into hell, A. V. by a new rendering. — v. 30. *cast it*; A. V. *cast it*; see on 1, 17. — v. 31. *It was said* (Greek aorist), after Rh.; *It hath been said*, A. V. after Wycl.; see on 2, 2. *also*, a loose rendering after 2d Gen., Rh. and Germ. Rev.; the particle here (&) is omitted by A. V., Tynd., Cran., and 2d Gen., but retained and rendered *and* by Wycl., Dr. Noyes, and Dr. Davidson. — v. 32. *every one that putteth away*, by change of text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles; *whosoever shall put away*, A. V. after Gen. *maketh her an adulteress*, by a new rendering; *causeth her to commit adultery*, A. V. by a new rendering. *when she is put away*, after Dr. Noyes and Dr. Davidson nearly, *when put away*; that is divorced, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. — v. 34. *by the heaven*, after Mr. Darby, to preserve the Greek article,

but against English idiom; by heaven, A. V. after Wycl. and the rest; so Dr. Noyes, Dean Alford, and Dr. Davidson. *the throne of God*, after Wycl., Rh., and Dr. Noyes, which better suits the dignity of the idea; God's throne, A. V. by a new rendering. — v. 35. *the footstool of his feet*, to keep close to the Greek after Rh. and Sir John Cheke; the stole of his feet, Wycl.; his footstool, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. *nor*, by a new rendering; neither, A. V. after Wycl. and the rest. *by Jerusalem*, after A. V. and the rest; the preposition in the Greek in the other cases in vv. 34, 35, 36 is *ἐν*, but here *ἐς*, and the Vulgate renders them all by *per*, but here the marginal *toward* seems better; cf. LXX. 2 Chron. 6, 20, 21, προσεύχεται ὁ παῖς σου ἐς τὸν τόπον τοῦτον, that is, *toward the temple*; and Dan. 6, 10, of prayer *toward Jerusalem*; in relation to Jerusalem, Dr. Davidson. — v. 36. *for*, after Wycl. (*ὅτι*; quia, Vulg.); because, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest. — v. 37. *speech*, after Dr. Davidson; communication, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. *and whatsoever*, closer to the Greek (*ὅδε*) after Wycl. and Rh.; for whatsoever, A. V. freely after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. *is of the evil one*; the Revisers here and in v. 39 and 6, 13 render the ambiguous forms τοῦ πονηροῦ, τῷ πονηρῷ as personal instead of abstract, putting the abstract in the margin. Many scholars regret this action of the Revisers and wish that the old rendering might have stood undisturbed with the new rendering in the margin; is of yvel, Wycl. and Rh.; cometh of evil, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. — v. 39. *Resist not*, by a free rendering after Gen.; that ye resist not, A. V. after Tynd. and Cran. *him that is evil*, after Wycl., an yvel man; evil, A. V. after Cran. and Rh.; see on v. 37. — v. 39. *smileth*, by a change of text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles; shall smite, A. V. — v. 40. *would go to law with thee*, by a new rendering; will sue thee at the law, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. *thy cloke* (τὸ ἱμάτιον); *thy cloke*, A. V. not recognizing the possessive force of the Greek article here; see on 1, 24. — v. 41. *one mile* (μῖλον ἓν), closer to the Greek after Rh.; a mile, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. — v. 44. *Love your enemies, and pray for them that persecute you*, etc., with an omission from the text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles; Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you, A. V. *them that*, after Rh.; hem that, Wycl.; them which, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen.; and so Dean Alford; them who, Dr. Campbell and Dr. Davidson; those who, Dr. Noyes and Mr.

Darby. The forms *he that*, *she that*, *they that*, and *him that*, with the personal pronoun used mostly as a demonstrative, are still common and perhaps not to be objected against, but *them that* seems to be avoided by writers of good taste. The Revisers have admitted this latter form 21 times into the Gospel of S. Matt., but might altogether have avoided it by using *those that* which was so much used by A. V. (*those that* occurs 7 times, and *them that* 8 times in the first twenty-five Psalms), which is found in the English of over four centuries ago; as, thoo that (*those that*) toke the castel, Journal of Beckington (1442), p. 100; and was the favorite form of Walton three centuries ago; as, Angler, pp. 9, 24, 33, 103, 129, 162, 187, while he admitted *them that* only once, p. 165; see on 2, 6. — v. 45. *sons*, close to the Greek by a new rendering; the *sones*, Wycl.; the *children*, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest. *on the evil and the good—on the just and the unjust*, by a new rendering; on the evil and on the good—on the just and on the unjust, A. V. by a new rendering; on the yvell and on the good—on the juste and unjuste, Tynd., Cran., and 1st Gen.; on the evill and the good—on the just and unjust, 2d Gen.; the Greek preposition is used only once in each phrase and the Revisers have well imitated this after Wycl. and Rh.; see on 3, 11; but the article is altogether omitted in the Greek and the English heightening the idea of the indiscriminate goodness of God. — v. 47. *the Gentiles the same*, by a change of text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles; the publicans so, A. V. — v. 48. *Ye shall therefore be*, close to the Greek after Tynd., Cran., and Gen.; Be ye therefore, A. V. after Vulg., Wycl., and Rh., but with just the same force. *as*, by a change of text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles; so Wycl. and 2d Gen.; even as, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and 1st Gen.; as also, 2d Gen. *your heavenly Father*, by a change of text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles; and so Vulg., Wycl., and Rh.; your Father which is in heaven, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen.

CH. VI. v. 1. *righteousness*, by a change of text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles; so Wycl. after the Vulgate; justice, Rh.; alms, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. *else*, after Wycl.; otherwise, A. V. after Rh., which is fuller and more dignified. *with your Father*, close to the Greek (*παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ*), after Cran.

and Rh. — v. 2. *When therefore*, the Greek order, after Tynd. and 1st Gen.; *Therefore when*, A. V. after Wycl. and the rest. *alms*, close to the Greek, after Wycl. and Rh.; *thine alms*, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest. *sound not*, after Rh.; *do not sound*, A. V. by a new rendering. *They have received*, a free rendering after Wycl. and Rh. from the Vulgate, which renders the Greek ἀνέχουσι (*they have in full*) by *receperunt*; so vv. 5, 16; *They have*, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest. — v. 4. *thy Father which*, after Tynd., Cran., Rh.; *thi fadir that*, Wycl. and Gen.; see on 2, 6. *shall recompense thee*, by a change of text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles; so Wycl., *schal quyte thee*, and Rh., *wil repay thee*, after the Vulgate; *himself shall reward thee openly*, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen., only they neglect the αὐτός (*himself*). — v. 6. *when ye pray, ye*, by a change of text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles; so the Vulgate, Wycl., Tynd., and Rh.; *thou, when thou prayest*, A. V. *to stand and pray*, by a free rendering after 2d Gen. and Rh.; *to pray standing*, A. V. close to the Greek after the Vulgate, Wycl., and 2d Gen.; *to stand praying*, Cran. by inversion. *in the corners*, after A. V., Tynd., Cran., and Gen.; better, *at the corners*, Dr. Campbell. *thine inner chamber*, by a new rendering; *chamber*, Tynd., Cran., Gen., and Rh., and so Dr. Davidson, which gives the original (ραμείον) adequately; *thy closet*, A. V. after Sir John Cheke, which is closer and seems the best possible rendering, and so Dr. Noyes, *closet* in old English meaning *an inner, more retired room*; as, in his Chamber or in his Closet, South's Sermons, III. p. 564; and regularly of the private apartment of the sovereign, as Life of Davison, p. 246. *and having shut*, after Rh.; and *when thou hast shut*, A. V. after Cran. and Gen. *thy Father which*, after Tynd. and all except Wycl., *thi Fadir that*; see on 2, 6. *shall recompense thee*, by omission from text, as in v. 4. — v. 7. *And in praying*, after Wycl. nearly, *But in preiying*; *But when ye pray*, A. V. after Cran., and *But* (δέ) here is perhaps more suitable than *And*. *the Gentiles do*, by a new rendering with *do* inserted but not italicized; see on 1, 17; the heathen *do*, A. V. after Wycl., 1st Gen. and the rest; as the heathen, 2d Gen. — v. 8. *Be not therefore*, by a new rendering with the omission of *ye* after the Greek; but the supplying of *ye* marks the contrast which really exists here, and it is well supplied by all the previous versions; see on 4, 17. — v. 9. *Our Father which*, after A. V., Tynd. and all the rest but Wycl., *Oure Fadir that*; see on 2, 6. — v. 10. *as in heaven, so on earth*, by a new and free rendering after the Greek order; so nearly Rh.,



and more literally, as in heaven, in earth also (*ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς*), with the old loose use of *in*; as in heaven, also on earth, Dr. Davidson; in earth, as *it is* in heaven, A. V. by a new rendering; on earth as it is in heaven, Dr. Noyes; in erthe as in hevene, Wycl.; as well in erth, as it ys in heven, Tynd. and Cran.; even in earth as *it is* in heaven, Gen.; all the old versions here except the Rheims have the order of A. V., which is the more common order of a comparison in English. The change of order here by the Revisers seems to be almost universally regretted. — v. 12. *as we also*, after the Greek; so 2d Gen. and Rh.; even as we, Tynd. and 1st Gen.; as we, A. V. after Tynd. and Cran., neglecting the *καὶ*. *we have forgiven*, by a change of text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles; we forgive, A. V. after Wycl. and all the rest. — v. 13. *bring us*, by a new rendering of the Greek (*εὐσφέρειν*, not *εὐάγειν* as in Luke 22, 54 and elsewhere); lead us, A. V. after Wycl. and the rest after the Vulgate, *inducas nos*. *the evil one*, after de Wette and Holl. Rev. and Dr. Davidson; evil, A. V. after Wycl. and the rest; so Luther and Germ. Rev.; see on 5, 37. — v. 14. *For if ye forgive*, etc., with omission of the doxology from the text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles; so Wycl. and Rh. after the Vulgate, only they have *Amen* from the Clementine edition, which is wanting in the *Codex Amiatinus*; the Holl. Rev., Dean Alford, Dr. Noyes, and Dr. Davidson omit the doxology, Dr. Campbell and Dr. Second enclose it in square brackets, but de Wette and the Germ. Rev. retain it; it has been traced back even to the 2d century in the Syriac and Thebaic versions, and Dr. Scrivener is not yet convinced that it should be rejected (Int. N. T. pp. 495 et seqq.) — v. 16. *may be seen of men*, after Tynd. and 1st Gen. nearly, might be sene of men; may appear unto men, A. V. after Rh.; might seem unto men, 2d Gen. — v. 17. *thy head*, after Rh.; thine head, A. V. after Wycl. and the rest. The Revisers have treated the forms *my mine*, *thy thine* with great strictness throughout S. Matt., using *my* and *thy* before *consonants* and *h*; as, my son 1, 15; my house 12, 44 etc.; thy wife 1, 20; thy head 6, 17 etc.; and *mine* and *thine* before *vowels*; as, mine own 20, 15; thine adversary 5, 25 etc., with the single exception of *my oxen* 22, 4 (so also A. V.), which looks like an oversight on the part of A. V. and the Rev., as A. V. in the O. T. makes no exception of this word: thine ox Ex. 23, 12; Deut. 5, 14; 28, 31; thine oxen Ex. 20, 24; 22, 30. — v. 18. *be not seen of men*, after Wycl. nearly, be not seen—to men; appear not unto men, A. V. after Rh. nearly, appear not to men; seem not

unto men, Gen. *but of*, by a new rendering to agree with what precedes; but unto, A. V. *shall recompense thee*, by an omission from the text, as in v. 4; shall reward thee openly, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. — v. 19. *the earth*, by retaining the Greek article here against English idiom, after Tynd., Gen., and Rh.; earth, A. V. after Wycl. and Cran., and so Dr. Campbell, Dr. Noyes, and Dean Alford. *moth and rust doth*, after A. V., Wycl., and Cran. with the verb in the singular after a compound subject; but Tynd., Gen., and Rh. have the verb in the plural here, which accords with modern usage. For the singular verb here, compare also from A. V.: The rock of my strength and my refuge *is* in God, Ps. 62, 7; his right hand and his holy arm *hath* gotten him the victory, *ib.* 98, 1; and even with the double conjunction, both the inward thought of every one of them and the heart *is* deep, *ib.* 64, 6; from old English where it is common: reason and policy *commandeth*, etc., Life of Davison, p. 86; an act which God and the law *forbiddeth*, *ib.* p. 100; whose safety and greatness *has* been chiefly founded, etc., Sir Wm. Temple, I. p. 129; Blessing and happiness *was* thrust upon them, South's Sermons, III. p. 383; and from modern English where it is rare: the truth and delicacy of his sentiments *is* attended, etc., Spedding's Reviews, etc., p. 287; each and all of them *is* or may be realized perfectly, Liddon's Univ. Sermons, p. 211; all this and much else *appears* to forbid, etc., *ib.* p. 304. *consume*, after Dr. Campbell, Dr. Noyes, and Dr. Davidson; so nearly Wycl., *distrieth* (destroy-eth); corrupt, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest; so Dean Alford; and so v. 20. *break through*, after A. V., Tynd., and Cran., with the marginal, *dig through*, after Gen. and Rh., which gives the Greek exactly (*διopρύσσειν*); so Wycl. nearly, *delven out*; and so v. 20. — v. 21. *thy treasure—thy heart*, by change of text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles; so Wycl. and Rh. after the Vulgate; your treasure—your heart, A. V. — v. 22. *the lamp*, after Dr. Campbell, Dr. Noyes, Mr. Darby, and Dr. Davidson; the light, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen.; so Dean Alford. — v. 23. *the darkness*, close to the Greek after Dr. Campbell, Dean Alford, and Dr. Davidson; that darkness, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen.; so Wycl., who had no article before him, rendered it of his own motion, *thilk prop. such*, afterward *that* derknessis, which is an evidence of its naturalness here. The Revisers themselves have rendered the article by the demonstrative; as, *that Mary*, etc. (*ἡ Μαρία*, etc.) S. John 11, 2; and the simple pronoun of the 3d person as a demonstrative; as, of those *works* (*αἱ ἔργα*) for of them, S. John 10, 32,

in both cases after A. V. A. V. also rendered the article by the demonstrative in 2 Thess. 2, 3, *that man* (*the man*, Rev.), and *ib.* 2, 8 *that wicked* (*the lawless one*, Rev.). — v. 24. *hold to one, and despise the other*, by a new and close rendering, the article in the Greek being omitted in the first clause; in the first part of the verse the article in the Greek is used in both clauses *the one—the other*; A. V. the one—the other, in both cases after Tynd. and all the rest except Wycl. the toon—the tother, with double article; so Dean Alford, Mr. Darby. and Dr. Davidson; one—the other, Dr. Campbell and Dr. Noyes in both cases, perhaps by oversight in the first. Both forms are well established in English and therefore the Revisers are justifiable here in keeping strictly to the Greek: the one—the other, Ellis, Original Letters, I. p. 352; Life of Davison, p. 235; Pref. to A. V. p. 118 a; Walton's Angler, p. 141; Dryden, I. p. 80; one—the other, Life of Davison, pp. 151, 341; Pref. to A. V. 117 a; Dryden, I. p. 128; and so also in recent English, but it is unnecessary to give instances. — v. 25. *Be not anxious for*, after Dr. Noyes and Dr. Davidson, and this nearly after Dr. Campbell, *Be not anxious about*; *Take no thought for*, A. V. by a new rendering (*thought* in the old sense, of *excessive care, anxiety*, Shaksp. Jul. Caes. II, 1; Bacon, Hen. VII, p. 230); *Be not careful for*, Tynd., Cran., Gen., Rh., and so Dean Alford; *Be not thoughtful for*, Sir John Cheke, and so in vv. 27, 28, 31 and 34. — v. 25. *nor yet* (*μηδέ*), after A. V., Tynd., Cran., and Gen. by a free and idiomatic rendering, which is commonly emphatic (comp. S. Luke 23, 15), and so Dr. Noyes, Dean Alford, and Dr. Davidson; neither, Rh.; nor, Wycl., and so Sir John Cheke and Dr. Campbell and Mr. Darby; comp. it is not known howe the Spanyards do take the same, ne yet what they intende, etc., Ellis, Original Letters, I. p. 286; none—nor yet, Pref. to ed. 1611, p. 115 a; never—nor yet, *ib.* p. 115 b; not—neither yet, *ib.* p. 118 b *bis*; neither—nor yet, South's Sermons, III. p. 62. But the Revisers in 10, 10 have changed *nor yet* (*μηδέ*) into *nor*. *the food—the raiment*, retaining the Greek article after Rh.; and so Dean Alford and Dr. Davidson; meat—raiment, A. V. after Wycl., Tynd., Cran., and Gen.; Dr. Noyes also and Mr. Darby omit the article. — v. 26. *birds*, after Sir John Cheke, Dr. Noyes, Dean Alford, Mr. Darby, and Dr. Davidson; fowls, A. V. after Wycl. and the rest, and so Dr. Campbell. *of the heaven*, by a literal and un-English phrase after Mr. Darby, which also occurs in A. V. Ps. 79, 2; 104, 12, but not in N. T.; of the air, A. V. after Wycl. and the rest, and so Sir John Cheke,

Dr. Noyes, Dean Alford, and Dr. Davidson; of heaven, Dr. Campbell; see 5, 34. *that* (*ὅτι*), after Rh., and so Meyer, Dr. Noyes, Dean Alford, Mr. Darby, and Dr. Davidson; for, A. V. after Wycl. and the rest. *and*, close to the Greek (*καί*), after Wycl. and Rh., and so Sir John Cheke, Dr. Noyes, Dean Alford, and Dr. Davidson; yet, A. V. after 2d Gen. to mark the opposition; and yet, Tynd., Cran., and 1st Gen.; see on 1, 25. *Are not ye of much more value*, by a new rendering nearly after Dr. Campbell, *Are not ye much more valuable*, and Dr. Noyes, *Are not ye of much greater value*; *Are ye not much better*, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen.—v. 27. *And which*, after Rh.; But who, Wycl.; the rest neglect the Greek particle (*δέ*).—v. 29. *yet* (*δέ*), after 2d Gen.; but, Rh.; And yet, A. V. by a free rendering after Tynd., Cran., and 1st Gen.—v. 30. *But* (*δέ*), after Dean Alford; And, Wycl. and Rh.; so Dr. Noyes and Dr. Davidson; Wherefore, A. V. by a very free rendering after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. *doth so clothe*, after Rh.; so *clothe*, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen.—v. 32. *For after all these things do the Gentiles seek*, after Wycl. and all but A. V. which includes this in parenthesis.—v. 33. *his kingdom*, by an omission from the text after Tischendorf according to *Cod. Sinaiticus* and *Cod. Vaticanus*; the kingdom of God, A. V. after Wycl., Cran., 2d Gen. and Rh.; the kingdom of heaven, Tynd. and 1st Gen.

CH. VII. v. 2. *unto you*, by a change of text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles; *to you again*, A. V. after Tynd., Gen., and Rh.; *agen to you*, Wycl.—v. 4. *cast out*, literally after Gen. and Rh.; pull out, A. V. more suitably; and so Tynd. and Cran., plucke oute; and Wycl., do out. *cast out the mote out*, with the preposition repeated as in the Greek (*ἐκβάλλειν ἐκ*—), after A. V., Tynd. and all except Wycl., do out—fro; so in S. Luke 6, 42 after A. V. and Tynd. For this repetition, very rare in English, compare A. V. Jer. 8, 1, they shall bring out the bones—out of their graves; Sidney's *Arcadia*, p. 60, a maid which sate pulling out a thorn out of a Lambs foot; and with slight variation: he entered in once into the holy place (*εἰσῆλθεν*—*eis*), Heb. 9, 12; Rev. 22, 14; Peter went up upon the housetop, Acts 10, 9; on whosoever it shall fall upon, 21, 44, Tynd.; on whomsoever it shal fal upon, 1st Gen. It is very common in Greek and Latin; as *ἐκβάλλειν*—*ek*, Thuc. 8, 108; Plat. Gorg. 468 D; *ἐν*—*éneînai*, Thuc. 2, 43; Plat. Pol. 402 C; *eis*—*εἰσπίνειν*, Plat. Lys. 222 D; *ex*—*expellere*, Cic. Or. pro Mil. 37, 101; *in*—*innesse*, *id.* de Off. 1, 5, 30; *cum*—*conferre*, *id.* Acad. 2, 73. *lo*, after Wycl.; behold, A. V. after Tynd. and all the rest.

*the beam*, retaining the Greek article, after Dr. Noyes, Dean Alford, Mr. Darby, and Dr. Davidson ; a beam, A. V. after Wycl. and all the rest. — v. 5. *cast out*, after A. V., which seems to introduce this inferior rendering in this verse as a mere variation from v. 4. — v. 5. *cast out first*, change of order to keep to the Greek, after Wycl. and Rh. ; and so Dean Alford and Mr. Darby ; first cast out, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest, and so Dr. Noyes and Dr. Davidson. — v. 6. *cast*, omitting the subject as in the Greek, after Dr. Davidson and Mr. Darby ; *cast ye*, A. V. after Wycl. and all the rest ; so Dr. Noyes and Dean Alford ; but the insertion here is harsh ; see on 4, 17. *the swine*, retaining the Greek article after Mr. Darby and Dr. Davidson ; swine, A. V. after Wycl. and the rest, and so Dr. Noyes and Dean Alford. *lest haply*, to keep closer to the Greek (*μήποτε*) ; so nearly Wycl., lest peradventure, and Rh., lest perhaps ; lest, A. V. and all the rest, and so Dr. Noyes, Dean Alford, Mr. Darby, and Dr. Davidson. *turn*, close to the Greek after Dr. Davidson ; turn again, A. V. after Tynd. and Gen., and so Dean Alford ; turn round, Mr. Darby ; turne against you, Cran. ; turn upon you, Dr. Noyes ; torn back on yow, Sir John Cheke. — v. 9. *who, if his son shall ask him for a loaf, will give him a stone*, by a new rendering, but nearly after Gen., which if his sonne aske him bread, woulde give him a stone ; so nearly Dr. Noyes, who, if his son ask for bread, will give him a stone ; and Dr. Davidson, who if his son shall ask bread, will give him a stone ; whom if his son ask bread, will he give him a stone, A. V. by a new rendering, but nearly after Cran., which (yf his sonne aske bred) wil offer him a stone. — v. 10. *or if he shall ask for a fish, will give him a serpent*, by a new rendering, but nearly after Dr. Noyes, or, if he ask a fish, will give him a serpent ; Or if he ask a fish, will he give him a serpent, A. V. by a new rendering, but nearly after Cran., Or yf he aske fysshe, wile he profer him a serpent. — v. 11. *your Father which*, A. V. after Tynd. and all the rest except Wycl., youre Fadir that ; see on 2, 6. — v. 12. *All things therefore*, change of order after Rh., which imitates the Greek ; Therefore all things, A. V. after Wycl., which has the advantage of bringing the antecedent directly before the relative. *unto you—unto them*, by a new rendering ; to you—to them, A. V. after Wycl. and the rest, and so Dr. Noyes, Dean Alford, Mr. Darby, and Dr. Davidson. *even so do ye also* (*οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ποιεῖτε*), by a new and free rendering (*οὕτω*, *even so*), nearly after Cran., do ye evenso to them also ; do ye even so to them, A. V. by a new rendering, and so Dean Alford. — v. 13. *by* (*διὰ*), closer to the Greek, after Wycl. and Rh. ; at, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest.

*narrow*, after Rh., and so Sir John Cheke; strait, A. V. after Wycl. and the rest; so v. 14. *wide is the gate and broad is the way*, supplying *is* twice but not italicizing it; see on 1, 17; *wide is the gate and broad is the way*, A. V., which would be improved by omitting *is* in the second place, as the Revisers themselves have done in v. 14; Mr. Darby and Dr. Davidson keep close to the Greek, *wide the gate and broad the way*. *many be they that enter in thereby*, by a new rendering, but nearly after Rh., *many there be that enter by it*. — v. 14. *For* (ὅτι), after Cran.; Because, A. V. after Gen. *straitened*, by a new rendering, but nearly after Rh., *straite*. *the way, that*, after Wycl., Gen., and Rh.; the way, which, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest. *few be they that find it*, by a new rendering to conform it to v. 13; *few there be that find it*, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen. *prophets which*, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest except Wycl., *profetis that*; see on 2, 6. — v. 15. *but inwardly are ravening wolves*, omitting *they* of A. V. to give unity to the sentence; see on 5, 11. — v. 16. *By their fruits ye shall know them*, change of order after the Greek, and so Wycl. and Rh.; *Ye shall know them by their fruits*, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest. *men*, supplied and italicized, but not italicized by A. V.; see on 1, 17. — v. 17. *Even so* (οὕτω), free rendering after A. V.; see v. 12. *the corrupt tree*, retaining the Greek article, after Rh., and so Dean Alford, Mr. Darby, and Dr. Davidson; a corrupt tree, A. V. after Wycl. and all the rest, and so Dr. Noyes. — v. 18. *can*, supplied but not italicized; *can*, A. V.; see on 1, 17. — v. 20. *Therefore* (ἀπαρ), after Wycl., 2d Gen., and Rh.; Wherefore, A. V. after Tynd. and Cran.; Then, by their fruites, 1st Gen., which seems best, but with the order, *By their fruits then*; comp. v. 16. — v. 21. *my Father which*, A. V. after Tynd. and all the rest except Wycl., *my Fadir that*; see on 2, 6. — v. 22. *did we not prophesy* (a Greek aorist, not perfect), after Dr. Noyes, Dean Alford, and Dr. Davidson; have we not prophesied, A. V. after Wycl. and all the rest, and so Mr. Darby, see on 2, 2. *by—by—by*, after Gen.; *in—in—in*, A. V. after Wycl. and all the rest, and so Dr. Noyes, Dean Alford, and Dr. Davidson. *mighty works*, (δυνάμεις), after Dr. Davidson; *mighti thinges*, Sir John Cheke; *great works*, Gen.; *works of power*, Mr. Darby; *wonderful works*, A. V. by a new rendering, and so Dean Alford. — v. 24. *Every one therefore which*, nearly after Rh., *Every one therefore that*, and so Dr. Davidson; *Therefore whosoever*, A. V. by a new rendering, and so Dean Alford. *words*, after Wycl., Cran., 2d Gen., and Rh.; *sayings*, A. V. after Tynd. and 1st Gen.; so v. 26. *shall be likened*, by a change of text after Lachmann, Tischen-

dorf, and Tregelles; and so Rh. and nearly Wycl.; I will liken him, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest. *the rock*, retaining the Greek article, after Dean Alford, Mr. Darby, and Dr. Davidson; a rock, A. V. after Wycl. and the rest; so Dr. Noyes. — v. 25. *the rock*, as in v. 24, after Tynd. and Cran.; so Dean Alford, Mr. Darby, and Dr. Davidson; a rock, A. V. after Wycl. (a stone), Gen. and Rh.; so Dr. Noyes. — v. 27. *smote upon*, (προσκόπτειν, but in v. 25 προσπίπτειν), by a new rendering; beat upon, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and Gen.; so Dr. Noyes. *thereof*, after Wycl., 2d Gen., and Rh.; of it, A. V. after Tynd., Cran., and 1st Gen. — v. 28. *And it came to pass*, — *the multitudes* —, omitting *that*, after the Greek; and so A. V. after Wycl., Gen., and Rh.; *that*, supplied by Tynd. and Cran., which is better English. The phrase *And it came to pass* (καὶ ἐγένετο) has two Hebrew constructions, one absolute as here and in 11, 1; 13, 53; 19, 1; 26, 1 etc.; and the other followed by *that* (καὶ; see on 1, 25), as S. Luke 5, 1; 5, 17; 8, 1; 8, 22 etc.; it has a third, followed by *that behold* (καὶ ἴδου), as 9, 10, S. Luke 5, 12; 24, 4; and a fourth, a rare Greek construction, with the Acc. and Inf., as S. Mark 2, 15; 2, 23; S. Luke 3, 21; 6, 1 etc. The Revisers seem to have intended to treat these different constructions with exactness, rendering the first without *that*, the second and the fourth by *that*, and the third by *behold*. But in the first construction they have inserted *that* without italics in S. Mark 1, 9; S. Luke 1, 59; 7, 11; 11, 1; and in the second construction have omitted *that* in S. Luke 9, 28, where καὶ is read by Tischendorf and Tregelles, whom the Revisers here follow according to Dr. Scrivener and Prof. Palmer. *ended* (Greek aorist, not pluperfect), by a new rendering; finished, Dr. Davidson; had ended, A. V. after Wycl. and all the rest, and so de Wette and Germ. Rev., Dr. Noyes, Dean Alford, and Dr. Davidson; had finished, Mr. Darby. The pluperfect seems generally to have been preferred here; see on 1, 24. *the multitudes*, close to the Greek, as in 4, 25, after Dr. Noyes, Dean Alford, and Dr. Davidson; the multitude, Rh.; the people, A. V. after Wycl. and the rest. *teaching*, after Wycl. and Sir John Cheke; excellently, as the two English words (*teaching* — *taught*) belong together etymologically as the two Greek words (διδάχῃ — διδάσκων) do; so Dr. Noyes, Dean Alford, and Dr. Davidson; doctrine, A. V. after Tynd. and the rest. — v. 29. *their scribes*, by a change of text after Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles; so Wycl. (the scribis of hem) and Rh.; the scribes, A. V. after Tynd. and Gen.

## II.—NONIUS MARCELLUS.

### II.

#### BOOK I.

[All notes with the initials J. H. O., as well as all notes of readings from the Harleian manuscript, I owe to my friend Mr. J. H. Onions, of Christ Church.—H. N.]

P. 1. With this note on *senium*, the illustrations of which commence with a quotation from Caecilius, comp. Festus 339, *senium* a senili acerbitate ac vitiis dictum posuit Caecilius in Hymnide, 'sine suam senectutem ducat usque ad senium Sorbilo.'

P. 3. *Velitatio* stands at the head of a series of words illustrated from Plautus. *Advelitatio* in Paulus 28 occurs also in a Plautine series, and *velitatio* is illustrated by Paulus 369 by the same passage from the *Menaechmi* as that cited by Nonius.

*Phrygonis*. With the note of Nonius compare Isidore 19 22 *acupicta* vestis . . . eadem et Phrygia: huius enim artis periti Phrygii omnes dicuntur, sive quia inventa est in Phrygia. Unde et artifices qui id faciunt Phrygiones dicuntur. Vergilius, 'Phrygiam chlamydem.' Serv. A. 3 484 *Phrygiam chlamydem* aut acu pictam, huius enim artis peritos Phrygiones dicimus *secundum Plautum*, in Phrygia enim inventa est haec ars, aut, etc. So Servius A. 9 614. I have italicized the words *secundum Plautum*, as the note of Nonius is illustrated by a quotation from Plautus among others, a fact which may point to a community of sources for the notes of Nonius, Servius, and Isidore.

*Hostimentum* est aequamentum, unde et hostes dicti sunt, qui ex aequa causa pugnam ineunt. Plautus . . . Compare Festus 102 *hostimentum* beneficii pensatio, Placidus 12 *hostiae* autem *aequae*, ab *hostimento*, i. e. *aequamento*; Servius A. 2 156 (Dan.) *hostia* vero victima, . . . unde *hostimentum* aequationem. One of the passages from Plautus quoted by Nonius is also cited by Servius A. 4 124 on the word *hostis*. With these passages should also be compared the fuller note of Festus 270, *redhostire*, *referre gratiam*; Novius in Lupo, Accius . . . nam et hos-



tire pro *aequare* posuerunt, Ennius in Cresphonte, 'audi, atque auditis *hostimentum* adiungito,' etc.

P. 4. The note on *capulum* should be compared with Paulus 61 and Servius A. 6 222, who quotes the same passage from the *Miles* of Plautus.

P. 5. *Temulenta* est ebriosa, dicta a temeto, quod est vinum, quod attemptet. Plautus *Aulularia* . . . Festus 364 on *temetum* quotes the same line from the *Aulularia*. Compare further Gellius 10 23 1, Donatus Andr. 1 4 2, Placidus 83, Isid. 10 271.

P. 6. *Exercitum* dicitur fatigatum. Plautus, Sallust, etc. Paulus 81 *exercitus* et militum copia dicitur, et homo multis negotiis exercitus.

*Pellices* a Graeco vocabulo . . . quasi *πάλλαξ*, etc. Comp. Gellius 4 3 3, who quotes a *lex Numae* in illustration. The note may come from Verrius Flaccus, for Paulus 222 has the same quotation.

*Calvitur* dictum est frustratur, etc. The word is quoted from the Twelve Tables by Festus 313.

P. 8. *Nautea*. The gloss in Nonius is illustrated by quotations from Plautus, and so is that of Paulus 165 on the same word. Compare also Placidus 68, *nautea*, aqua coriis foetida, in qua corium maceratur.

*Caperare* est rugis frontem contrahere et asperare, tractum a caprorum frontibus crispis. Plautus *Epidico* . . . Varro *Eumenidibus*, 'quin mihi caperatam tuam frontem, Strobile, omitis.' The last quotation may have suggested the form of the gloss in Paulus 48, *caperatum*, rugosum, a cornuum caprinorum similitudine dicitur. Comp. Placidus 29.

P. 9. *Examussim* dicitur examine ad regulam vel coagmentum: est enim amussis regula fabrorum, quam architecti, cum opus probant, rubrica inlinunt. Plautus—Varro . . . The substance of this gloss is the same as that of the note of Sisenna quoted by Charisius p. 198; but it may have come to Nonius through Verrius Flaccus. Paulus 80 *examussim*, regulariter; *amussis* enim regula fabrorum est, vel ut alii volunt ferramentum quo in poliando utuntur. The same note recurs in Placidus 12, and 37.

*Mutus* onomatopoea est incertae vocis, quasi mugitus. Isidore 10 169 *mutus* eo quod ei vox non est nec sermo nisi mugitus.

*Focula* dicta sunt nutrimenta: unde et *foculare* dicitur, ut fovere Plautus *Persa* . . . Paulus 85 *focus fomenta focillationes*

*foculi* a fovendo, id est calefaciendo, dicta sunt. Comp. Servius (Dan.) A. 11 211, Servius A. 12 118 = Isidore 20 10 1.

P. 10. *Bardum* est vi propria ingenio tardum. Nam Graeci *βαρδεις* tardos dicebant. Homerus . . . Plautus . . . Paulus 34 *bardus*, stultus, a tarditate ingenii appellatur. Caecilius 'audacem nimisque bardum barbarum.' Trahitur autem a Graeco, quod illi *βαρδεις* dicunt. Compare Placidus 14.

*Inlex* et *exlex* est qui sine lege vivit. Plautus . . . Lucilius . . . Varro . . . Caecilius . . . Sisenna. Paulus 113 *inlex* producta sequenti syllaba significat qui legi non paret. *Inlex* correpta sequenti syllaba significat *inductor*, ab inliciendo. Plautus 'Esca est meretrix, pectus *inlex*.' Nonius 447 makes this distinction between *inlex* and *inlix*, illustrating from Plautus.

*Lurcones* dicti sunt a lurchando; *lurcare* est cum aviditate cibum sumere. Lucilius . . . Pomponius . . . Plautus . . . Varro. Paulus 120 *lura* os cullei vel etiam utris, unde *lurcones* capacis gulae homines et bonorum suorum consumptores.

P. 11. *Concenturiare* est colligere, dictum a centuriis quae ad suffragia conveniebant. Plautus . . . Terentius . . . Placidus 27 *concenturiat*, instruit, ordinat; dictum a centurionibus qui milites ordinant.

P. 12. *Exsules* dicuntur extra solum. Vergilius . . . So Terentius Scaurus p. 28 (Keil), Servius A. 3 11, Placidus 39, Isidore 5 27 28.

P. 13. *Haustra* proprie dicuntur rotarum cadi, ab hauriendo; sicuti Graece *ἄντλια*. Lucretius lib. V 'ut fluvios versare rotas atque haustra videmus.' Isidore 20 15 1 s. v. *rota* seems to have followed the same authority as Nonius; after quoting the same line of Lucretius, he says *haustra* autem, i. e. *rota*, ab haurienda aqua dicta.

*Veterina* animalia dicuntur omnia quae vehere quid possunt. Lucretius . . . Paulus 369 *veterinam* bestiam Cato appellavit a vehendo, etc.

*Crepera* res proprie dicitur dubia, unde et *crepusculum* dicitur lux dubia, et senes decrepiti dicti, in dubio vitae constituti. *Creperum* bellum, anceps et dubium. Lucretius . . . Accius . . . Lucilius . . . Pacuvius . . . Plautus . . . Varro . . . The same explanation, and the same reference to *crepusculum* and *decrepitus*, may be found in Paulus 52, 71. Compare Varro L. L. 6 5, 7 77, Servius A. 2 268, Placidus 24, Isidore 5 31 7, 10 74.

P. 14. *Vitulantes* veteres gaudentes dixerunt, dictum a bonae vitae commodo; sicuti *nunc* qui est in summa laetitia, *vivere* eum dicimus. Naevius Lycurgo 'ut in venatu vitulantes ex suis,' etc. The derivation given by Paulus 369 (it does not follow that he has preserved the real opinion of Verrius) is from *vitulus*, though in the line which he quotes from Ennius 'is habet coronam vitulans victoria' the first syllable is long. Varro L. L. 7 107, who also quotes Naevius, derives from *vitula*.

P. 15. *Grumus* dicitur agger, a congerie dictus. Accius Oenomao. Paulus 96 *grumus* terrae collectio, minor tumulo.

*Torris*. Quoted by Servius A. 12 298 as used by Ennius and Pacuvius.

P. 16. *Expectorare* est extra pectus eicere. Accius . . . Ennius. Paulus 80 *expectoral*, ex pectore eicit. Quintilian 8 3 31 veteres ne *expectorat* quidem timuerunt, et sane eisdem notae est *exanimat*. Quintilian and perhaps Verrius may have been referring to the line of Ennius quoted by Nonius, 'tum pavor sapientiam omnem mi exanimato expectorat.'

*Lactare* est inducere vel mulcere, velle decipere. Accius . . . Pacuvius . . . Caecilius . . . Varro . . . Cicero. Paulus 117 *laciit*, in fraudem inducit. Inde est *allicere* et *laccessere*, inde *lactat illeclat delectat oblectat*. Donatus Andr. 4 1 24 *lactasses* pro duxisses, oblectasses, induxisses . . . unde et *oblectare* dicitur. Placidus 59 *lactatus*, inductus, captus.

P. 17. The notes on *strena* and *adulatio* may be compared, but only generally, with those in Festus 313, Paulus 21.

*Manducones*, qui et *manduci* sunt et *mandones*, edaces. Pomponius . . . Lucilius . . . Varro. Paulus 128 *manduci* effigies in pompa antiquorum inter ceteras ridiculas formidolosasque ire solebat magnis malis ac late dehiscens, et ingentem dentibus sonitum faciens, de quo Plautus ait 'quid si ad ludos me pro manduco locem,' etc. So Placidus 68.

*Exdorsuare*, dorso nudare. Plautus Aulularia, 'Tu Machaerio, Congrum, murenam exdorsua, quantum potes.' Paulus 79 *exdorsua*, dorsum confringere: alii nudare.

P. 18. *Rumen* dicitur locus in ventre quo cibus sumitur, et unde redditur; unde et ruminare dicitur. Pomponius Prostibulo . . . Paulus 270 *rumen* est pars colli qua esca devoratur, unde *rumare* dicitur quod nunc *ruminare*. Comp. Donatus Ad. 5 8 27, Servius A. 8 90, Isidore 11 1 59.

*Rutrum* dicitur a rodendo. (Is not Mercier right in conjecturing *ruendo*?) Pomponius . . . Lucilius . . . Varro. Paulus 263 *rutrum* dictum quod eo harena eruitur.

*Nebulones* et *tenebriones* dicti sunt qui mendaciis et astutiis suis nebulam quandam ac tenebras obiciant; aut quibus ad fugam et furta haec erant accommodata et utilia. Pomponius . . . Lucilius . . . Afranius . . . Varro. Festus 165 *nebulo* dictus est, ut ait Aelius Stilo, qui non pluris est quam nebula, aut quia non facile perspicui possit qualis sit. Donatus Eun. 2 2 38 *nebulonem*, vel furem, quia nebulas obiciat, vel mollem ut nebulam, vel inanem et vanum, ut nebula est. Comp. Acron on Horace Epist. 1 2 28.

P. 19. *Truam* veteres a terendo, quam nos deminutive *trulam* dicimus, appellari voluerunt. Pomponius Pannuceatis . . . Titinius Setina . . . "cocus magnum ahenum, quando fervit, paula confutat truam." It is difficult to resist the impression that the note of Paulus 9 (*truam* quoque vocant *quo permovent coquentes exta*) was based on the line of Titinius.

P. 20. *Corporare* est interficere, et quasi corpus solum sine anima relinquere. Ennius . . . Accius . . . Placidus 29 *corporato*, vulnerato.

P. 21. *Cernuus* dicitur proprie inclinatus, quasi quod terram cernat. Lucilius . . . Vergilius . . . Varro de Vita P. R. lib. I. . . . Servius A. 10 894 *cernuus* dicitur equus qui cadit in faciem, quasi in eam partem qua cernimus. Unde et pueri quos in ludis videmus ea parte qua cernunt stantes cernui vocantur, ut etiam Varro in Ludis Theatralibus docet.

*Stricturae* dicuntur proprie scintillae quae de ferro ferventi eunt, aut quod stricte emittuntur, id est celeriter, aut quod oculos sui fulgore praestringant. Vergilius . . . Lucilius . . . The latter derivation is given by Pliny 34 143, who is copied by Isidore 16 21 3. [In 19 10 1 Isidore gives a different etymology. J. H. O.]

*Quiritare* est clamare, tractum ab iis qui Quirites invocant. Lucilius . . . Nigidius . . . Donatus Ad. 2 1 1 veteres *quiritari* dicebant Quirites conclamare.

*Caries* est vetustas vel putrilago; unde *cariceum* veteres dixerunt. Lucilius . . . Turpilius . . . Afranius. Isidore 17 6 28 *caries*, putredo lignorum, etc.

P. 22. *Capronae* dicuntur comae quae ante frontem sunt, quasi a capite pronae. Lucilius. Paulus 48 *capronae* equorum iubae in frontem devexae, dictae quasi a capite pronae. Placidus 26 *capronas*, iubas equorum.

*Gliscit* est congelascit et colligitur, vel crescit, vel ignescit. Turpilius . . . Accius . . . Pacuvius . . . Sallustius . . . Vergilius . . . Cicero. Paulus 98 *gliscere* crescere est : comp. Festus 278 s. v. *reglescit*. Servius A. 12 9 *gliscit* crescit . . . [Veteres *gliscit* incremento ignis ponebant, etc.]

P. 23. *Sagae* mulieres dicuntur feminarum ad libidinem virorum indagatrices, unde et *sagaces* canes dicuntur ferarum vel animalium quaesitores. Lucilius . . . Turpilius. Festus 321 *sagaces* appellantur multi ac sollertis acuminis. Afranius in Brundisina . . . Lucretius lib. II . . . *Sagacem* etiam canem dixit, 'invictus canis atque sagax et viribus fretus.' *Sagu* quoque dicitur mulier perita sacrorum, et *sagus* sapiens, producta prima syllaba, forsitan propter ambiguitatem evitandam.

*Lapit* significat obdure facit, et lapidem facit. Pacuvius Periboea 'lapit cor cura, aerumna corpus conficit.' Paulus 118 *lapit*, dolore adficit.

*Munes* apud veteres dicebantur . . . consentientes ad ea quae amici velint. Pacuvius Duloreste . . . Sallustius . . . Lucilius. Paulus 143 *munem* significare certum est officiosum, unde e contrario *immunis* dicitur qui nullo fungitur officio : comp. Serv. A. 12 559, Nonius 137 s. v. *munia*, Plautus Mercatore 'dico eius pro meritis gratum me ac munem fore.'

*Petulantia* dicta est a petendō. M. Tullius de Republica lib. IV. Festus 206 *petulantes* et *petulci* etiam appellantur qui protervo impetu et crebro petunt laedendi alterius gratia. Vergilius . . . Lucretius . . . Afranius. Comp. Servius G. 4 10 (= Isidore 10 231), and Isidore 10 213.

*Procacilas* a procando vel poscendo : unde et *proci* dicti sunt matrimoniorum petitores . . . Cicero . . . Terence . . . Livius Andronicus. Paulus 224 *procare* poscere, unde *procaces* meretrices ab adsidue procando, et *proci* uxorem poscentes in matrimonio. So again 225, 249. Comp. Donatus Hec. 1 2 84, Servius A. 1 536, Placidus 76, Isidore 10 214.

*Kalendarum* vocabulum proprium Varro complexus est. De Vita P. R. lib. I, 'Itaque kalendis kalabantur, id est vocabantur, et ab eo kalendae appellatae, quod est tractum a Graecis, qui καλέιν vocare dixerunt.' Paulus 225 *procalare* provocare, ex Graeco καλέιν, i. e. voco : unde *kalendae calumnia* et *caculae* et *calatores*. Compare Servius A. 8 654 on *curia Calabra*.

P. 24. *Ignominia* est nominis nota. M. Tullius de Republica lib. IV . . . Lucilius. Isidore 5 26 25 *ignominia* eo quod desinat

habere honestatis nomen is qui in aliquo crimine deprehenditur. Dicta autem est ignominia quasi sine nomine, sicut ignarus sine scientia, sicut ignobilis sine nobilitate.

*Fidei* proprietatem exemplo manifestavit M. Tullius de Republica lib. IV, '*fides* enim nomen ipsum mihi videtur habere cum fit quod dicitur.' Isidore 5 24 17 nam *fides* dicta eo quod fiat. 10 98 *fidelis* pro eo quod ab eo fit id quod dicit.

P. 25. *Seditionis* proprietas a M. Tullio manifestata est in libro de Republica VI, 'eaeque dissensio civium, quod seorsum eunt alii ad alios, seditio dicitur.' The same note, illustrated by the same quotation, is given by Servius (Dan.) A. 1 149, Isidore 5 26 11.

*Catax* dicitur quem nunc coxonem vocant. Lucilius . . . Paulus 45 *catax*, claudus.

*Silones* superciliis prominentibus dicti, significatione manifesta. Varro γυνῶθι σεαυτὸν . . . I have argued in the Transactions of the Oxford Philological Society (1879-80) that *silones* ought to be corrected into *cilones*. C and s are constantly confused in manuscripts, and notably so in the Harleian MS. of Nonius. I do not see how *silo* can mean a man with prominent eyebrows. If *cilones* be right, compare Paulus 43, *chilo* dicitur cognomento a magnitudine laborum; *cilo* sine aspiratione, cui frons et eminentior, ac dextra sinistraque veluti recisa videtur. See further Capet Orth. p. 97 Keil, and Placidus 25.

*Compernes* dicuntur longis pedibus. Lucilius . . . Better Paulus 41, *compernes* nominantur homines genibus plus iusto coniunctis.

P. 26. *Lingulae* dicuntur verbosi. Varro Papia papae . . . Paulus 117 *lingulaca* genus piscis, vel mulier argutatrix.

*Rabulae* litigiosi, a rabie dicti. Varro Papia papae . . . Paulus 272 *rabula* dicitur in multis intentus negotiis peritusque ad radendum (rapiendum?) quid auferendumque, vel quia est in negotiis agendis acrior, quasi rabiosus.

P. 27. *Strabones* sunt *strabi* quos nunc dicimus. Varro Flaxtabulis, περὶ ἐπαρχῶν, 'multi enim, qui limina intrarunt integris oculis, strabones sunt facti' . . . Lucilius . . . Compare Pliny 11 150, Acron and Porphyrio on Horace S. 1 3 44.

*Exterminatum* est praeter terminos missum. Lucilius . . . Cicero. Isidore 10 87 *exterminatus* ab eo quod sit extra terminos suos eiectus.

*Exodium* est finis, a Graeco tractum, quasi ἐξω τῆς ὁδοῦ, etc. Illustrated by three quotations from Varro's *Saturae*, in two of which the phrase *ad exodium* occurs. Paulus 80 *exodium*, exitum :

Placidus 9 *ad exodium*, ad finem vel terminum. [In the first example from Varro the Harleian MS. has κῶνειον, *exodium*; should we not read κῶνειον *ad exodium*? J. H. O.]

*Putus* est dictus a putando (so the Harleian). Plautus Pseudolo 'purus putus est ipsis.' Varro Hecatombe . . . Prometheo . . . Nam et rationes ea causa *putari* dictae sunt quotiens ex his fraudis aut falsi aut mendacii aut iniqui aliquid separatur. Et ipsum namque dubitantes cum dicimus *puto*, significamus nos in rebus incertis et obscuris falsis opinionibus fieri ambiguos. This is a test passage as bearing on the relation between Gellius and Nonius. Gellius 7 5 discusses the words *putus* and *putare*, mainly in reference to the phrase *argenti puri puti*, occurring in an ancient treaty between Rome and Carthage. He quotes the phrase also from the *Alexander* of Ennius, and the *dis παῖδες, οἱ γέροντες* of Varro. The gist of the notes in Gellius and Nonius is much the same, but in the instances he quotes Nonius is entirely independent of Gellius. The common authority may well have been Verrius Flaccus, for Paulus and Festus (216, 217) have the following note: *putus* antiqui dicebant pro *puro*, unde *putatae* vites et arbores, quod decisis impedimentis remanerent purae. Aurum quoque putatum dici solet, id est expurgatum, et ratio putata, id est pura facta. Instances are given from Ennius and Plautus. It will be observed that the original note of Verrius must have covered the ground occupied both by Gellius and Nonius, in respect both of its statements and its illustrations. The same note, or parts of it, may be found in Paulus 108 s. v. *imputatum*. Donatus And. 2 6 11, Ad. 5 3 10, Servius (Dan.) A. 8 522, and Isidore 17 5 32.

P. 28. *Compedes* non a pedibus dictae, sed ab impedimento. Varro Prometheo . . . Flaxtabulis . . . Parmenone . . . Sesquiliæ. The theory repudiated by Nonius is represented by Placidus 16 and Isidore 5 27 7.

*Edulia* . . . Afranius Privigno. Placidus 40 *edulia*, cibus vel esca, ab edendo dicta.

P. 29. *Merenda* dicitur cibus qui post meridiem datur. Afranius Fratriis . . . Paulus 123 *merendam* antiqui dicebant pro prandio, quod scilicet medio die caperetur. Fuller notes on this word are given by Isidore 20 2 12, 20 3 3.

*Calces* a calcando, quod est nitendo, dictae sunt, non a calcitrando; nam de omnibus pedibus et de hominum et universorum animantium dici potest. Nam sunt calces extrema pars pedum terrae proxima. Vergilius lib. V . . . X . . . Servius A. 5 324 *calcem* dicimus

unde terram calcamus: ergo non proprie dixit *calcem calce terit*. etc. Isidore 11 1 114 *calcis* prima pars plantae; a callo illi (illo?) nomen impositum quo terram calcamus, etc.

P. 29-30. The notes on *mediocritas* and *modestia* may be compared roughly with those in Isidore 10 172, 168.

P. 30. *Antes* sunt quadraturae, unde et *antae* dictae sunt quadrae columnae. Vergilius Georgicorum lib. II, 'iam canit effectos extremus vinitor antes.' Paulus 16 *antes* sunt extremi ordines vinearum. Unde etiam nomen trahunt *antae*, quae sunt latera ostiorum. Compare Servius and Philargyrius on G. 2 417.

*Camerum*, obtortum; unde et *camerae*, tecta in curvitatem formata. Vergilius Georgicorum lib. III. Paulus 43 *camera* et *camuri* boves a curvatione ex Graeco κῆμνη dicuntur. Comp. Philargyrius G. 3 55, Isidore 15 8 5, Macrobius Sat. 6 4 23.

*Immunis* dicitur sine officio, sine munere. Vergilius Georgicorum lib. IV . . . Cicero Philippica I. Paulus 109, *immunis*, vacans munere, aliquoties pro improbo ponitur, ut apud Plautum, 'immune est facinus.' Compare further Servius A. 12 559, Scholia Bobiensia Pro Sest. 57 (p. 306 Orelli), Philargyrius G. 4 244, Isidore 10 140, notes which are all apparently ultimately to be referred to Verrius Flaccus.

*Dirum* est triste, infensum, et quasi deorum ira missum. Vergil . . . Cicero De Senectute. Paulus 69, *dirus*, dei ira natus. So Servius A. 6 373, Isidore 10 75.

*Exordium* est initium; unde et vestis *ordiri* dicitur cum instituitur detexenda. Vergil . . . Cicero . . . Lucilius. Festus 185 *ordiri* est rei principium facere, unde et togae vocantur exordia (?). Isidore 19 29 7 *ordiri* est texere.

P. 31. *Sudum* dictum est quasi semiudum, ut est aër post pluvias serenus et liquidus. Vergil . . . Plautus . . . Lucilius. Servius A. 8 529 *sudum* est quasi subudum, serenum post pluvias . . . [Alii *sudum* semiudum volunt dici, cum per nubes ad nos perveniat solis ictus non integer.] Philargyrius G. 477 *sudum* est serenum, subumidum; proprie autem *sudum* pars serena inter nubes, quasi semiudum. Festus 294 *sudum* Verrius ait significare sub[udum]. Sed auctorum omnia exempla poscunt ut su]dus significet . . . *sine udo*, ut se[curus sine cura].

*Inritare* dictum est proprie provocare, tractum a canibus, qui cum provocantur, irriunt. Lucilius . . . Terence . . . Vergil . . . Sallust . . . Plautus . . . Varro. Festus 101 *hirrire*, garrire, quod genus vocis est canis rabiosae. Donatus And. 3 4 18



*inrilatus*, commotus, ira provocatus, ut in Phormione. Ducitur autem verbum a canibus, qui restrictis dentibus hanc litteram *R* inrillantur. Ad. 2 4 18 *inrilari* proprie canes dicuntur. Lucilius de littera *R*, '*inrilata* canes quod homo quam planius dicit.' As this line of Lucilius, and a line out of the Phormio, are quoted by Nonius, it is reasonable to suppose that the notes of Donatus and Nonius are derived from the same source.

P. 32. *Arcanum* dicitur secretum vel absconditum, quod quae in arca sunt, celata sirt et abscondita. Vergilius Aeneidos lib. IV . . . lib. I. Paulus 16 *arcani* sermonis significatio trahitur sive ab arce . . . sive ab arca, in qua quae clausa sint tuta manent, cuius ipsius origo ab arcendo pendet. Servius A. 1 262 *arcana* secreta. Unde et arca et arx dictae. Isidore 20 9 2 *arcanum*, id est secretum, unde ceteri arcentur.

*Tormina* genus morbi, dicti quod dolore torqueat. Cicero Tusculanarum lib. II. Isidore 4 6 14 *ileos* dolor intestinorum . . . Hi et *torminosi* dicuntur ab intestinorum tormento.

*Monumenti* proprietatem a monendo M. Tullius exprimendam putavit, ad Caesarem Epistola II . . . Vergilius lib. V. Paulus 139 *monere* . . . sic monimenta quae in sepulcris. Comp. Servius A. 3 486, Isid. 15 11 1.

*Rivales* dicti sunt quasi in unum amorem derivantes. Terentius in Eunucho. Donatus Eun. 5 8 42 *rivales* . . . facta translatione nominis a feris bestiis, quae sitientes cum ex eodem rivulo haustum petunt, in proelium contra se invicem concitantur. Sic Cicero pro Caelio, 'sin erit ex eodem fonte rivalis.' Placidus 79 *rivales*, qui de uno amore discedunt.

*Gestire* significat laetum esse; dictum a gesticulis faciliioribus (felicioribus?). Terentius in Eunucho . . . Vergilius Georgicorum lib. I. Paulus 96 *gestil* qui subita felicitate exhilaratus nimio corporis motu praeter consuetudinem exultat. Servius G. 1 387 *gestire* est laetitiam suam corporis habitu significare. So more fully Donatus Eun. 3 5 7, who quotes the line from the first Georgic.

*Involare* est inruere, insilire; aut a volatu, aut a vola, id est media manu, dictum. Terentius Eunucho . . . Lucilius lib. XXX. Servius A. 3 233 *involare* dicimus intra volam tenere, etc. 6 198 *vola* dicitur media pars sive pedis sive manus. Paulus 370 s. v. *volae vestigium*, palma manus *vola* dicta.

P. 33. *Segne* . . . sine igni . . . Vergil . . . Cicero. So Velius Longus in the Verona Scholia A. 4 149, Isidore 10 247. Paulus 338 derives the word from *sine nitendo*.

P. 34. *Interpolare* est immittere et interponere . . . et est tractum ab arte fullonum, qui poliendo diligenter vetera quaeque quasi in novam speciem mutant. Cicero . . . Plautus. Isidore 19 22 23 *interpola* vestis illa dicitur, quae dum sit vetus ad novam speciem recuratur.

*Everriculum* genus est retis piscatorii, a verrendo dictum, vel quod trahatur, vel quod, si quid fuerit piscium nactum, everrat. Cicero. Paulus 78 *exverrae* sunt purgatio quaedam domus, ex qua mortuus ad sepulturam ferendus est, etc. Servius A. 1 59 *verrere* est trahere, a rete quod verriculum dicitur. Compare Isidore 19 5 3, Servius G. 1 142.

P. 35. *Angina* genus morbi, eo quod angat; et Graece *συνάχη* appellatur. Lucilius lib. XXX. Paulus 8 . . . faucium dolor angina vocatur. Plautus, 'vellem me in anginam vorti, quo huic aniculae fauces praeoccuparem.' The same line of Plautus is quoted by Servius G. 3 497.

*Arquatus* morbus dictus qui regius dicitur, quod arcus sit concolor de virore, vel quod ita stringat corpora ut in arcum ducat. Lucilius . . . Varro. Isidore 4 8 13 *icteris* Graeci appellant a cuiusdam animalis nomine, quia sit coloris fellei. Hunc morbum Latini arcuatum, a similitudine caelestis arcus.

*Privum* est proprium unius cuiusque; unde et res privata. Lucilius lib. XXX . . . Idem. lib. I. Paulus 226 *privos privasque* antiqui dicebant pro singulis. Ob quam causam et *privata* dicuntur quae unius cuiusque sint: hinc et *privilegium* et *privatus*. Gellius 10 20 4 on the word *privilegium*: quia veteres *priva* dixerunt quae nos *singula* dicimus. Quo verbo Lucilius in primo saturarum libro usus est, etc. Nonius, it will be observed, adds a quotation from Lucilius which is not in Gellius. Acron Hor. S. 2 5 11 *privum* est quod unius cuiusque proprium est et alterius non est . . . unde et *privilegium*, ut hoc Plautinum indicat, 'exite et ferte fustes privos in manu.'

*Fratrum* proprietatem Nigidius acutissime dixit; 'frater est,' inquit, 'dictus quasi fere alter.' = Gellius 13 10 4. Paulus 90 *frater* a *φρήτη*, vel quod est fere alter.

P. 36. *Depilati* dictum rarefacti. . Lucilius lib. XXIX, 'Gnatho, quid actum est? Depilati omnes sumus.' Paulus 204 *pilat* . . . pro detrahit pilos, a quo *depilati*.

P. 37. *Aqua intercus*, hydropum morbus; quasi aqua intercutem. Lucilius . . . Cicero. Placidus 60 *intercus*, hydrops.

*Maltus* veteres, molles appellari voluerunt, a Graeco, quasi *μαλακός*. (So the Harleian MS.) Lucilius lib. XXVII. Porphyrio Hor. S. 1 2 25 sub *Malthini* nomine quidam Maecenatem suspicantur significari; ab re tamen nomen finxit, *maltha* enim *μαλακός* dicitur. Paulus 135 *malta* dicitur Graece pix cum cera mixta.

*Portorium* dicitur merces quae portitoribus datur. Lucilius lib. XXVII. Festus 237 had a note on *portorium* which is now mutilated.

*Sedulo* significat sine dolo. Lucilius lib. XXVII. So Donatus Ad. 1 1 25, 3 3 59, Servius (Dan.) A. 2 374 = Isidore 10 247; comp. *ib.* 244.

P. 38. *Versipelles* dicti sunt quolibet genere se commutantes. Lucilius . . . Plautus. Isidore 10 278 *versipellis* eo quod in diversa vultum et mentem vertat. Inde et versutus et callidus.

*Capital* dictum est capitis periculum. Plautus . . . Lucilius. Paulus 48 *capital*, facinus quod capitis poena luitur.

*Clandestino* est abscondite. Lucilius lib. XXVI. Placidus 23 *clandestina* res, occulta.

P. 39. *Eliminare*, extra limen eicere. Pacuvius . . . Pomponius . . . Ennius . . . Accius. Quintilian 8 3 31 memini iuvenis admodum inter Pomponium et Senecam etiam praefationibus esse tractatum, an *gradus eliminat* in tragoedia dici oportuisset. Placidus 39 *eliminare*, extra limen proferre, vel publice secretum quid dicere.

*Vituperare* dictum est vitio dare, tamquam culpae vel displicentiae. Terentius Andria. Donatus And. Prol. 8 *vituperare* est mala vitio dare et etiam bona.

*Pilare* dictum est ut *plumare*, pilis vestiri. Afranius . . . Novius. Paulus 204 *pilat*, pilos habere incipit.

P. 40. *Rabere* dictum est a rabie. Varro, Idem Attii quod Titii, 'quid est, *quid latras, quid rabis*, quid vis tibi?' Caecilius . . . Paulus 272-3 *rabidus* a rabie, qui morbus caninus est. Catullus, 'rabidus furor animi.'

*Tintinnire* dicitur sonare; unde et tintinnacula sunt appellata. Afranius Vopisco, 'tintinnire ianitoris impedimenta audio. Nigidius lib. XVII (XVIII the Harleian MS.) Festus 364 *tintinnare* est apud Naevium . . . et apud Afranium, 'ostiario impedimenta tintinnire audio.' Comp. Isidore 3 21 13.

*Verminari* positum torqueri, a vermibus, quod facile se torqueant. Pomponius. Festus 375, *vermina* dicuntur dolores corporis cum

quodam minuto motu quasi a vermibus scindatur. Hic dolor Graece *στροφή* dicitur.

*Infabre*, foede, ut est adfabre, pulchre. Pacuvius Niptris. Paulus 28 adfabrum, fabre factum.

P. 41. *Reserare*, aperire, a sera dictum, etc. Festus 282 has a fragment on *resero* illustrated from Pacuvius.

*Tergiversari*, fallere et dicta mutare. Et est quasi tergum vertere, ut ait Plautus Amphitruone . . . M. Tullius de Officiis. Isidore 10 271 *tergiversator* quod animum quasi tergum vertat huc et illuc.

*Prudentiam* a providendo dictam dilucide ostendit M. Tullius in Hortensio, etc. Isidore 10, 201 *prudens*, quasi porro videns.

P. 42. *Occationem* ab occaecatis seminibus, qua id efficitur, dici M. Tullius voluit, de Senectute, etc. Comp. p. 61, *occationes* proprietas his indiciis aperitur. Varro de Re Rustica lib. I, 'et postea occare, id est comminuere, ne sit glæba, quod ita occidunt, occare dictum.' Serenus 'Occatio occaecatio est.' Festus 181, *occare* et *occatorem* Verrius putat dictum ab occaedendo, quid caedit grandes globos terrae; cum Cicero venustissime dicat ab occaecando fruges satas. Both etymologies are given by Isidore 17 2 4.

*Verniliter* pro adulatorie, a vernis, quibus haec vivendi ars est. Caecilius Venatore. Placidus 84 *vernilis*, subdolos et malus et servilis.

*Pecuniosorum* et *locupletium* proprietatem aperuit M. Tullius de Republica lib. II, a pecore pecuniosos, et a possessionibus locorum locupletes appellatos adserens; 'multaeque dictione ovium et boum, quod tunc erat res in pecore et locorum possessionibus, ex quo pecuniosi et locupletes vocabantur.' Paulus 119 *locupletes*, locorum multorum domini. Isidore 10 155, 209 refers to the same passage of Cicero as that quoted by Nonius. Compare further, Servius E. 1 33, Isidore 16 18 4.

P. 43. *Vernas* veteres appellabant qui vere sacro fuerant nati . . . Plautus . . . Lucilius. Festus 372 *vernae* qui in villis vere nati . . . et tunc rem divinam instituerit Marti Numa Pompilius pacis concordiaeque obtinendae gratia inter Sabinos Romanosque, etc.

*Concinnare* est facere, ut Plautus Amphitruone . . . Recte autem *concinere* et consentire intellegi potest, quasi concanere, etc. This note is evidently in a confused state, but some light may be thrown upon it by Paulus 38, *concinnare* est apte componere, *concinere* enim convenire est. It would appear from this that Verrius

must in some way have connected the two words. Compare further Placidus 27, *concinatus* factus. A similar note recurs in Nonius p. 90.

*Viritim*: Paulus 378 *viritim* dicitur dari quod datur per singulos viros.

P. 44. *Blatis* et blateras, confingis, aut incondite et inaniter loqueris [aut a Graeco βλάξ] aut a balatu. Plautus. The words in brackets I have introduced from Paulus 34: blaterare est stulte et praecipue loqui, quod a Graeco βλάξ originem ducit. Compare Placidus 15, Acron Hor. S. 2 7 35.

*Percontari*, diligenter inquirere. Plautus . . . Et est proprietas verbi ab eo tracta quod vada in fluminibus contis exquiruntur. Festus 214 *percunctatio* pro interrogatione dicta videtur ex nautico usu, quia conto pertemptant cognoscuntque navigantes aquae altitudinem. Ob quam causam ait Verrius etiam secundam syllabam per o solere scribi. So Donatus Hec. 1 2 2.

*Cerriti* et larvati male sani, et aut Cereris ira aut larvarum incurratione animo vexati. Plautus. Paulus 54, *cerritus*, furiosus: 119 *larvati* furiosi et mente moti, quasi larvis exterriti. Acron Hor. S. 2 3 277 *cerriti* proprie dicuntur qui a Cerere percussi sunt: so Servius A. 7 377.

P. 45. *Cassum* veteres inane posuerunt. Et arbitrandum est eius verbi proprietatem magis ab araneorum cassibus dictam, . . . non, ut quibusdam videtur, quasi *quassum*. The etymology repudiated by Nonius is adopted by Servius (Dan.) A. 2 85.

Propriam corvorum vocem *crocitum* veteres esse voluerunt. Plautus in Aulularia, 'simul radebat pedibus terram, et voce crocibat sua.' Paulus 53 *crocatio* corvorum vocis appellatio. (Müller suggests *crocitio*. The Harleian MS. of Nonius here reads originally *crocchitum* and *crocchibat*; assuming the spelling with the double consonant correct, it would be easy for *crocchire* to be corrupted into *crocicare*.)

*Sublevit* significat inlusit et pro ridiculo habuit . . . Plautus. Placidus 79 *sublevit* subiunxit, a liniendo (surely *subunxit*, a linendo.)

*Investes* dicuntur impuberes, quibus propter teneram aetatem nulla pars corporis pilat. Hoc et Aeneidos lib. VIII videtur sensisse Vergilius, 'aurea caesaries ollis atque aurea vestis.' So too Servius on the passage (A. 8 659). Paulus 368 *vesticeps* puer qui iam vestitus est pubertate; e contra *investis* est qui necdum pubertate vestitus est. Placidus 58 *investem*, impuberem, sine barba.

P. 46. *Febris* proprietatem a ferviditate morbi vel mali, ut a calendo calorem, Varro Andabatis aperiendam putat. So Isidore 4 6 2. Servius G. 3 458.

P. 47. *Exporrectum*, extentum; porrectum enim est tentum, id est, porro iactum. Varro Endymionibus, 'quare si in somnum recideris, *ἀπὸ πόντος* (so Bücheler) eris iterum exporrectus.' Is this note corrupt, and made up out of two, one of which was on *experrectus* and the other on *exporrectus*? Paulus 80 has two notes: *experrectus* est qui per se vigilare coepit, *expergitus* ab alio excitatus: and a little below, *exporgere*, porro agere, exporrigere. On p. 79 he connects *experrectus* with *porrigo*.

*Torculum*, quod usu *torcular*, dictum quod intortum laticem vitis vel oleae exprimat. Varro. So Isidore 15 6 7 s. v. *torcular*.

*Cingulum* a cingendo . . . Varro Gerontodidascalo, 'novus maritus tacitulus taxim uxoris solvebat cingulum.' Paulus 63 *cingulo* nova nupta praecingebatur, quod vir in lecto solvebat, etc.

P. 48. *Silicernium* pessime intellegentes ita posuisse Terentium putant quod incurvitate silices cernat senex. *Silicernium* est proprie convivium funebre quod senibus exhibetur. Varro Meleagris. Donatus Ad. 4 2 48 gives as alternative derivations *silentes cernere* and *silicem cernere*. Paulus 295 *silicernium* erat genus farcinis, quo fletu (?) familia purgabatur. Dictum autem silicernium quod cuius nomine ea res instituebatur, is iam silentium cerneret. Caecilius Obolostate, 'credidi silicernium eius me esse esurum.'

*Elixum*, quicquid ex aqua mollitur vel decoquitur, nam *lixam* aquam veteres dixerunt, etc. Paulus 76 *elixa* a liquore dicta. Isidore 20 2 22 *elixum* eo quod in aqua sola decoquitur. *Lixa* enim aqua dicitur, ab eo quod sit soluta, etc.

*Parochus* a Graeco tractum est nomen, quod vehicula praebeat: *ὄχηματα* enim Graece, Latine vehicula appellantur. Varro. Acron Hor. S. 1 5 45 *parochi* genus officii qui solent peregrinis salern et ligna praebere, et significat publicum cursum. Vel parochi sunt qui solent legatis causa rei publicae iter facientibus necessaria ministrare, publici muliones.

P. 49. *Trossuli*, equites Romani, dicti sunt torosuli (so I think we should read after the first hand of the Harleian MS.) Varro. Paulus 367 *trosuli* equites dicti quod oppidum Tusculorum Trossulum sine opera peditum ceperint.

*Cetarii* genus est piscatorum quod maiores pisces capit, dictum ab eo quod cete in mari maiora sunt piscium genera. Vergil . . . Varro. So Donatus Eun. 2 2 25, Placidus 22.

P. 50. *Lingulacae*, locutuleiae, a procacitate linguae et loquendi proprietatem trahunt. Plautus. Paulus 117 (quoted above).

*Fures* significationem habere a *furvo* . . . quod per obscuras atque atras noctes opportuna sit eis mali effectio . . . Varro ostendit *Rerum Divinarum* lib. XIV . . . Homerus, κλέπτῃ δέ τε νυκτὸς ἀπειρώ. Gellius 1 18 4 quotes the same passage of Varro (which is rightly given in the Harleian MS. from the *Rerum Divinarum*) more fully than Gellius, but does not give the line of Homer. The derivation of *fur* from *furvus* may also be found in Servius G. 3 407, A. 9 350, Placidus 47, Isidore 5 26 18.

*Ventorum proprietates*, etc. This note is an abridgment from one which is given in a fuller form by Gellius 2 22 and Isidore 13 11. Nonius again, however, shows his independence of Gellius by quoting passages of Homer which are not in the latter's note.

P. 51. *Peni, vel penoris* (so the Harleian MS.), etc. Gellius 4 1 illustrates the forms and meanings of this word at great length from Q. Scaevola and other jurists. Servius A. 1 703 has a note which gives the pith of Gellius's remarks, but adds instances from Horace, Plautus, and Persius.

*Laevum* significari veteres voluerunt quasi a levando. Vergilium quoque sub hac ostentatione posuisse veteres putant (so Harl.). Georgicorum lib. IV 'si quem Numina laeva sinunt, auditque vocatus Apollo.' Ennius Annalium lib. III, 'olli de caelo laevum dedit inclutus signum.' Gellius 5 12 13 gives the opposite interpretation of *laevus* in the line from Vergil; Ennius he does not quote at all. Servius G. 4 6 agrees with Nonius. See further Servius A. 2 54, 693; 9 631.

*Rudentes* ea causa sapientissimi dictos volunt, quod funes, cum vento verberentur, *rudere* existimentur; atque hunc sonum proprium funium, non asinorum putant. Festus 265 *rudentes* vestes nauticae, et asini cum voces mittunt. Comp. Isidore 19 4 1.

*Infesti* proprietatem hanc esse Nigidius voluit, quasi nimium festinantis ad scelus vel ad fraudem. The note of Nigidius is given in full by Gellius 9 12 6. In like manner the following note of Nonius on *maturare* is given fully from Nigidius by Gellius 10 11.

*Lictoris* proprietatem a ligando dictum vetustas putat; ita enim carnificis officium antiquitas fungebatur. M. Tullius pro Rabirio. Gellius 12 3 gives the same explanation as Nonius, quoted from Valgius Rufus, and a different one from Tiro. Paulus 115, *lictiores* dicuntur quod fasces virgarum ligatos ferunt. Hi parentes magistratibus delinquentibus plagas ingerunt.

P. 52. The note on *soror* = Gellius 13 10, where Nigidius is quoted on *frater*. It may therefore come from Nigidius.

*Lues* a rebus solvendis proposita. Licinius Macer Annalibus lib. II. Paulus 120 *lues* est diluens usque ad nihil, tractum a Graeco λύειν. Comp. Isidore 4 6 19. Placidus 60 *lues*, solves.

The following note on *humanitas* is given more fully by Gellius 13 7, but differently worded, Gellius having no mention of *comitas*.

*Ador* frumenti genus quod epulis et immolationibus sacris pium putatur, unde et *adorare*, propitiare religiones, potest dictum videri. Varro . . . Vergil. Paulus 3 and Isidore 17 3 6 connect it with *edo*.

The following note on *facies* = Gellius 13 20, but Gellius gives the quotations in a different order. With the substance of the note may be compared also Isidore 11 1 33, Donatus Eun. 2 3 5, Servius A. 6 560. The next (p. 53), on *vestibulum*, is virtually identical with that in Gellius 16 5, but can hardly be borrowed from it, as Nonius has a passage from the *De Oratore* of Cicero which Gellius has omitted. The note on *vescus* in the same chapter of Gellius is undoubtedly taken ultimately from Verrius Flaccus, and this may also be the case with that on *vestibulum*. The various views of the ancient scholars on this word may also be found in Servius A. 6 273, 2 469, Isidore 15 7 2.

*Bidentes* qui existimant ob eam causam oves a Vergilio dictas quod duos dentes habeant, pessime ac vitiose intellegunt; nam nec duos dentes habent, et hoc quidem genus monstri est. Nonius proceeds to quote Pomponius and Laberius on *bidens*, and Nigidius on *bidental*. Hyginus apud Gell. 16 6, whose note corresponds closely in substance with that of Nonius, does not quote Laberius, and cites Nigidius on *bidentes*, not on *bidental*. Paulus 33 says *bidental* dicebant quoddam templum, quod in eo bidentibus hostiis sacrificaretur. *Bidentes* autem sunt oves duos dentes longiores ceteris habentes. Isidore 12 1 9 *bidentes* vocant eo quod inter octo dentes duos altiores habent: compare further Acron Hor. Od. 3 27 13, A. P. 171, Servius A. 4 57, 6 39. The original note may have come either from Hyginus or from Verrius.

P. 54. The note on *fenus* is given more fully in Gellius 16 12 5: the substance of it is from Verrius: see Paulus 86 *fenus* et *fenerratores* et lex de credita pecunia fenebris a fetu dicta, quod crediti nummi alios pariunt, et apud Graecos eadem res τόκος dicitur: so *ib.* 94. The following one upon *recepticius servus* is stated by Gel-



lius from the work of Verrius *De obscuris Catonis*: as a fact it is quoted from the *De Verborum Significatu* by Festus 282. Again Nonius cannot be borrowing from Gellius, as he has a quotation from Cicero *De Oratore* which Gellius knows nothing of.

*Sititines*. This note is preserved in a fuller form by Gellius 20 2.

*Iumentum* a iungendo veteres dictum putant, *g* littera in eo nomine attrita. Nam et *vectabulum* dicunt quod nunc vehiculum dicitur. A curious misunderstanding; Gellius 20 1 28 *iumentum* quoque non id solum significat quod nunc dicitur, sed *vectabulum* etiam, quod adiunctis pecoribus trahebatur, veteres nostri iumentum a iungendo dixerunt. Surely it is impossible here that Nonius had the note of Gellius before him. He seems to think that *vectabulum* stands to *vehiculum* as *iug-mentum* to *iumentum*.

P. 55. Nonius defines the word *arcera*, and illustrates it from Varro. Gellius 20 1 29 defines it in the same way, but does not quote any illustration. Paulus 15, *arcera* genus plaustris est modici quo homo vectari possit.

*Tropaei* significantiam propriam Varro Bimarco ostendit; 'ideo fuga hostium Graece vocatur τροπή. Hinc spolia capta, fixa in stipitibus, appellantur *tropaea*.' So Servius A. 10 775, Isidore 18 2 3.

*Luxum*, id est vulsum et loco motum, quod nunc *luxatum* ignari latine dicimus. Inde *luxuria*, quia a recta vivendi via sit exclusa et eiecta. Paulus 119, *luxa* membra e suis locis mota et soluta, a quo *luxuriosus*, in re familiari solutus. 120 *luxantur* . . . i. e. luxuriantur. So Isidore 10 160.

*Culinam* veteres coquinam dixerunt, non ut nunc vulgus putat. Varro . . . Plautus. Acron Hor. S. 1 5 38 *culina* dicta est coquina quia ibidem di *penates* colantur, etc. Isidore 20 10 1 ab igne colendo *culinam* antiqui dixerunt. This is Varro's etymology as quoted by Nonius.

P. 56. *Petauristae* a veteribus dicebantur qui saltibus vel schemis levioribus moverentur, et haec proprietas a Graeca nominatione descendit, ἀπὸ τοῦ πέτασθαι. Varro Epistola ad Caesarem . . . Idem de Vita Populi Romani. Festus 206 *petauristes* Lucilius a petauro appellatos existimare videtur, cum ait 'sicut mechanici cum alto exiluire petauro.' At Aelius Stilo quod in aere volent, etc.

P. 57. *Curiam* a cura dictam Varro designat, de Vita Populi Romani lib. II (so, not III, the Harleian MS). Paulus 119 *curia* locus est ubi publicas curas ferebant, etc. So Isidore 15 2 28.

*Legionum* proprietatem a dilectu militum, etc. So Isidore 9 3 46. *Enixae*: for this note comp. Placidus 37.

*Remulco* trahes dictum quasi molli et leni tractu ad progressum mulcere. Sisenna Historiarum lib. II. Paulus 279 *remulco* est cum scaphae remis navis magna trahitur. Isidore 19 4 8 illustrates the word from Valgius.

P. 58. *Agilem*, celerem, ab agendo. Sisenna Historiarum lib. III. Isidore 10 6 *agilis* ab agendo aliquid celeriter, sicut docilis.

*Expediti* et *impediti* ex una proprietate habent vocabuli causam, aut exsolutis pedibus aut inligatis. Sisenna Historiarum lib. IV. Donatus And. 3 5 11, *impeditus* proprie est qui ita pedes habet inligatos ut progredi non possit.

*Testudines* sunt loca in aedificiis camerata, ad similitudinem aquatilium testudinum, quae duris tergoribus sunt et incurvis. Vergil . . . Sisenna. Compare Servius A. 1 505, Isidore 15 8 8.

*Adolere* verbum est proprie sacra reddentium, quod significat votis vel supplicationibus numen auctius facere, ut est in iisdem *Macte esto*. Vergil. Servius A. 1 704 *adolere* proprie est augere, etc.

P. 59. *Accensi* genus militiae est administrantibus proximum. Varro Rerum Humanarum lib XX. Paulus 18 *accensi* dicebantur qui in locum mortuorum militum subito subrogabantur, dicti ita quia ad censum adiciebantur.

*Nefarius* from *far* (quo scelerati uti non debeant). So Isidore 10 188, both notes coming from Varro.

*Mansuetum* dictum est quasi manu suetum (*mansuetum* Harl.), quod omnia quae sunt natura fera manuum permulsione mitescant. Unde Vergilus, etc. Paulus 132 *mansuetum*, ad manum venire solitum. Alii aiunt *mansuetum* dictum neque et misericordia maestum, neque ex crudelitate saevum, sed modestia temperatum.

P. 60. *Rotundum* a rota dictum est, etc. Isidore 20 12 1 *rotundum* a rota vocatum.

*Inepti* proprietatem Cicero de Oratore lib. II patefacit; 'quem enim nos *ineptum* vocamus, is mihi videtur ab hoc nomen habere quod non sit aptus.' Isidore 10 144 *ineptus* apto contrarius est, quasi *inaptus*.

P. 61. *Deversoria* dicta sunt hospitia, a devertendo. Cicero De Oratore lib. II. Isidore 15 3 10, *diversorium* dictum eo quod ex diversis viis ibi conveniatur.

*Heredii* proprietatem indicat Varro De Re Rustica lib. I, 'bina iugera, quod a Romulo primum divisa viritim, quae heredem se-

querentur, heredium appellarunt.' Paulus 99 *heredium*, praedium parvulum. Placidus 52 *herediolum*, possessiunculam.

*Legumina* Varro de Re Rustica lib. I dicta existimat quod non secentur, sed quod legantur. Isidore 17 4 1 *legumina* a legendo dicta, quasi electa.

*Porcae* agri, quam dicimus, significantiam Varro designat De Re Rustica lib. I, 'qua aratrum vomere lacunam striam facit, sulcus vocatur. Quod est inter duos sulcos, elata terra, dicitur *porca*, quod ea seges frumentum porricit.' Accius Parergorum lib. I, 'bene proscissas cossigerare ordine porcas, bidenti ferro rectas deruere.'

*Porcae* sunt signa sulcorum quae ultra se iaci semina prohibent: *porcere* enim, prohibere, saepius legimus. Festus 218 *porcae* appellantur rari sulci, qui ducuntur aquae derivandae gratia, dicti quod porcant, id est prohibeant aquam frumentis nocere. Paulus 15 *porcet* dictum ab antiquis quasi porro arcet. Placidus 74 *porcam*, terram quae inter sulcos est elata.

P. 62. *Fracescere*, tamquam friari, et putrefieri vetustate. Varro, De Re Rustica lib. I. Paulus 90 *fracebunt*, displicebunt. Placidus 44 *fracebunt*, sordebunt, displicebunt, dictum de fracibus, qui sunt stillicidia sterquilini.

*Calonum* . . . proprietas haec habetur (so Harl.), quod ligna militibus sumministrent; *κᾶλα* enim Graeci ligna dicunt, ut Homerus, ἐνὶ δὲ ξύλα κᾶλ' ἐπέβητο. The same account of the word is given by Servius A. 1 39. Porphyrio Hor. Epist. 1 14 42. Paulus 63 somewhat differently; *calones* militum servi dicti quia ligneas clavas ferebant, quae Graeci *κᾶλα* vocant. Is quoque qui huiusmodi telo utitur *clavator* appellatur. In another place (225) he derives it from *calare*: so Porphyrio Hor. S. 1 2 44.

*Conticinium*, noctis primum tempus, quo omnia quiescendi gratia conticescunt. Isidore 5 31 8=Placidus 70, *conticinium* est quando omnia silent, *conticescere* enim silere est. Comp. Servius (Dan.) A. 3 587.

*Delibratum*, decorticatum, ut *deartuatum*, per artus discissum. Paulus 73 *delubrum* . . . delibratum, id est decorticatum.

P. 63. *Grumae* sunt loca media, in quae directae quatuor congregantur et conveniunt viae. Est autem *gruma* mensura quaedam, qua fixa viae ad normam (*lineam*, Harl.) deriguntur, ut est agrimensorum et talium. Ennius . . . Lucilius. Paulus 96 *gruma* appellatur genus machinulae cuiusdam, quo regiones agri cuiusque cognosci possunt.

*Luculentum*, pulchrum et bonum et perspicuum ; dictum a luce. Licinius Macer . . . Plautus Cornicularia. Paulus 120 *luculentus* a luce appellatus. Isidore 10 154 *luculentus* ab eo quod sit lingua clarus et sermone splendidus.

P. 64. *Convicium* dictum est quasi e vicis iocum, qui, secundum ignobilitatem loci, maledictis et dictis turpibus cavillentur. Paulus 41 *convicium* a vicis, in quibus prius habitatum est, videtur dictum, vel immutata littera quasi convocium.

*Propages* est series et adfixio continua vel iuge ducta. *Pages* enim compactio, unde *compages*, et *propagare*, id est genus iuge longe mittere. Paulus 227 *propages* progenies a propagando, ut faciunt rustici cum vitem vetulam supprimunt ut ex ea una plures faciant.

P. 65. *Aequor* ab aequo et plano, etc. So Isidore 13 12 1 and elsewhere, Servius A. 2 69, G. 1 50, 469.

*Maeniana* ab inventore eorum Maenio dicta sunt, unde et columna Maenia. Cicero Academicorum lib. IV. Festus 134 *Maeniana* appellata sunt a Maenio censore, qui primus in foro ultra columnas tigna proiecit, quo ampliarentur superiora spectacula.

*Natrices* dicuntur angues natantes. Cicero . . . Lucilius. Isidore 12 4 25 *natrix* serpens aquam veneno inficiens . . . de quo Lucanus 'et natrix violator aquae.'

P. 66. *Manum* dicitur clarum ; unde etiam *mane*, post tenebras noctis, diei pars prima ; inde Matuta, quae Graece *Λευκοθέα*. Nam inde volunt etiam deos *Manes* manes appellari, id est bonos et prosperos . . . Inde *immanes* non boni, ut saepe. Paulus 122 *matrem Matutam* antiqui ob bonitatem appellabant, et *maturum* idoneum usui, et *mane* principium diei, et inferi di *manes*, ut suppliciter appellati boni essent, et in carmine Saliari Cerus manus intellegitur creator bonus. So ib. 125, 147: 157-8 he gives an etymology from *manare* (compare Varro L. L. 6 4). For a further version of the note see Servius A. 3 63, and compare also Isidore 5 30 14, 8 11 100, 10 139.

*Fodicare* est fodere, a fodiendo dictum. Cicero. Hence we may perhaps emend Paulus 84 *fodare* fodere, into fodicare fodere.

*Praeficae* dicebantur apud veteres quae adhiberi solerent funeri, mercede conductae, ut et flerent et fortia facta laudarent. Plautus in Frivolaria . . . Lucilius . . . Varro. Paulus 223 *praeficae* dicuntur mulieres ad lamentandum mortuum conductae, quae dant ceteris modum plangendi quasi in hoc ipsum praefectae. Naevius. . . . Plautus, it should be observed, is quoted on the same page.

Compare further Servius A. 6 216, 9 486, Acron Hor. A. P. 431. In this case the note of Varro de Lingua Latina (7 70) corresponds far more closely than usual with that of Festus.

P. 67. *Proletarii* dicti sunt plebei, qui nihil reipublicae exhibeant, sed tantum prolem sufficient. Cato . . . Cassius Hemina. . . . Varro. Paulus 226 *proletarium* capite census, dictum quod ex his civitas constet, quasi prolis progenie; idem et *proletanei*. Gellius in his note on the word (16 10) gives instances different from Nonius.

*Prosapies* generis longitudo, dicta a prosupando aut proserendo. Cato. Festus 225 *prosapia* progenies; id est porro sparsis et quasi iactis liberis, quia *supare* significat iacere et dissicere.

P. 68. *Optiones* in cohortibus qui sunt honesti gradus, ut optatos, quod est electos, et adoptatos, quod adscitos, Varro de Vita Populi Romani lib. III existimat appellari: 'referentibus centurionibus et decurionibus adoptati in cohortes subibant, ut semper plenae essent legiones; a quo optiones in turmis decurionum et in cohortibus centurionum appellati.' Festus 184 *optio* est optatio, sed in re militari *optio* appellatur is quem decurio aut centurio optat sibi rerum privatarum ministrum. 198 *optio* qui nunc dicitur, antea appellabatur accensus. Is adiutor dabatur centurioni a tribuno militum, etc. See further Donatus Eun. 5 8 27, Isidore 9 3 41.

The following notes in this book of Nonius, then, stand in a more or less close relation to notes in Paulus, and may therefore perhaps be referred ultimately to Verrius Flaccus.

P. 1, senium. 3, velitatio, hostimentum. 4, capulum. 5, temulenta. 6, exercitus. 8, nautea, caperare. 9, examussim, focula. 10, bardus, inlex, lurco. 13, veterinus, creperus. 14, vitulans. 15, torrus (?), grumus. 16, expectoro, lacto. 17, strenna (?), adulatio (?), manduco. 18, exdorsua, rumen, rutrum, nebulo. 19, trua. 22, capronae, glisco. 23, saga, lapit, munes, petulantia, procacitas, Kalendae (?). 25, valgus, catax, cilo (?), compernis. 26, lingulaca, rabula. 27, exodium, putus. 29, merenda. 30, antes, camerum, immunis, dirus, exodium. 31, sudus, iritare. 32, arcanum, monumentum, gestire. 34, everriculum (?). 35, angina, privus. 36, depilati, frater. 37, portorium (?). 38, capital. 39, pilare. 40, rabere, tintinnire, verminari, infabre. 41, reserare (?). 42, occatio, locuples. 43, verna, concinnare, viritim. 44, blatero, percontari, cerriti. 45, croccitum, investis. 47, exporrectum, expectectum (?), cingulum. 48, silicernium, elixum. 49, trosuli. 50, lingulacae. 51, rudentes. 52, lictor (?), lues (?), ador (?). 53, bidentes, fenus.

54, recepticius, arcera. 55, luxus. 56, petaurista. 57, curia, remulco. 58, adolere, accensi. 59, mansuetum(?). 61, heredium, porca. 62, calones. 63, gruma, luculentus. 64, convicium, propages. 65, Maeniana. 66, manus, fodicare(?), praeifica. 67, proletarii, prosapias, optio.

The following notes cannot be referred to Verrius Flaccus, but have parallels in Gellius, the commentators of the fourth century, Placidus, and Isidore, and may therefore be regarded as coming from the same sources as those corresponding notes:

P. 3, Phrygiones. 6, pellices, calvitur. 9, mutus. 11, concenturio. 12, exsul. 13, haustum. 14, Avernus, extorris. 15, torrus. 17, deliro. 20, corporare. 21, cernuus, caries. 24, ignominia, fides. 25, seditio. 26, strabo. 27, exterminatus. 28, edulia. 29, calces, mediocritas. 30, modestia. 32, tormina, involare. 33, segnis. 34, interpolare. 35, arquatus. 37, aqua intercus, maltha, sedulo. 38, versipellis, clandestino, elimino. 39, vituperare. 41, tergiversator, prudens. 45, cassus, sublevit. 46, febris. 47, torcular. 48, parochus. 49, cetarii. 50, fures, venti. 51, penus, laevus, infestus, maturare. 52, soror, humanitas, facies. 53, vestibulum. 54, siticines. 55, iumentum, tropaeum, culina. 57, enixae. 58, agilis, impediti, testudo. 59, nefarius. 60, rotundus, ineptus, deversorium. 61, legumen. 62, conticinium. 65, natrix.

HENRY NETTLESHIP.

### III.—NOTES FROM THE GREEK SEMINARY.

#### I.

#### THE ARTICULAR INFINITIVE IN XENOPHON AND PLATO.

In a paper on the articular infinitive, published in the Transactions of the American Philological Association for 1878, I presented some statistics collected by my pupils and myself as to the usage of Homer, Pindar, the Dramatic poets, Herodotos and Thukydides, and more especially the Attic orators. Those who are at the pains to gather statistics are too prone to read results into them, and, as the papers I have recently published have been chiefly statistical, it may seem to some that I too have the census-bureau ideal of philology. Statistic, as has been well said, is a dead thing, if not animated by the spirit that presents the points of view from which the statements are to be made. The phenomena must be vital, must be organic, else counting is of no moment. If the investigator has not a proper appreciation of the object of his search, he occupies no higher place than the notorious Caravella, who has left us a record of all the particles in Aristophanes arranged according to the accent, *μέν* in one group and *μέν* in another; or than Bindseil, who in his concordance to Pindar has put *δε* for *ἔως* under the relative, and made no distinction between *ἀν* the adverb-preposition and *ἀν* the particle. The mania of the present time is special syntax, and perhaps I am no more free from it than is any other philologist who desires to work in and with his time; but too much of this research is done by very young men, generally with no adequate knowledge of the history of constructions and often in slavish dependence on the theories of their teachers. In order to raise the structure of historical syntax on a sufficiently broad foundation, a division of the work is necessary. This every one recognizes. But it is important that force should not be wasted, even should M. Renan be right and historical studies be near their end by reason of the exhaustion of material. At all events I have endeavored not to throw away my own time nor the time of others in the observation of phenomena which possess no discernible significance. But the question comes up, Who is to judge of the significance? Do

we not leave too much to the subjective standard? Of course that is the trouble with every department of study into which feeling and imagination enter so largely as they do in the case of language. Familiarity with the current of a language makes the student susceptible to slight changes, unnoticed by those who get their knowledge out of grammars, which generally present illustrations, not proofs, and seldom if ever show any sense of proportion. The total impression of style, if carefully watched, breaks itself up into a series of minor impressions, and statistic comes in to give an exact account of the source of feeling. It is in this way that we can speak of the aesthetics of syntax. Not that I would leave too much to impression. The logical network of categories is often extremely useful; more useful, however, in exclusion, if I may dare say so, than in inclusion, for although students are aware theoretically that languages differ very much in their spheres of expression, many of them fail to discern the blanks in various idioms, and force the unlucky Greek or the unlucky Latin to assume shapes unknown to the peoples who used these tongues. So parallel syntaxes are found full of enforced parallelisms which a proper use of categories would have excluded.<sup>1</sup> The Greek did not want a parallel to the Latin, nor the Roman to the Greek. Translation is not made by parallels but by equivalents.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A good many years ago, when I was nursing the project of a parallel syntax of Greek and Latin, I sent for a book then recently published, half hoping, half fearing to find the work done to my hand. The book still figures in "complete" lists of grammars, and a word of warning may be not in vain. The author is a Dr. Havestadt, evidently an admirer of Bäumlein, and the book was published in Emmerich, 1863. Such ignorance of Greek I have seldom encountered in any quarter to which one might look for light, although the ignorance does not yield such delicious nonsense as one finds, for instance, in the "key" to a very popular Greek prose composition. So Cic. Off. I, 14: sunt multi qui eripiunt aliis *quod* aliis *largiantur* is rendered by Havestadt πολλοί εἰσιν, οἱ ἀναρπάζουσιν ἄλλοις (oder gewöhnlicher: ἀναρπάζοντες), ἃ ἄλλοις δωρῶνται; and 3, 5: sibi ut quisque malit, quod ad usum vitae pertineat, quam alteri acquirere concessum est, *non repugnante natura* = μη οὐκ ἐναντιοῦσης τῆς φύσεως = ohne dass die Natur im Widerspruche ist. Tusc. I, 39: Natura dedit usuram vitae, tamquam pecuniae, *nulla praestituta die* = μη οὐκ ἀποτεταγμένης τῆς ἡμέρας = ohne dass ein Termin gesetzt wird. I spare the Hellenist the superfluity of *sic*'s and exclamation points.

<sup>2</sup> A Hellenist is prone to exaggerate the influence of Greek on Latin, and yet after making all deductions it is hard to resist the conviction that Latin syntax was sophisticated not only by the adoption of certain Greek constructions, but by the unceasing effort of Roman translators and imitators to reproduce the



The Greek infinitive has a life of its own, and a richer and more subtle development than can be found in any of the cognate languages. This is recognized, I believe, by all professed students of comparative grammar, even by those who only know Greek as it is presented in Kühner. Of course the "ethnic" grammarians are not only proud of this concession, but avail themselves of it to the extent of insisting on a practical independence outside of a limited range of phenomena. The verbalization of the infinitive, so to speak, and the return of the infinitive to the substantive with the retention of its enlarged verb-force, are to be measured inside of the Greek language rather than outside of it. If the ethnic grammarians are over-cautious as to proethnic theories, they err on the right side.

By the substantial loss of its dative force the infinitive became verbalized; by the assumption of the article it was substantivized again with a decided increment of its power. This process adumbrated in Homer we find carried one easy step forward in Pindar. It must have existed among the people long before it was suffered to enter the domain of art. Such expressions as τὸ φαγεῖν, τὸ πλεῖν must have been common far earlier than our record. Philosophers found it a welcome instrument. Parmenides uses it with a certain defiance of law. There are not many τὸ οὐκ εἶναι's in true Greek.<sup>1</sup> Pindar limits himself to the acc. and nom., and uses

effect of Greek combinations, to which the cultivated Romans must have been more sensitive than most of us can pretend to be. So *cum* with the subjunctive, which is a later extension of the relative with the subj., owes much of its popularity to the struggle with the Greek participle, something, perhaps, to the reproduction of the τὸν ἥνικα as distinguished from *bre*; *ut* consecutive is a handy formula for *ὥστε* with the infinitive; the negative *μή* brings about the subjunctive, as in the Roman age of Greek the Latin subjunctive brings about the negative *μή*. Comparatively poor in poetic diction, the Roman poet made amends as the French poet did and still does to some extent by varying the normal order of words. Careful dovetailers like Horace had in this respect as in others a keen eye to the *exemplaria Graeca*, and the relative has been the greatest sufferer. In Greek poetry—notably in Pindar—the relative can take positions which are seemingly bold, because in Greek we feel the interchangeableness with the demonstrative. There is no such kinship in Latin, and it would not be too daring to say that wherever the interrogative would be forced the relative would be forced.

<sup>1</sup> Parmen. v. 50 οἷς τὸ πέλειν τε καὶ οὐκ εἶναι ταῦτ' ἐν νενόμισται | κοῦ ταῦτόν. In my article "Encroachments of *μή* on *οὐ*" (*American Journal of Philol.* I 46), I called Winer's τὸ οὐ φαγεῖν an impossibility, and I am not sorry for it. For such "sports" no one is responsible. So Babrius runs counter to the law of the

these chiefly in the aorist. The dramatic poets vary. Aischylos uses the articular inf. chiefly in the acc. and nom., the tenses are present and aorist; of prepositions he uses very few and these very sparingly; Sophokles employs prepositions a little more frequently, but in him also the tenses are all present or aorist, counting present perfects as presents. Every one knows that Sophokles is highly individual in his syntax, and we have one remarkable instance of a substantivized *oratio obliqua*, Antig. 235, 6:

τῆς ἐλπίδος γὰρ ἔρχομαι δεδραγμένος  
τὸ μὴ παθεῖν ἂν ἄλλο πλὴν τὸ μόρσιμον.

Euripides is even more conservative than his rival in the proportion of his employment of the articular infin. He too uses prepositions and quasi-prepositions very sparingly and keeps to the present and aorist tenses. The construction had not yet become pliant enough for his purpose. Aristophanes is a more difficult problem, because the parodic element enters and the popular as well. He uses the articular infinitive less frequently than Aischylos and Sophokles, but still much oftener than Euripides. The bulk consists of nominatives and accusatives. The tenses are present and aorist. Prepositions are sparingly employed.

To turn to prose. Herodotos uses the articular infinitive very rarely in comparison with Thukydides, who was the first writer to appreciate its possibilities. The tenses used are present and aorist; the perfect once, of resulting condition, nearly=present (4, 6). There are few prepositions, and the examples increase toward the end of the work. The bulk of Thukydides is only six to Herodotos' seven, and yet he uses the articular infinitive more than eight times as

language when he says, 50, 1: ὁ δ' οὐ προδῶσκειν ὤμνε. Who cares? I may add in this obscure corner that the article referred to was wrung from me by the necessity of making a beginning with the Journal, most of my friends having left me in the lurch. Hence the extreme modesty with which I presented my results. I only used Lucian as an *a fortiori* argument. If such a thing is done in such an author, what must one not expect in writers far inferior to Lucian? I had watched the phenomena for many years, and had stated my results three years before in my commentary to Justin Martyr; and while I shared the regret of some of my critics that I had limited the exhibit to Lucian, I did not require the admonition of Dr. E. Ziegeler, who informed me in the *Philologische Rundschau* of April 30, 1881, that "ὅτι μὴ is the regular construction after verbs of emotion in older Greek," to the damage of his own reputation for scholarship in the eyes of those who do not accept the uniform "Alles-besserwissen" of German critics of low degree as well as high.

often and with great freedom. The genitive and dative are liberally employed. Instead of a sparing use of prepositions he indulges in the construction without stint (fifteen different prepositions), and absolutely riots in the use of *διὰ τό*. Present and aorist tenses preponderate, but the perfect is also used, and, which is especially worthy of note, the articular future infinitive and the articular inf. with *ἀν*. Thus the spoils of *oratio obliqua* are appropriated by the resuscitated and reinvigorated nominal infinitive. It is a bold use, and found few imitators in the whole range of the classic tongue. In the rest of my paper, which I am now summarizing for the better appreciation of some new statistics, I presented the results of some researches which I instituted into the usage of the orators. Taking the Teubner page as a standard, it will be found that the occurrences are at least approximately :

Lysias	. . . . .	.12
Andokides	. . . . .	.20
Isaios	. . . . .	.25
Aischines	. . . . .	.30
Antiphon	. . . . .	.50
Lykurgos	. . . . .	.60
Isokrates	. . . . .	.60
Deinarchos	. . . . .	.80
Demosthenes (private orations)	. . . . .	.80
“ (public orations)	. . . . .	1.25

I shall not here repeat my interpretation of these facts. If the figures mean anything, they mean that the use of the articular inf. is not simply a matter of period, but a matter of individual character and artistic school.

Two of the members of my Greek seminary have undertaken of their own motion to fill the gaps in my presentation by looking up the usage of Xenophon and Plato. The Platonic statistic is, of course, much complicated by the question of genuineness, and the young investigator, who did the Platonic work as a *πάρρηγορ* to an exhaustive study of *ἐν* in the same author, has limited his range to the dialogues accepted by Teuffel. Plato's syntax is so various, it holds in solution so much, it suggests so much conscious playing with language, that no author requires a more circumspect handling. Von Stein well says that Plato writes an ideal style for an ideal reader. A man devoid of humor has no business with Plato, as he can have very little pleasure in him ; and the grammarian who is not willing to be surprised and tickled should shut himself up with Isokrates, although even Isokrates

plays us tricks at times, startles us by a picturesque expression, and puzzles us by an anomalous negative and an erratic participle.

The papers to which I refer were written, the one on Xenophon by George Frederick Nicolassen, Ph. D., the other by Mr. W. S. Fleming, Scholar of the Johns Hopkins University, and I take from each of these essays such points as seem to me of special interest in connexion with the statements already made. From Mr. Nicolassen's paper on the articular infinitive in Xenophon it appears that the tenses in Xenophon are mostly the present and the aorist, as was to be expected, sometimes the perfect, and in a few instances the fut. inf. and the inf. with *ἄν* due to the influence of *oratio obliqua*. So Fut.: Anab. 2, 4, 19; 3, 2, 24; Mem. 2, 1, 18 (with *ἐλπίς*); Conv. 3, 3 (with *ἀντιλέγει*). Inf. with *ἄν*: Hell. 1, 4, 20; 3, 3, 6; Mem. 3, 13, 1; Vect. 3, 7 (*οὐ δύσελπίς εἰμι*). Of the cases the nom. and accusative largely preponderate. Then comes the genitive, which is freely used. It is freely used by Euripides, we shall see it freely used by Plato, and Mr. Nicolassen notes especially the comparatively rare construction of the articular infinitive as gen. absolute (Mem. 2, 7, 8). The rarity is doubtless due to the fact that the natural construction would be the simple inf. with the acc. participle. The articular inf. with the acc. participle is also rare (Cyr. 2, 2, 20). Prepositions appear in great numbers and variety. Prepositions proper: *ἀντί*, *ἀπό*, *ἐξ*, *πρό*, *ἐν*, *εἰς*, *διά* with gen. and acc., *ὑπέρ* with gen., *ἐπί* with dat. and acc., *περί* with gen. and acc., *πρός* with dat. and acc. Prepositions improper: *ἐνεκα*, *ἄνευ*, *μέχρι*, *ἐγγύς*, *ἄμα*. *Διά* with the accus. is a favorite as it was with Thukydides; while *εἰς*, though frequently used, is not used in overwhelming numbers, as in certain spheres of later Greek. Mr. Nicolassen's table of percentages is interesting:

	Pages (Teubner ed.)	Art. Inf.	Av.
Anabasis	244	89	.36
Hellenica	275	137	.49
Cyropaed.	318	372	1.17
Mem.	142	254	1.79
Oec.	71	82	1.15
Conv.	38	50	1.32
Hier.	25	47	1.88
Agesil.	32	57	1.78
R. L.	21	42	2.
R. A.	13	4	.31
Vect.	16	17	1.06

Hipp.	.	.	.	24	64	2.67
Eq.	.	.	.	27	51	1.89
Cyn.	.	.	.	36	28	.75
Apol.	.	.	.	8	19	2.38

1290

1313 Gen. Av. 1.02

The difference between the maximum in the Hipparchikos (2.67) which comes into the neighborhood of Demosthenes' highest range (First Olynthiac 2.75) and the Resp. Athen. is noteworthy, especially in view of the manifest un-Xenophontean character of the latter, which is generally assigned to an earlier period. Of course Mr. Nicolassen has not failed to notice this low average, "which is less than the average in the Cynegeticus, which among the minor works has the next lowest average (.75), and far below the average of all the minor works together 1.48," and he justly considers this point to have cumulative weight. The Kynegetikos, I would add, is grammatically a remarkable production, and I have always thought that some of its peculiarities were due to the conservatism of the language of venery.<sup>1</sup> Xenophon in his way has considerable

<sup>1</sup>I have purposely avoided making any critical application of the statistics given above except in the case of the notorious Republic of the Athenians. Dr. Lincke, the author of the tract on the Oikonomikos, reviewed by Professor C. D. Morris in Vol. I, pp. 169-186 of this Journal, has recently published an article, *Zur Xenophonkritik*, which is not without interest (Hermes, XVII 2). A summary of it will be given in an early number of the Journal. The main theme of the paper is the composition of the Anabasis and the Kynegetikos. Dr. Lincke does not seem to be acquainted with Professor Seymour's essay on the Kynegetikos published in the Transactions of the American Philological Association for 1878, and limits his ἀθέρησις, as others have done before him, to the opening and closing chapters. According to Dr. Lincke, the editor of both Anabasis and Kynegetikos knew Xenophon personally and heard and learned much from him. This would account for the general Xenophontean character, while the variations are to be ascribed to the "hollow head" of the youthful admirer and imitator. But I leave Xenophontean critics to deal with Dr. Lincke, whose method in this essay seems to be as unsatisfactory as it was in the other. Still it must be conceded to the aggressive critics that a work like the Kynegetikos would lend itself very readily to interpolations, indeed almost as readily as a book of recipes; but Xenophon himself was so impressionable that too much stress must not be laid on inconsistency of style. What if the Kynegetikos does produce the effect, now of rude notes taken down from hunters, now of sophistic ornamentation got up by the composer of the treatise? The combination of high-flown rhetoric, homely realism and absurd story-telling is not peculiar to the sportsman Xenophon, and curious parallels might be adduced from the hunting literature of modern times and, in fact, of our own

variety, but a variety which is due not so much to the artistic mobility of a genius like Plato as to the *laissez-aller* of an antique soldier of fortune, and it is only when he gathers himself up that it is fair to compare him with those who are the true representatives of Attic prose-speech at its conscious best—the Attic orators. If we examine the speeches and the portraits of Anabasis and Hellenika, the low averages above given will disappear, as a very slight inspection of the occurrences will show.<sup>1</sup>

Of especial interest is Mr. Nicolassen's comparison of Xenophon with Thukydides. The average of Thukydides is .98, that of Xenophon 1.02. The slight difference may be accounted for, as Mr. Nicolassen accounts for it, by the philosophical character of so many of Xenophon's writings, as witness the large percentage of the Kyrupaideia and the Memorabilia. In my essay on the articular infinitive I said that I was very much inclined to think that Xenophon was influenced by Thukydides, and I am not surprised to find that while the average of *διά* with the articular inf. falls a little below that of Thukydides, who has a mania for it, still it rises to its height in the Hellenika, as Mr. Nicolassen notes.

In making this comparison with Thukydides, Mr. Nicolassen has had to rely on Forssmann, *De infinitivi temporum usu Thucydideo* (Curtius' Studien VI 1), although he has detected Forssmann in some inaccuracies. Of course absolute accuracy is desirable in everything, but approximate results are not without their interest and value. Sometimes when the preponderance is enormous we can afford to neglect the small dust of the balance. In Xenophon's case, all that can be expected is the exhibition of a general coincidence with the standard language. A model Xenophon has long ceased to be, even though in some eyes he has gained a more human interest by the ruthless treatment he has of late

day. While looking into Mr. Nicolassen's examples I note that the twenty-seven examples in the Kynegitikos are distributed thus: Nom. 5, 34; 6, 8; 12, 19; 13, 4. Acc. 5, 28. Gen. 6, 4; 7, 9; *ἀπό* w. gen. 4, 4; *ἀντ* w. gen. 4, 10; *ἐγγίς* w. gen. 12, 5; *διά* w. acc. 5, 5; 5, 9; 8, 3; 8, 8; 9, 10; 9, 17; 10, 22; 12, 2; 12, 3 (*bis*); 12, 6; 12, 7; 12, 16; 12, 21; *ἐπί* w. acc. 12, 15, with dat. 13, 8; *πρός* w. acc. 5, 27. The introduction has none, eleven are crowded into the last chapters (argumentative). *Διά* with acc. has its large Xenophontean share.

<sup>1</sup> Take for instance the nom. art. inf. list of the Anabasis: 1, 9, 24 (*bis*); 2, 1, 4; 2, 4, 19; 2, 5, 15; 2, 6, 14 (*bis*); 3, 2, 39 (*bis*); 5, 2, 9; 5, 6, 32; 5, 8, 15; 6, 1, 26; 6, 5, 17 (*bis*); 6, 5, 18; 7, 7, 26; 7, 7, 28. All these examples with only one exception, and that really no exception, occur in speeches or elaborate characteristics.

received. I have been careful not to make a minute abstract of Mr. Nicolassen's essay, which will be prepared for publication in another form, perhaps in connexion with a treatise on the whole subject from the beginning of Greek literature to the close of the oratorical canon.

Mr. W. S. Fleming's notes on the articular infinitive in Plato go into less detail than Mr. Nicolassen's essay, and are restricted, as I have said, to the dialogues considered genuine by Teuffel, thus excluding with others, for which little can be said, the Menexenos and the Parmenides. Plato uses twenty-five prepositions and quasi-prepositions as against fifteen in Thukydides. Among the more uncommon I note *κατά* (eight times). The genitive is nearly as common as the nominative (415:468). The acc. leads (632). The dative is much less frequent than the others. In phrases the infinitive itself is often a dative still. The gen. absol. construction occurs Crito 44 D, Polit. 310 E, Euthyd. 285 D, Gorgias 509 C. In the dialogues examined the articular present infinitive is much more common than the aorist, occurring in fact nine times oftener. This is a marked contrast to the Pindaric use, where the aorist is to the present as seven out of ten. But the Pindaric preponderance of the aorist generally I shall myself consider before long in a special paper. Plato's large use of the present is doubtless due to the philosophical consideration of the character of the action rather than its manifestation. If we exclude present perfects from the list of articular perfect infinitives, such as *τὸ τεθνάναι*, *τὸ μεμνησθαι* and the like, the articular perf. inf. shrinks to a small fraction of the usage. The articular future inf. is rare, twice dependent on *ἐπεί* Phaedo 68 A, Philebus 36 A; once on *παράδειγμα*, Legg. 664 A. The articular inf. with *ἄν* is also rare. Four out of seven examples are in the Laws, which, I would add, are rich in grammatical oddities. See Phaedo 62 C, Symp. 174 B, Resp. 501 A, Legg. 790 A (*bis*), 879 D, 941 D.

I have allowed myself to present in this bare outline the chief results of the work of these young men in connexion with what I myself have done in this direction, because I am sure that there are many who take a sufficient interest in Greek grammar to follow the history of so important a construction in its larger manifestations, and perhaps even those who value Greek only as an exemplification of general grammatical laws will not be indifferent to this vindication, imperfect as it is, of the reserved rights of the special language and the individual author. Even without putting

into print the enormous mass of material, enough has been done to show that the "foundations of Greek Syntax" in this quarter must be laid on firmer soil than is to be found in any general treatise, however "ausführlich." No language can ever be learned to the end; but it is to be hoped that the younger generation of Greek scholars will not suffer as much reproach to rest on them as rests on their seniors, who have had to learn within my memory some matters which in other languages would be considered elementary.

## II.

## ὅ μῆ.

In my edition of the Apologies of Justin Martyr (Harper & Brothers, 1877), I used the notes as a *cache* for various grammatical formulae and observations, some of which I have since endeavored to justify in the pages of this journal. Among the difficult combinations thus summarily treated is ὅ μῆ, on which I made some remarks which I will repeat here.

I, c. 38. ὅ μῆ αἰσχυρθῶ: This emphatic form of the negative (ὅ μῆ) is far more common in the LXX and in the N. T. than it is in classic Greek. This tendency to exaggeration in the use of an adopted language is natural. For Hebrew analogies see Ewald, *Lehrbuch*, S. 320 *a*. The *fact* is that ὅ μῆ with the aor. subj. (very seldom with any other tense) is used as a strong negative of the future. The common *explanation* is that a verb or phrase of fear or apprehension is to be supplied. If this be true, the consciousness of it must have been utterly lost, as the expression is often used when the notion of fear or apprehension would be unnatural to the last degree. The practical limitation to the aorist seems to indicate that the expression was originally imperative (comp. the use of הִנֵּה in Hebrew), ὅ being a free negative.<sup>1</sup> 'Nay, let me not be ashamed.' Afterwards the imperative notion became fainter. It might seem easier to make ὅ belong to αἰσχυρθῶ, thus combining objective and subjective negatives, but it must be remembered

<sup>1</sup> According to my judgment the standing perplexity about οὐκ οὖν, οὐκοῦν, οὐκοῦν is to be solved by the varying use of the negative οὐκ now as free, *i. e.* referring to the substance of what goes before, now as bound to the following verb. As free, οὐκ would be 'nay'; as bound, 'not.'



that *οὐ* with the subjunctive had died out (except in *μή οὐ*) before this construction came in.<sup>1</sup>

I, c. 39. *οὐ μή λήψονται* = *οὐ μή λάβωσι*. *Οὐ μή* w. fut. indic. is most frequently used in the second person as a strong imperative. Here it is employed as a strong prediction. The combination is commonly explained as an interrogative and *οὐ* is made to negative the *μή*. This theory of Elmsley's would require *οὐ*—*οὐ* as in Xen. Hell. 5. 2, 33.<sup>2</sup> A more simple explanation regards *οὐ* and *μή* as both belonging to the future (Goodwin<sup>3</sup>). But satisfactory examples of the future indicative in an imperative sense are rare. Perhaps it may be best to consider *οὐ* as 'naʔ!' (see note on c. 38, 9) and *μή* as an interrogative expecting a negative answer.

The foregoing brief statement I subsequently expanded for a special purpose, and this expanded form I now reproduce with a few additional notes.

*Οὐ μή*, in independent sentences, combining as it does both the negative of the statement and the negative of will, carries with it a tone of special personal interest, whether in prediction or in prohibition. *Οὐ μή* is used

I. in negative predictions.

a. with Subj.

i. chiefly aor. *οὐ τι μὴ ληφθῶ δόλω* Aesch. S. c. T. 38, cf. 199, 281, Cho. 895; *οὐ τοι σ' Ἀχαιῶν . . . μὴ τις ὑβρίσῃ* Soph. Ai. 560, cf. El. 42, 1029, Phil. 103, O. R. 771, O. C. 450, 1023; *οὐ τι μὴ φύγητε λαιψηρῶ* ποδὶ Eur. Hec. 1039, cf. H. F. 718; *οὐ γὰρ μὴ ἀπόσσηται* Hdt. 1, 199,

<sup>1</sup> *Οὐ μή* startles us when it appears in Parmenides, *c. g. v. 121* (Mull.): *ὥς οὐ μὴ ποτὲ τις σε βροτῶν γνώμῃ παρελάσῃ*. The combination has evidently worked its way up from familiar language. So it occurs in the mouth of the Scythian archer Ar. Thesmoph. 1108: *οὐκὲ μὴ λαλήσει σύ*.

<sup>2</sup> *Οὐκ*—*οὐκ* ἡθέλησαν συστρατεύειν;

<sup>3</sup> Professor Goodwin has assured me that his views are not so definite as I have represented them to be, and the only apology I can offer for the wrong I have unintentionally done him is to reproduce the language of his *Moods and Tenses*, p. 187: 'The rules given above consider the subjunctive there [*οὐ μὴ τοῦτο γένηται*] a relic of the common Homeric subjunctive (§ 87) [where it is said to have the force of a weak future], and explain the fut. in § 89, 2 [*οὐ μὴ λαλήσεις*] by the principle stated in § 25, 1 N. 5 [where the fut. ind. with *μή* is said to express a prohibition]—*οὐ μή* having the same force of a strong single negative in both constructions.' From this statement I inferred, wrongly as it seems, that the strong single negative was the result of the fusion of *οὐ γένηται* and *μή γένηται*, of *οὐ λαλήσεις* and *μή λαλήσεις*, and so attributed to Professor Goodwin the assumption of a genesis which is at all events intelligible.

cf. 7. 53; οὐ μὴ . . ἐσβάλωσιν Thuc. 4. 95, cf. 5. 69; οὐ μὴ ποθ' ἄλῳ Ar. Ach. 662; οὐ μὴ ποτε δέξεται Plat. Phaedo 105 D, cf. Phaedr. 227 D, 260 E, etc.; οὐ μὴ κρατηθῶ Xen. Cyr. 5. 1, 17, cf. 3. 2, 8; cf. οὐδεὶς μὴ ποθ' εὖρη κατ' ἐμὲ οὐδὲν ἐλλειφθῆν Dem. 18. 246.

2. rarely present, οὐ μὴ ποτε . . φυγόντες . . ἐπεύχονται θεοῖς (v. l. ἐπεύξονται) Soph. O. C. 1024—(φυγόντες will serve as if=οὐ μὴ φύγωσι); οὐ μὴ δύνηται Xen. Cyr. 8. 1, 5 (v. l. δυνήσεται), cf. also An. 2. 2, 12, Hier. 11. 15; οὐ μὴ εἰσῆς (εἴσει εἰς, Bekk.) Isae. 8. 24; οὐ μὴ οἶός τ' ἦς Plat. Rep. 1. 341 C; οὐ γὰρ μὴ δυνατὸς δ Id. Phil. 48 D.

οὐ μὴ with subj. is commonly explained by the ellipsis of a verb or phrase of fear or apprehension; cf. οὐ γὰρ ἦν δευὼν . . μὴ ἄλῳ ποτε Hdt. 1. 84, cf. 7. 235, Ar. Eccl. 650, Xen. Comm. 2. 1, 25, etc., Plat. Apol. 28 B, Phaedo 84 B, Gorg. 520 D, Rep. 5. 465 B. In many passages, however, fear or apprehension would be unsuitable or unnatural (as Eur. I. T. 18<sup>1</sup>, I. A. 1465<sup>a</sup>), and the combination was hardly felt as an ellipsis, as is shown by its use after *ὅτι* Thuc. 5. 69, 2, Xen. Hell. 4. 2, 3, Plat. Rep. 6. 499 B; after *ὥς since*, Ar. Av. 461, and after *ὥστε* Plat. Phaedr. 227 D. Notice also that in Dem. 9. 75 *δέδοικα* is expressed in the *next* clause. The prevalence of the aor., though not unnatural after verbs of fear, would seem to indicate that the original combination was that of a declarative neg. *οὐ, nay!* and a prohibitive subj., which afterwards became a mere phraseological future, showing, however, a special interest in the action. Comp. Engl. *shall*.

b. with fut. indic. *οὐ σοι μὴ μεθέξομαι ποτε* Soph. El. 1052, cf. O. C. 177, 849 (for which in oratio obliqua fut. opt. *ἐδέσπισεν ὥς οὐ μὴ ποτε πέρσοιεν* Soph. Phil. 611; or fut. inf. *εἶπεν . . οὐ μὴ ποτε . . εὐ πράξειν πόλιν* Eur. Phoen. 1590); οὐ μὴ σ' ἐγὼ περιέξομαι Ar. Ran. 508; οὐ μὴ δυνήσεται Κύρος εὐρεῖν Xen. Cyr. 8. 1, 5, cf. Hell. 1. 6, 32. A phraseological outgrowth from II.

II. in prohibitions with fut. indic. (chiefly 2d person) οὐ μὴ ἔξεγρεις τὸν ὕπνῳ κάτοχον (;) Soph. Tr. 978; οὐ μὴ μῦθον ἐπὶ πολλοὺς ἐρεῖς (;) Eur. Supp. 1066, cf. Andr. 757, El. 982, Hipp. 213, Bacch. 343; οὐ μὴ πρόσει τοῖτοισιν ἐσκοροδισμένοις (;) Ar. Ach. 166, cf. Nub. 367, Vesp. 397. MS. subjunctives in such passages (ε. g. *σκόψῃς . . ποιήσης*, Ar. Nub. 296) have generally been changed by editors into

<sup>1</sup> Ἀγάμεμνον, οὐ μὴ ναῦς ἀφορμήσῃ χθονός,  
πρὶν ἂν κόρην σὴν Ἴφιδένηιαν Ἀρτεμῖς  
λάβῃ σφαγεῖσαν.

<sup>2</sup> ΚΑΥΤ. ὦ τέκνον, οἴχει; ΙΦ. καὶ πάλιν γ' οὐ μὴ μόλω.

fut. indic. The prohibition is continued by *καί* (Soph. Tr. *l. c.*) or by *μηδέ*: οὐ μὴ προσοίσεις χεῖρα μηδ' ἄψει πέπλων (;) Eur. Hipp. 606, cf. Ar. Nub. 296, Ran. 298. A positive command is added by *ἀλλά*: οὐ μὴ λαλήσεις ἀλλ' ἀκολουθήσεις ἐμοί Ar. Nub. 505, cf. Ran. 462, 524, Eur. Bacch. 782; or *δέ*: οὐ μὴ προσοίσεις χεῖρα βακχεύσεις δ' ἰών, Eur. Bacch. 348; cf. Med. 1151, El. 384.

Elmsley regarded οὐ μὴ with fut. indic. as an impatient question, in which οὐ negatives *μὴ*, but this would require οὐ—οὐ, cf. Xen. Hell. 5. 2, 33. οὐ and *μὴ* are sometimes regarded as belonging separately to the fut. either *you will not, nay, you shall not*, (but *μὴ* with fut. indic. as an imperative is too rare), or *you will not, will you?* in which οὐ anticipates the negative answer to the following question. Perhaps οὐ is an independent negative, *nay*, which introduces a free objection not yet distinctly formulated, while *μὴ* introduces a question which expects a negative answer, so that an original οὐ, *μὴ* . . ; became ultimately οὐ μὴ. Compare the way in which οὐ τί πον hovers between question and statement. The rule of Dawes which excludes the use of 1 aor. subj. act. or med. after οὐ μὴ can only be upheld by unreasonable emendations, cf. οὐ μὴ ποτε . . ἐκφῆνω Soph. O. R. 329; οὐ μὴ ἐκπλεύσης (fut. unmetrical) Phil. 381, cf. Ai. 560; οὐ μὴ ποτέ τι ἀπολέση (fut. ἀπολεί) Plat. Rep. 10. 609 A; οὐδεὶς μηκέτι μείνη Xen. An. 4. 8, 13.

οὐ and *μὴ* not unfrequently occur each with its own verb or equivalent. Editors differ with one another and themselves, according as they consider the interrogation to embrace the whole or not. So οὐ σῖγα μηδὲν τῶνδ' ἐρεῖς κατὰ πτόλιν; Aesch. S. c. T. 250; οὐ σῖγα; μηδὲν τῶνδ' ἐρεῖς κατὰ πτόλιν, or οὐ σῖγα; μηδὲν τῶνδ' ἐρεῖς κατὰ πτόλιν; As οὐ expects a positive and *μὴ* a negative answer, we only have another phase of a common law of grouping (positive followed by equivalent negative), and gain nothing for the explanation of οὐ μὴ, cf. Soph. Ai. 75, Tr. 1183, O. R. 637, Eur. Hipp. 498, Hel. 438, Plat. Conv. 175 A.

B. L. GILDERSLEEVE.

#### IV.—GREEK INSCRIPTION FROM GERASA IN SYRIA.

The Rev. Dr. Selah Merrill has kindly placed in my hands a paper

5 ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΗΝΟΥΤΟ  
 ΚΕΥΘΕΙΤΑΦΟΣΗΝ  
 ΚΕΡΕΙΖΕΝΕΣΧΑ  
 ΤΑΣΦΡΟΣΥΝΗ  
 ΑΘΛΑΤΙΝΩΝΓΑΥΣΗΙ  
 ΟΥΜΕΤΑΔΕΥΡΟΜΟΛΟΥ  
 ΑΠΟΠΑΡΙΔΟΛΑΝΤΙΟ  
 ΧΕΙΡΟΥΚΕΤΙΓΡΟΣΠΑ  
 ΤΗΚΩΔΑΓΕΛΕΥΣΕΘΑΛΛΑ  
 10 ΑΛΛΕΛΑΧΕΝΑΙΣΕΡΑΣ  
 ΜΕΡΟΣΑΝΤΙΧΕΙΡΕΙΟΥΤ  
 ΤΟΜΗΝΨΥΧΗΛΑΚΕ  
 ΝΟΝΚΑΤΕΧΕΙΓΗΥΤΑΗ  
 ΜΙΜΝΟΙΣΗΧΟΙΔΨΙΣΗ  
 15 ΑΛΛΕΟΙΣΜΟΨΩΓΑΜΕ  
 ΤΗΠΑΝΟΣΤΟΥΝΣΑ  
 ΓΑΡΚΑΤΕΧΩΒ

rubbing and a field-copy of the following inscription, from the ruins of Gerasa, the modern Gerash. It is one of a number which he collected in the course of a journey in the Decapolis of Syria in April, 1876. The stone had been dug up the year before "by a man who was making a race-way for his mill." Mr. Merrill speaks of it as "a beautiful monument," and describes the inscription as "finely engraved, and except for the few bruised places well preserved and distinct." The stone, he says, is about four feet high; the inscription itself measures about 33×13 inches.

The dotted lines indicate what is in the field-copy, but does not appear in the rubbing, which is faint on the right throughout.

Ἰουλιανὴν ο[ὕ]το[ς] | κεύθει τάφος, ἣν | κ[τ]ερεῖξεν  
 ἔσχα|τα σωφροσύν[ης] | ἀθλα τίνων γα[μέ]της |  
 οὐ μέτα δεῦρο μολοῦσ' | ἀπὸ πατρίδος Ἀντιο|χείρης  
 οὐκέτι πρὸς πά|τρην τῷδ' ἀπελεύσεθ' ἄμ[α]. |  
 ἀλλ' ἔλαχεν γαί[η]ς [Γ]ερ[ά]σ[ης] | μέρος Ἀντιοχείης,  
 τ]οῦτ[ο], | τό μιν ψυχ[ῆ]ς σῶμα | κε|νὸν κατέχει.  
 πρ]η|ντάτῃ | μίμνοις, Ἡχοῖ δ' [ἐπ'] Ἰσσης | λαλέοις μοι,  
 σ]ὺ γαμέ|τῃ Πανὸς τοῦν[ομ]α | γὰρ κατέχω.

In lines 2, 5, 13, *κτερέϊξεν, γαμέτης, πρηνιάτη* were suggested by President Woolsey and Professor Packard, who saw a copy last summer; and the Rev. T. O. Paine, whose notes were sent me by Mr. Merrill, had restored *οὔτος, γαίης, τοῦτο, τοῦνομα* (lines 1, 10, 11, 16.)

The fifth verse (of the elegiacs) receives its explanation from an inscription of Pergamum published by Mommsen, *Berichte der sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* 1850, p. 223, and Waddington, *Voy. Arch.* n. 1722, in which mention is made of [*Ἀντιο*]χέων τῶν [*ἐπὶ τ*]ῷ Χρυσορόα τῶν π[ρότ]ερον [*Γε*]ρασηνῶν ἢ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆ[μος]. Whence it appears that as early as Trajan's time—for that is the date of the Pergamenian monument—Gerasa had received the new name of 'Antioch on the Chrysorhoas'; and of this our inscription affords a welcome confirmation. Such a change in name resulted naturally, as in so many other cases, from the Hellenization of an old non-Hellenic settlement.<sup>1</sup>

The story of Pan and the nymph Echo may be read in Longus III 23. The sense of the last four words of the epitaph is nevertheless not perfectly clear to me. Does the husband merely liken himself to Pan listening for the voice of the dead nymph? Or are we to understand that his name was *Πανόδωρος*, or *Πανέας*, or perhaps *Παναίτιος* or the like?

The scansion *Ἰουλιανήν* (— ∪ ∪ —) is exemplified in the epitaph of the emperor Julian as given by Zosimus III 34:

*Ἰουλιανὸς μετὰ Τίγριν ἀγάρροον ἐνθάδε κείται,  
ἀμφοτέρων, βασιλεὺς τ' ἀγαθὸς κρατερός τ' αἰχμητής*

In line 9, *ἀπελεύσεθ* is of course *ἀπελεύσεται*. I hardly know of any monument in which the joining of letters is so systematically carried out as here.<sup>2</sup> Almost no chance of making one upright stroke do duty for two letters without risk of obscurity is neglected. Yet in line 1 HN, line 3 NE, line 4 NH might further have been joined. In line 9 one stroke forms part of three letters (*νω*).

Several other inscriptions copied by Mr. Merrill in Syria I hope to make public at an early day.

FREDERIC D. ALLEN.

<sup>1</sup> Mommsen points out that the fifth of Stephanus Byzantius' list of ten cities called *Ἀντιόχεια* ("πέμπτη μεταξὺ κοίλης Συρίας καὶ Ἀραβίας") may very likely be Gerasa, instead of Gadara as has been commonly supposed.

<sup>2</sup> Yet compare C. I. G. 2007 and 2717.

## NOTES.

### *Malum* AS AN INTERJECTION.<sup>1</sup>

The article referred to below presents two interesting suggestions, (*a*) that the interjection *malum* is always applied to folly of some kind or degree, and (*b*) that its use arose from a formal deprecation of such folly. These propositions are supported by an examination of all the cases known to M. Martha. A dozen or more in Plautus, and a few in Cicero, have, however, escaped his notice, and these seem to require a modification of the theory in both its points.

I. The following examples show that *malum* was not invariably associated with folly.

In two cases *malum* expresses impatience at personal inconvenience. In Pseud. I 3, 14 the *leno* calls out to his attendant *quid hoc, malum ? tam placide is, puere ?* (So Lorenz, after MSS. R. and Fleck. read, *quid malum tam p. i., p. ?*) Nothing in the context implies that he thought the slave stupid or foolish, but he wanted to go faster, and the question expresses his impatience at the inconvenience of waiting for a lazy boy. Similar to this is a passage quoted by Martha, Rud. II 6, 8, *quo, malum, properas, Labrax ?* His comment is, "Labrax subitement se met à courir sans raison, on le poursuit de ces mots." But the haste is neither sudden nor unreasonable. After the shipwreck Labrax is looking about for Charmides or for the two women who were in the ship with him, and is going quickly across the stage when he is seen by Charmides. Nor does Charmides show that he thinks the haste foolish; on the contrary, he gives the reason for his impatience in the words which follow the question, *nam equidem te nequeo consequi tam strenue*.

Twice *malum* expresses impatience under mishaps. In Capt. III 3, 16, Tyndarus sees Hegio coming with a man who will

<sup>1</sup> Sur le Sens de l'Exclamation *Malum*, by Constant Martha. Rev. de Philologie, Vol. III, 1879, pp. 19-25.

betray his imposture. He exclaims, "Not even Salvation can save me if she wants to." *Quam, malum? quid machiner, quid conminiscar, haereo.* He is simply cursing his bad luck in being confronted with a man who knows his real name. So in Ter. Adelph. IV 2, 5, Demea, who has met with one misfortune after another, cries out, *quid hoc malum infelicitatis! nequeo satis decernere.* Martha explains by speaking of "son malheur inexplicable, absurde," but the bad luck itself is a sufficient cause for impatience, and the words which follow are only an added comment. "What wretched luck this is! I can't make it out."

A passage in Cic. Phil. I 6, 15, unnoticed by Martha, does not bear out his statement, that in the graver writers some word expressive of folly is always found in the context. The words are *quaenam, malum, est ista voluntaria servitus?* and they occur in the midst of a vehement arraignment of the senators for their cowardice. Impatience with subservience is expressed by the question.

In a number of cases the exclamation is called out by impertinent intrusion or interference, *e. g.* Aul. III 2, 15, Rud. IV 3, 8, Cas. I 1, 3, Men. V 2, 42, or by impudence, Epid. V 2, 45, Pseud. V 2, 6. In the last three passages Martha attributes the use of *malum* to irritation at the folly of impudence. Doubtless all impertinence is foolish, but there is nothing in the context to show that the speakers were thinking of this fact. The words *impudentia, ferocia, audacia* put the emphasis upon the thing itself, not upon the folly of it. A striking illustration of this is found in Cic. Verr. II 1, 20, 54, *quae, malum, est ista tanta audacia atque amentia?* Here is a word expressive of folly in the context, yet the whole chapter is spent in contrasting the modesty of the greatest generals with the *audacia*, not the *amentia*, of Verres.

If, then, the theory of M. Martha be accepted, it must be with such an extension of the idea of folly as to make it cover laziness (Pseud.), inconvenient energy (Rud.), bad luck (Capt., Adelph.), impudence (Rud., Aul., Men.), too intrusive friendliness (Phorm. IV 5, 11), audacity and cowardice (Cic.); and wherever various causes for anger come up at the same time, the use of *malum* must be attributed to folly alone. Is it not simpler and at the same time more accurate to say that *malum* expresses impatience, irritation, annoyance, and in general the lighter forms of anger? It is then quite natural to find such slight emotions roused more often by folly than by any other cause. The more serious writers seldom

have occasion to condemn laziness, or anything which causes them simple inconvenience, and they seldom condescend to deplore petty mishaps. In comedy, folly of some kind is the subject matter, and a list as long as Martha's might be made out of passages where *vae* is applied to a foolish joke.

II. This view of the use of *malum* was in part suggested by a doubt of the second point made by Martha, viz. that the interjection arose from a formal deprecation. The word is used more frequently by Plautus than by Terence, and much more frequently by these two than by all other writers together. Cicero uses it in his letters and speeches (the example in *de Off.* is quoted from a letter), Fronto and Seneca in letters, Quintus Curtius in a conversation, and Livy in a speech. The word belongs to colloquial language, and its origin must be sought there. Further, it is not enough to examine its meaning in questions only, and some common substantive uses are therefore classified here without extended comment.

1. *Malum* in the sense of physical punishment, the greatest evil to a slave. This is very common in Plautus and Terence, *e. g.* *Asin.* V 2, 86, *Aul.* IV 10, 71, *Pers.* V 2, 36, 46, 66, *et pass.*

2. A few cases where *malum* means both punishment and misfortune in general. *Pseud.* II 19, III 5, 4, *malum damnumque.* *Amph.* II 1, 13, *malum quod tibi di dabunt, atque ego (Amphitruo) hodie dabo.*

3. *Malum* and *mala res* for misfortune. *Curc.* IV 2, 33. *Curculio* asks, *ecquid das . . . ?* *Cappadox* answers, *malum !* *Poen.* I 2, 59, *i in malam rem !* *Truc.* V 45, *malam rem his et magnam !* "Bad luck to them, and plenty of it!"

4. *Malum* with the same meaning in curses. *Pseud.* IV 7, 29, *malum quod tibi di dabunt: sic scelestu's.* *Most.* III 2, 126, *malum quod isti di deaque omnes duint !* The same words occur in *Ter. Phorm.* V 8, 83. These lines are sometimes punctuated *malum ! quod*, etc., to emphasize the curse and the fact that *quod* does not refer to any preceding idea. Compare also the playful use in *Cic. Att.* IX 18, *tu, malum, inquires actum ne agas.* "You, confound you, will say . . ."

5. *Malum*, still with the same meaning, misfortune or bad luck, in questions. Here it expresses impatience by adding to the question or exclamation a curse at some annoying act or characteristic of the person addressed. This use became formulaic, as is shown by the regularity with which *malum* stands after the interrogative



word and in close connection with *tu*, *hic* or *iste*. In such a formula the original sense determined the speaker's use of it, but was not necessarily present in his mind.<sup>1</sup>

E. P. MORRIS.

### THOMAS JEFFERSON AS A PHILOLOGIST.

So far as I am aware, no student of English has made a critical examination of the writings of Thomas Jefferson, with a view to ascertain their philological interest or importance. Even his establishment of the chair of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Virginia is not so well known to students of English as it ought to be. It has been but seven or eight years since a well-known American scholar published a list of colleges in which the English tongue was taught, yet omitted all reference to the Virginia University, and Mr. Jefferson's foundation, the oldest on the Western continent, and one of the oldest in the world. No diligent student of Jefferson's miscellaneous letters can fail to discover many striking and suggestive comments upon the English of his time, and some happy glimpses into the real nature of language. The VII volume of his works is peculiarly attractive, as exhibiting the keen interest felt by the author in the study of the mother-tongue. His comments on the introduction of new words, the changes taking place in the English of his day, the propriety of encouraging neologisms, are delightful as a kind of philological recreation, to

<sup>1</sup> The passages given by Martha are the following: Cic. Verr. II 1, 20, Pro Rosc. 18, de Off. II 15, Phil. X 9, Sen. ad Marc. 3, Quint. Curt. VIII 14, 41, Plin. N. H. XXXIII 47, 3, 137, VII 56, 3, 190, Scaurus ap. Eugegraph. in Ter. Heaut. IV 3, 38, Fronto ad Verum, Frag. 2, p. 11, ed. Naber, Liv. V 54, Plaut. Amph. II 1, 79, 45, 57, Cas. I 1, 3, Rud. II 6, 8, Truc. V 38, Bacch. IV 4, 21, Most. I 1, 6, 33, Pseud. V 2, 6, Epid. V 2, 45, Men. V 2, 42, II 3, 39, Amph. I 1, 247, Ter. Eun. IV 7, 10, Heaut. IV 3, 38, II 3, 77, Adelph. IV 2, 5, 18, Phorm. IV 5, 11, V 8, 55.

To these may be added the following: In questions, Cic. Phil. I 6, 15, Catull. XXIX 21, Plaut. Aul. III 2, 15, Capt. III 3, 18, Curc. IV 2, 33, Cas. II 3, 44, II 8, 36, Bacch. IV 4, 96, Most. II 1, 21, Mil. Glor. II 5, 36, Merc. I 2, 73, Pseud. I 3, 14, Poen. I 2, 48, Rud. IV 3, 8, Stich. IV 2, 17, Truc. II 6, 20, IV 3, 27. In Most. II, 2, 98 the text is doubtful. The substantive use not in questions is very common, but the following passages are worthy of examination: Amph. II 1, 13, Curc. IV 2, 33, Bacch. IV 9, 76, Most. II 2, 96, Men. V 2, 103, Stich. I 3, 105-6. Also Cic. Att. IX 18.

say nothing of their accuracy when considered from a scientific standpoint. Mr. Jefferson was in the prime of his intellect during the last great period of transition in English, the era ushered in by the French revolution, when the forces of "dialectic regeneration" were active in our language, and a long interval of linguistic depression was succeeded by an age of linguistic growth and expansion. The student will find it profitable to compare the VII volume of Jefferson, pages 174, 175, Vol. VI, p. 185, with chapter V, VI, VIII, of Hall's Modern English. The portions of Dr. Hall's book to which I refer are too long for insertion here, but this admirable work is accessible to every student, who can make the comparison for himself. Mr. Jefferson is not so well known to students of language as to students of political history, and for that reason, extracts from his works are more appropriate in a philological article, than from Dr. Fitzedward Hall, whose contributions to the history of our language are gratefully appreciated wherever English is a subject of critical study. In Vol. VII, pages 174, 175, Mr. Jefferson, writing to John Adams (1820), thus expresses himself: "These views are so obvious, that I am sure they would have required but a second thought to reconcile the reviewer to their *location* under the head of pure mathematics. For this word *location*, see Bailey, Johnson, Sheridan, Walker, &c. But, if dictionaries are to be the arbiters of language, in which of them shall we find *neologism*? No matter. It is a good word, well sounding and obvious, and expresses an idea which would otherwise require circumlocution. The reviewer was justified, therefore, in using it, although he noted at the same time as unauthoritative, *centrality, grade, sparse*; all of which have long been used in common speech and writing. I am a friend to *neology*. It is the only way to give a language copiousness and euphony. Without it we should still be held to the vocabulary of Alfred or of Ulphilas; and to their state of science also: for I am sure they had no words which could have conveyed the ideas of oxygen, cotyledons, zoophytes, magnetism, electricity, hyaline, and thousands of others expressing ideas then not existing, nor of possible communication in the state of their language. What a language has the French become since the Revolution, by the free introduction of new words! The most copious and eloquent in the living world, and equal to the Greek, had not that been regularly modifiable almost *ad infinitum*. Their rule was that whenever their language furnished or adopted a root, all its branches in every part of speech

were legitimated by giving them their appropriate terminations. . . . And this should be the law of every language. Thus having adopted the adjective *fraternal*, it is a root which should legitimate *fraternity*, *fraternation*, *fraternisation*, *fraternism*, to *fraternate*, *fraternise*, *fraternally*. And give the word *neologism* to our language as a root, and it should give us its fellow substantives, *neology*, *neologist*, *neologisation*; its adjectives, *neologous*, *neological*, *neologicalist*; its verb *neologize*; and adverb, *neologically*. Dictionaries are but the depositories of words already legitimated by usage. Society is the workshop in which new ones are elaborated. When an individual uses a new word, if ill formed, it is rejected in society; if well formed, adopted, and after due time, laid up in the depository of dictionaries. And if, in this process of sound neologisation, our trans-Atlantic brethren shall not choose to accompany us, we may furnish, after the Ionians, a second example of a colonial dialect improving on its primitive." By referring to pages 417-18, Vol. VII, it will be seen that Mr. Jefferson had remarkably clear and accurate views of the invigorating influence which dialects exert upon a language. In other words, Jefferson, writing about forty years before Max Müller, seemed distinctly to apprehend the process which, in the technical language of modern philosophy, is known as "dialectic regeneration." He expresses himself as follows: "It is much to be wished that the publication of the present county dialects of England should go on. It will restore to us our language in all its shades of variation. It will incorporate into our present one all the riches of our ancient dialects; and what a store this will be may be seen by running the eye over the county glossaries and observing the words we have lost by abandonment and disuse, which in sound and sense are inferior to nothing we have retained. When these local vocabularies are published and digested together with a single one, it is possible we shall find there is not a word in Shakespeare which is not now in use in some of the counties in England, from whence we may obtain its true sense." Mr. Jefferson's views in regard to the relation of Anglo-Saxon to English are probably better known to scholars than his opinions upon the points cited above. He held that Anglo-Saxon was "old English," and that it could be turned into intelligible English by simply divesting it of its antique orthography. He has given us some entertaining illustrations of the mode in which this transformation might be effected. His conception of Anglo-Saxon is in one aspect essentially the same as that

held by the school of Freeman, Morris, and Sweet, in our own time. The process by which he arrives at his conclusions is of course different from that adopted by scientific philology. During the recent visit of Mr. Edward A. Freeman to Baltimore I showed him Mr. Jefferson's Essay on the Anglo-Saxon, which was published by the Board of Trustees for the University of Virginia in 1851. He examined it with great interest, and upon returning it remarked: "Jefferson had the right view. It (Anglo-Saxon) is only old English." He further remarked: "It seems so strange to see Jefferson quoting Bosworth. It is like Washington quoting Stubbs." This little article cannot be regarded as strictly scientific or philological; still, if it induce students of English to seek an intimate acquaintance with Jefferson, it will not be altogether unproductive of good. No diligent reader of his writings can fail to see that he had clear conceptions of dialectic regeneration before philology had become a science, that he understood admirably the function of neology in speech, and that he anticipated the time when the English of the new world might come to be regarded as a dialect of its primitive. Like Mr. Calhoun, he disdained purism, and looked upon language as the minister and not as the mere drapery of thought.

H. E. SHEPHERD.

DEM. 34, 25.

ἔστιν οὖν, ὃ ἄνδρες δικασταί, οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἢ γενήσεται ποτε, ὃς ἀντὶ δισχιλίων καὶ ἑξακοσίων δραχμῶν τριάκοντα μνᾶς καὶ τριακοσίας καὶ ἑξήκοντα ἀποτίνειν προείλετ' ἂν, καὶ τόκον πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς καὶ ἑξήκοντα δανεισάμενος, ὃς φησιν ἀποδεδωκέναι Φορμίων Λάμπιδι, τρισχιλίας ἑννακοσίας εἴκοσιν; [Dindorf. The Zurich ed. reads ἃ φησιν, putting the comma *before* δανεισάμενος]. In § 23 we read: Φορμίων δέ φησιν ἀποδοῦναι Λάμπιδι ἐν Βοσπόρῳ ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι στατήρας Κυζικηνούς, and it is explained that, at the rate of exchange then current in Bosphorus, this amounted to 3360 dr.; the whole debt due on Phormio's return to Athens being only 2600 dr. The interest on the money, however, which Phormio said he had to borrow at 16½ per cent., amounting to 560 dr., makes up the sum which in § 25 is said to have been paid to Lampis. Paley remarks on this: 'It will be observed that the interest (560 dr.) on the sum borrowed in Bosphorus, though really due to the lender, is here unfairly reckoned with the amount paid to Lampis'; and a reference to A. Schaefer is given in confirmation of

this view of the matter. On the other hand Mr. Sandys, the collaborator of Mr. Paley, observes in a subsequent note: 'If Phormio's loan of 1000 dr. from Lampis (§ 5 fin.) was at the same interest as the 2000 dr. from Chrysippus (§ 23 init.) he would owe Lampis exactly 1300 dr. or 13 minae. It is therefore open to Phormio to reply that the alleged overpayment included the sum due to the skipper himself.' This is very ingenious; but is open to the objection (1) that the speaker, who insists so strongly on Phormio's iniquity in having borrowed any additional sums at all (*πρῶγμα ποιεῖ πάντων δεινότατον*), would certainly not have allowed himself to lump together the debts due to Lampis and to himself; and (2) that we are told expressly in § 40 that these additional loans were paid in Bosphorus out of the produce of the goods sold and not by borrowed money (*τῶν ἐν Βοσπόρῳ πραθέντων τοὺς τὰ ἑτερόπλοα δανείσαντας μολὶς διαλύσαντα*), and again in § 26 the payments to these persons are spoken of separately, *τοῖς μὲν τὰ ἑτερόπλοα δανείσασσι μολὶς τὰρχαῖα ἀποδέδωκας*. The difficulty will be removed if we assume that the words *ἄς φησιν . . . Λάμπιδι* have been misplaced, and stood originally immediately after *προεἰλετ' ἄν*, so that the latter part of the passage will read . . . *ἀποτίνειν προεἰλετ' ἄν, ἄς φησιν ἀποδεδωκέναι Φορμίῳ Λάμπιδι, καὶ τόκον πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς καὶ ἐξήκοντα, δανεισάμενος τρισχιλίας ἑννακοσίας εἴκοσιν*. That is: the speaker asks—can you believe that any man would be so foolish as to pay 3360 dr. instead of 2600 dr. and besides this an interest of 560 dr., having been obliged to borrow this 3920 dr. in order to make the payment? Phormio's asserted loan must have been of the nature of a note discounted. He represented himself to have borrowed the money on some real security (*ἐγγείων τόκων*), and thus accounted for the comparatively low rate of interest (*ἦσαν ἔφεκτοι οἱ ἔγγειοι τόκοι*). Accordingly if Phormio's story was true, instead of discharging a debt of 2600 dr. on his return to Athens, he had chosen to pay 3360 dr. in Bosphorus, and in order to raise the money for this purpose had been compelled to mortgage his real property in Bosphorus to a money-lender for 3920 dr. The speaker may well say *ἔστιν οὖν, ὃ ἄνθρωπος δικασταί, οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἢ γενήσεται ποτε*.

The late M. C. Graux (*Revue de Philologie*, 1878, p. 123) tells us that 'toutes les évaluations stichométriques de l'antiquité sur lesquelles il est actuellement possible d'opérer—donnent régulièrement pour la valeur du stique de 34 à 38 lettres environ, ce qui revient à quinze ou seize syllabes.' The words I suppose to have been misplaced contain 33 letters and 15 syllables, and therefore satisfy sufficiently the above estimate of the amount of a single line.

## REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

**Sammlung Englischer Denkmäler in kritischen Ausgaben. Erster Band:** Ælfrics Grammatik und Glossar, herausgegeben von Julius Zupitza. Erste Abtheilung: Text und Varianten. **Zweiter Band:** Thomas of Erceeldoune, herausgegeben von Alois Brandl. **Dritter Band:** The Erl of Tolous and the Emperes of Almayn, herausgegeben von Gustav Lüdtké.

Again Prof. Zupitza has agreeably surprised his co-laborers with his unannounced appearance of the *Sammlung Englischer Denkmäler in kritischen Ausgaben*. Thus far three volumes have appeared, beginning with Ælfric's *Grammatik und Glossar* edited by Prof. Zupitza himself. The conception of the undertaking, the selection of the opening volume of what we hope will prove a convenient and at the same time critical library of Anglo-Saxon and Old English, could not have been happier, and augurs good for the undertaking. The well-known ability of the editor and his critical acumen bespeak thoroughness and scholarly care in the preparation of this collection. The need of a convenient and at the same time critical edition of this opening work has long been felt, and Prof. Zupitza deserves hearty thanks for coming forward to meet this want. We not only hope that he may continue the good work thus begun, but also that others may be led thereby to imitate his good example, until all of these now almost inaccessible monuments of the oldest literature of our language shall be rendered accessible to all students. When this shall have been accomplished we may reasonably hope that a complete dictionary of this early period will be undertaken, which in its turn will fill up a gap in this department. It is only to be hoped that Ælfred's *Beda* may follow close upon Ælfric's *Grammar*, which as well as the *grammar* has lain long enough in its now inaccessible form, where none but the fortunate few can occasionally consult it.

The *Grammar and Glossary of Ælfric* opens a repository of precious and rare forms which have long been concealed from us, and which are of inestimable value in a grammatical point of view. Perhaps no other Anglo-Saxon text affords a like treasure of rare grammatical forms, and this edition will therefore be doubly welcome to all students of Old English.

When we look back to Ælfric's time it is easy to see what motives prompted him to attempt a grammar. It will be remembered that the great Dunstan, born perhaps a little earlier than 925 (see Ten Brink's *Geschichte der Englischen Litteratur*, p. 128 and following, for a fuller account of this period), had inaugurated that reform among the monks which was to be a reawakening not only of the religious and inner life of the clergy, but also a revival of learning. Æthelwold, Dunstan's great co-laborer and helper, ordained priest on the same day with him, strove to instruct the clergy and through them the people. Called forth by this spiritual renovation which Dunstan and Æthelwold had begun to awaken first among the monks and then among the people, if not by the

direct influence of these two earnest workers for the reform and education of their age, the Blickling Homilies appeared; these were followed about twenty years later by the homilies of Ælfric. Born 959, the latter had imbibed from his youth the purer atmosphere which Æthelwold had diffused, was educated in his school and had fully entered into the ideas of his great master. He was employed in various church matters, but more especially in the composition of pieces of a moral and religious nature, which, like all writings of this kind at the time, were in the Latin language. But the monks, long disused to the Latin tongue and even ignorant of the grammar of their own language, could with difficulty profit by these writings; and it was to meet this need of his age and to lighten the learning of Latin for beginners that Ælfric determined to make an abstract of Priscian's *Institutiones Grammaticae*, to which he joined an Anglo-Saxon interlinear version. He considered grammar the key which unlocks the meaning of books; and thought it beseeing in every man endowed with talents to use them for the benefit of his fellow-men, and thus increase the pound entrusted to him in order that he might not be called an unprofitable servant (cf. Preface).

Ælfric found in Priscian well-defined technical expressions for the various grammatical relations, but in the dearth of all grammar in his own tongue he met at the very outset of his undertaking with great difficulty in finding not only appropriate and neat, but also intelligible expressions in Anglo-Saxon, so that it is no matter of surprise to see him groping his way in the dark, or even going astray sometimes. In part, however, he employed the Latin technical terms, giving them an Anglo-Saxon dress, and also made use of others already known. Thus we find of the Latin in English dress: *declinatio*, *declinung*, g. pl. *casa* for *casuum*, d. pl. *casum* for *casibus*. But Ælfric preferred to give the Latin technical expression by an Anglo-Saxon word and then retain the word throughout, as is the case with *cynn* = *genus*, *word* = *verbum*, *tid* = *tempus*, *getel* = *numerus*, *hād* = *persona*, *nama* = *nomen*, *āgene naman* = *nomina propria*. Oftener, however, he would give the meaning of the Latin expression when it first appeared and retain the Latin term afterwards. Of course it cannot be expected that at that early period in the development of the language, even a man of Ælfric's acknowledged ability would in every instance make a felicitous and apt choice of expressions to translate the Latin technical terms. One is constantly surprised to see what pains he takes to get as literal a translation as possible, even to the sacrificing of the sense, and this desire often led him to make choice of an inappropriate term. Perhaps it will not be altogether without interest to mention a few. Some of the more fortunate are: *grammatica* = *stāfscrāft*, *iunctura litterarum* = *stāfgesfēg*, *figura* = *hiw*, *primitiva* = *fyrmyste oððe frumcennede* (not so good), *conjugatio* = *geðlodnys*, *præpositio* = *foresetnys*. Less fortunate are: *primitiva* = *frumcennede*, *relativum* = *edlesendlic*, *relationem* = *edlesunge*, *demonstrativum*, *derivativum* = *ofgangende*, *interjectio* = *betwuxðle-gednys*.

Not often do we find an awkward translation, though Ælfric's wish to be as literal as possible sometimes led him to use awkward expressions. As such we mention his translation of the future passive infinitive by the verbs *faran* and *gangan*, as *vis amatum ire* (probably through carelessness in the transcription for *iri*) = *wylt ðā faran lufjan*; *vis doctum ire* = *wylt ðā gān leornjan*

(p. 134, but p. 151 *wylt ðā gān tæcan*). The supine in -um he also translates in the same manner, as *lectum pergit* = *hē gāð rædan*; *bibitum pergo* = *ic gange drincan*. Sometimes his literal translations are misleading, as *twegra ceorla ealdor* for *duumvir*, *preðra ceorla ealdor* for *triumvir*.

He has offered only a few words on the subject of Etymology, nor could it be expected at this early period. I give one specimen in order to show how this subject was treated at that time: *HOMO mann is gecweden fram HUMO, pæt is fram moldan, forȝan ðe seo eorðe wæs fæs mannes antimber* (p. 293).

On the whole the defects of the book are not so great as we might have expected. It is not my intention, however, to touch upon all points of interest which the rich material of the book affords, but will simply take up one or two points on the Consonant Declension upon which the forms found here throw some additional light. Of the simple consonant stems we find *bōc* f., *brōc* f., *burg* f., *man* m., and *tang* f. *Bōc* occurs only in the d. sg. *bēc*: *he pisum ðrīm thādālum wē ðwriton on forewerdre pyssere bēc*, p. 290, but from other sources we can complete its declension. King Ælfred furnishes us the g. sg. in two places: *Ælfred Kuning wæs wealhtōd ðisse bēc*, Boet. Prol., and *From pære dura selfre pesse bēc*, Past. C. 24, 11. The form *bōc* occurs in the g. sg. in *seo gefæstnunge pessere landbōc*, Dipl. Angl. 318 (Knut MXXIII), and in the d. sg. we find *bōc* also only a few years later. But these forms are of no value whatever. The real form of the g. sg. ought to be *bōce*, which is never found (cf. Amer. Journ. of Phil. II 195. Scherer's form *bōce* ZGDS<sup>1</sup> 436 is therefore a mistake). G. sg. *bēc* can only be explained as borrowed from the d. sg. unless we accept the shorter ending -*jas* of the genitive singular in this word, which is not probable on account of the forms *burge*, *gōse*, etc., which the other stems commonly have. The form of the n. ac. pl. *brēc* = *femoralia*, *wædbrēc* = *perizonata campestris* (p. 315), adds nothing new, as this form occurs often. The g. and d. sg. have not yet been found. Ælfric furnishes another proof that the g. sg. of these stems ends in *e* and does not umlaut. We have already (*l. c.*) considered the g. sg. *byrig* as a poetical form taken from the d. sg., because in Ælfred's writings we find only the form *burge*. Ælfric confirms this, as he has p. 29 *hæc Tirus anre burge nama*. Twice we find the d. sg. *burig*, p. 273, 280, which is the regular form expected here. From other sources we have besides this form the forms *burh* and *burge*, on *pære burh*. Blickl. Hom. 197, on *pære burh naht gewinnan*. Lye. Suppl. Sermo. *innan pære burh*. ib. The Durham Ritual has generally the regular form, but once we find the surprising form in *ðam byrig*, p. 196; *ad arcem et ad maenia, tō burge and wealle*, Kent. Gl. in Zs. f. d. a. 21, 24; *þe he bigge ððer sylle æðer oððe burge oððe on wæpengetæce*, AS. Laws ed. by Schmidt, 2. Aufl. 195. The form *burh* may be explained as a case where the vowel *i* has fallen out behind a guttural (cf. this Journ. II 198 ff.) *Burge* will probably have to be explained by the third method of forming the dative singular as explained in this Journal II, pp. 47, 48, 49. *Man* offers the d. sg. *alcum men*, p. 27, and *pæt sumum men stent ege fram mē*, p. 123. The word *tang* = *forceps*, p. 67, only occurs in the n. sg. Ettm. Wb. 526 gives *tange tangān*, Cot. 81, which would make our word an *n*-stem. The O. N. n. pl. *tengr tangir* indicates an *i*-stem, with which the O. H. G. d. sg. *zangi* coincides.

Of the nouns of relationship only two occur: *brōðor* and *fæder*, in cases which have an interest for us; of these *brōðor* has in the g. sg. *brōðor*, *ðres brōðor* =



*nostri fratris*, d. sg. *bræðer*, *ðrum bræðer* = *nostro fratri*, *fram ðrum bræðer* = a *nostro fratre*, and the n. pl. *ðre (ge)brøðra* = *nostri fratres*, p. 102: *fæder* is found in the d. sg. in *ic geefenlæce mīnum fæder* = *patrisso*, p. 215, and *after bebyrgedum fæder*, p. 275. No new forms are offered here, but we see no transition into the *a*-declension, as is often the case with *fæder* in other authors.

Of the present participles we find the ac. pl. *fýnd*: *a se expellunt hostes* = *ht ðdrafað heora fýnd him fram*, p. 110. *Arcesso* = *ic ðsflge mīne fýnd oððe genyrwige*, p. 166. In the d. sg. we find the form *fýnd*: *adversum inimicum pergit* = *þgednes his fýnd hē gæð*, unless this be the ac. pl. also. But the following examples tend to show that *þgednes* governs the dative in this sense: *farað him þgednes*, *Sal.* 119; *eodon him þgēanes*, *An.* 45, 657; *hē him tō gēanes rād*, *B.* 1893. *Ettmüller Wb.* 423, quotes *þgednes his frýnd*, *Gen.* 14, 17, and our passage as examples of *þgednes* governing the ac. Not having the text at hand it is impossible to say whether in the passage cited from *Gen.* we have the sing. or plur. and therefore we can come to no conclusion in regard to this passage<sup>1</sup>; in the d. sg. in other places we often have this unlauted form, e. g. *and gān tō his frýnd*, *Ælf. Hom.* I 248, and *pāt pā pīnum frýnd ne helpe*, *Deut.* 15, 10, which show that this form in the dative was known and used even by *Ælfric*. In *O. H. G.* we also find *friunt* in the d. sg. (*Ahd. Gl. herausgeg. von Steinmeyer and Sievers*, p. 705, 65), instead of the more usual form *friunti*. It is evident that at one time this unlauted form was the prevalent one, which had partially replaced the flexionless form, and was in its place replaced by the form of the *a*-declension. And as we have seen in this *Journ.* vol. II, 191, that *Ælfric* and *Ælfred* always employed the unlauted plurals *fýnd*, *frýnd*, to which we can now add the datives singular *fýnd*, *frýnd*, we may indeed assume the unlauted forms to have been the best authorized ones at one time. That the unlauted forms were the earlier and more correct, *i. e.* the correct reflex of the Gothic *fijands*, *frijōnds*, and that the unlauted forms *fýnd*, *frýnd* are the result of a transition into the *i*-declension, has already been shown in the article above cited.

In the other declensions we find nothing new and can therefore condense our remarks on this head. The word *might* occurs in the g. sg., *lufigendlicere mihte* = *amandae virtutis*, p. 152. *Sievers*, *P. B. B.* I 495, in his article entitled *Kleine Beiträge zur Deutschen Grammatik*, formulates the rule that "all *i*-stems have the unlaut throughout, have no ending in the n. and ac. sg., and have in the g. pl. only *a*," and p. 499 he further says: "For the older A. S. therefore there is only one clearly-defined distinction between the *ð*- and *i*-stems, viz. in the ac. sg. (*ð*-stems have -e), and not until later did this difference disappear." In his enumeration of those words which have not assumed the form of the *ð*-stems in the ac. sg. we find p. 497 ac. sg. *meaht miht*, and for the older period this was probably the only form. Later, however, we find constantly the form *meahte mihte* in the ac. sg., unless we agree with *Sievers* in saying that possibly the pl. of these abstract nouns is often used for the singular, which may be true and for which many examples can be produced in proof. And yet when we place the examples of both forms *miht*, *mihte* side by side we are almost led to believe that *mihte* is an ac. sg. and not an ac. pl. We give here a few of the many examples we have found in various authors: *ðurh mihte* (twice) *ðas halgan gastes*,

<sup>1</sup> Through the kindness of Prof. Child I learn that *Ettmüller's* quotation is false, as no passage of the kind occurs in *Gen.*

Ælfred's Beda 445; *Gif ðre godas ænige mihte hæfdon*, ib. 141; and *heo hæfað þas mihte*, Leechd. I 290; *ðurh Godes mihte*, ib. III 424; *þurh his þa mycelan miht*, Blickl. Hom. 17, 33. The form *miht*, *meht* is the predominant one here: *ateowan his mihte and willan* (ac. pl.) ib. 67; *ðurh miht ðres drihtnes*, *ðurh þæs lifigendan Godes miht he bið ofslagen* and *na ðurh nanes engles mihte*, Lye. Suppl. Sermo; *Cneoris and Cneoris hergað werc ðæn and maht þine*, St. Ps. 162, 3. But often *mahte* also with no perceptible difference of meaning. We also find the plural *mihta*, which in its turn indicates a transition into the *ā*-declension. We have already in this Journal II 198 alluded to the fact that the d. sg. often appears in the flexionless form *miht*, which is likewise the case in O. H. G., and explained this fact as the dropping of the vowel *i* behind dentals.

II. Thomas of Erceldoune, edited by Alois Brandl, is a poem containing the so-called prophecies of Thomas of Erceldoune. Its historical worth, though not to be entirely discarded by the historian, is of minor importance on account of its inaccuracies. Its chief merit lies therefore in its philological interest in respect of its dialect, and from the fact that the time of its composition can be quite definitely determined by the frequent allusions to contemporary events. The editor has known how to make good use of these, and the discussions of various points of interest relating to the author, time of composition and political allusions will be welcome to all. Great care is shown in the preparation of the work for the press, and it will be found a convenient book of reference for those studying this period.

III. The Erl of Tolous and the Emperes of Almayn: eine Englische Romanze aus dem Anfange des 15 Jahrhunderts nebst litterarischer Untersuchung über ihre Quelle, die ihr verwandten Darstellungen und ihre geschichtliche Grundlage, herausgegeben von Gustav Lüdtkke. The present is the first critical edition of this work and an attempt to rescue the English metrical romances from the oblivion in which they have lain so long. Many of these may have no great aesthetical worth, and may therefore not afford very enjoyable reading, but from a historical and philological point of view they throw great light upon the customs and manners of the English people of the middle ages, as also upon their language. Hence the student of history and philology will heartily greet the appearance of this critical edition of a really interesting and enjoyable little poem aside from its historical and philological worth. That time and pains have not been spared to make it in every way acceptable is vouched for by its admission into this series. The introduction contains all that could be wished for a thorough study of the sources, its treatment in different lands, and its historical foundations.

In conclusion we can only hope that the good work thus prosperously inaugurated may go on until this whole field has been explored and all works of worth given to us in handy and critical editions.

S. P.

Faust, von Goethe. Mit Einleitung u. fortlaufender Erklärung, herausgegeben von K. I. SCHRÖER. Heilbronn: Henninger. Erster Theil (1881), pp. lxxxvi, 303; Zweiter Theil (1881), pp. cii, 442.

It would be damning Schröer's work with faint praise to call it the *best* edition of *Faust*. It is the *only* edition that aims at explaining the poem from beginning to end in a spirit of scholarly accuracy and generous fulness. Within the narrow limits of this notice I cannot attempt to do justice to Schröer's labors; I can only call attention to them, and proffer one or two criticisms of a general nature.

The mere fulness of the running commentary (printed at the bottom of the text page) is as gratifying as it is surprising. The editor is justified—from his point of view—in boasting, p. v of the Preface to the First Part, *dass keiner Schwierigkeit ausgewichen ist*. From his point of view, I say. Having made daily use of the commentary for months, I can testify most cheerfully to his honesty in not “dodging,” as we say, a knotty point. But has he *detected* every lurking difficulty? Most emphatically not. Even in the First Part, which is in the main comparatively easy, there are several passages which call for more light. *E. g.* in speaking of the scene in Auerbach's Cellar, p. 121, Schröer says: The company consists of students of the roughest (*rohest*) sort. This is the traditional view. But is it correct? To me, Frosch, Brander, etc., are not students at all, but Philistines. They have not a trace of student-nature, neither in their notions nor in their deportment. Besides, every editor seems to have overlooked the circumstance that Faust has formally turned his back upon university life; the very last words that Mephistopheles pronounces in the scene immediately preceding this one are: I congratulate you upon your *new* career. Surely Goethe would not start Faust on his new career by introducing him to a student-carouse! There is still too much of the conventional in Goethe-criticism. In the Second Part the difficulties multiply. Goethe has taxed the resources of the language to their utmost; every page abounds in delicate shades of meaning, in allusions hinted rather than expressed, and in *Gedankensprünge*. For most of these Schröer has a satisfactory, or at least a plausible interpretation. But not a few of them have wholly escaped his observation, he is not even aware of their existence. How may we account for this? The following explanation suggests itself. The Second Part is not studied, *i. e.* read and interpreted, line by line, as the First Part is. Those who take it up at all read it rapidly and with an eye to the general effect. Undoubtedly Schröer, no less than Düntzer, v. Loeper, and a few other scholars, has read and interpreted to *himself* every line of the Second Part. But has he interpreted every line to some young pupil quick to feel the least break in thought or in syntax and satisfied only with a direct explanation? This is work of a very different order; it is a test that sifts one's knowledge most pitilessly. I write from experience on the point, for I am now engaged in translating and analysing the Second Part with a special pupil who has selected the *Faust* for a graduation-thesis, and I know better than ever before what it means to interpret Goethe. Were Schröer to listen to some of these class-room discussions, he would be surprised to see how much he has taken for granted. In truth, until the entire *Faust* has been used as a text-book by at least one generation of select classes, we may be permitted to doubt our getting a perfectly adequate

commentary. Yet, despite an occasional shortcoming, Schröer's commentary is a storehouse of valuable material, arranged in admirable shape. The briefest inspection will satisfy every one that it is the result of years of patient labor. It only remains to add in this connection that each Part has an alphabetical index to the notes and literary references; this index serves the purpose of a partial concordance. The verse-numbering is too complicated. Schröer has attempted in the First Part to preserve v. Loeper's numbering uncorrected, also corrected by five lines, and his own numbering. In the Second Part we have one continuous count including the First Part, another continuous count beginning with the Second Part, and a third count separate for each Act. It seems to me that there is but one way of numbering, viz. to regard the poem, both Parts, as a whole, and to count from beginning to end. The total is only 12,110; considerably less than Wace's *Brut*, 15,300, or Layamon 16,120 (full lines). It is surprising that advocates of the "unity" of *Faust*, like Schröer and v. Loeper, should forego the use of so helpful an ally as continuous numbering.

The present is no place for discussing Schröer's position in the great *Faust* question. Enough to say that he is a firm believer in the "unity" of the poem; to him the Second Part is no mere after-thought, the capricious expression of declining powers, but rather the mature and well-weighed fulfilment of a purpose, and even of a plan, which Goethe had formed in his youth and which he never lost sight of. There can be no doubt but that this opinion is now in the ascendancy, and will eventually prevail to the exclusion of all others. Again, Schröer is no friend of the so-called "aesthetic" school. He is not willing to let Goethe be judged by the conventional standards of critics like Vischer, who are bent upon forcing the facts of art into their theories. A great genius like Goethe is not to be gauged and valued by what we think he ought to have said. If he has anything to say, we can well afford to listen, no matter whether we can make it fit into our *Schablone* or not. And to understand Goethe there is only one way: to discover the concrete situation, the *Bild* from which he started. For Goethe is not the poet who embodies abstract thoughts, but the poet whose thoughts evolve themselves from the situations supplied by his actual experience or the images created by his imagination.

Among the novelties brought forward by Schröer these two are the most striking: first, the direct connection of the first appearance of Mephistopheles at the emperor's court and the conjuration of Helena with two poems by Hans Sachs. This discovery may eventually lead to others in the growth of the *Faust* legend, and possibly throw some light on the sources of Marlowe's *Faustus*. The other is the hint thrown out, p. xxvi of the Introduction to the Second Part, that it was not Goethe's original intention to make two parts of the poem, that the appearance of Helena was included in his first plan, but that she was thrust into the background by Gretchen. Schröer's words, rather freely rendered, run thus: "It seems to me that there are still evident traces in the First Part of Helena's being supplanted by Gretchen. The mood (*Stimmung*) of the young Goethe, that mood which originated Goetz v. Berlichingen and Egmont's Clärchen, will explain to us how his interest in the classic heroine was of necessity abated by the more human interest he felt in the charm of Gretchen's simplicity. Mephistopheles was to show Helena to Faust in the magic mirror, and to intensify his longing for her by means of the

magic potion, and this is still discernible in the scene in the Witch's Kitchen, written much later than the first inception (written at Rome in 1788). But Faust is not seized with longing for Helena. He sees Gretchen, and Helena is forgotten. He is magnetically attracted by all that is charming in the innocence and naïveté of German womanhood. And he, that is the poet, cannot shake off this spell. The deep passion, the hearty love of Faust and Gretchen must run its course—her bliss, her fall, her guilt, her ruin. By the side of all this there is no room for Helena. The Gretchen-tragedy was no premeditated plan, it carried the poet along irresistibly, and became an independent story by itself. Hence the necessity of a Second Part, the original object of the Faust-drama being still unattained."

Such an observation can be made only by one who has studied the poem long and lovingly. At first startling, it commends itself more and more the oftener it is pondered. It adjusts the two parts of the poem better than has been possible hitherto, and it is in keeping with all that we know of Goethe's life and manner of composition.

J. M. HART.

De Euripideorum Prologorum Arte et Interpolatione. Scr. J. KLINKENBERG. Bonn, 1881.

This little book, which has received one of the annual prizes of the University of Bonn, deserves to be studied with the same patience and candor with which it has been written. When the history of modern philological research comes to be written, Euripidean study in the last six score years will come in for an interesting chapter. A good deal has been learned since Samuel Musgrave had his *Exercitationes in Euripidem* printed at Leyden; and very simple-minded do some of the enthusiastic young physician's observations seem to us now. The greatest gains have been made, of course, in the line of more rigorous analysis of the language and better sifting of the diplomatic material; but these are not the only gains. That Euripides as well as other ancient authors had suffered from the defiling hands of interpolators had been known for centuries, but it was Valckenaer who first felt the duty of paying conscientious heed to this fact in editing the text, who first wrote, clearly and sharply: *nam hos ne audiendos quidem arbitror, nedum refutandos, qui dura quævis atque absurda quidquam esse causæ negabunt cur non imputarentur Euripidi*. A very long step toward a just appreciation of the value of the received texts was taken when Boeckh's discussion of the famous law of Lycurgus made it seem most probable that for more than two thousand years the standard editions of all the Greek tragic poets have been but copies of stage-copies. Since then scholars have had more and more in mind the many curious facts which the old commentators have left us about the ways of antique theatrical companies in dealing with their lines; and it is now hardly open to any one, however much inclined to do so, to be ignorant of or ignore the external evidence that the plays of Euripides, especially, have suffered considerable interpolations. And few men who have at their command the necessary sympathy with Euripides and his art, and read his existing plays reflectively, say three or four times through, will be disposed to question the importance of this external evidence. The

number of passages is serious in which *something* has defeated a purpose conceived so clearly and mastered so entirely by the poet that we cannot rationally ascribe the failure to feeble or vacillating vision on his part. The statement of Klinkenberg, apropos of quoted passages: *de locis Euripideis ab aliis scriptoribus prolatis hoc minime neglegendum est omnes praeter ipsius Euripidis aequales legisse fabulas eius interpolatas*,—may fairly be regarded now as a commonplace of Euripidean criticism. In regard to another of Klinkenberg's statements of doctrine: *nam si versus quidam cum aliis eiusdem fabulae locis aperte pugnant aut cum illius quae loquitur personae ingenio sive cum totius fabulae argumento non consentiunt aut nexum sententiarum intolerabili modo interrumpunt, eos ab Euripide, si quidem sanus fuit poeta, profectos esse non posse nemo negabit*,—it may be necessary among English-speaking philologists to qualify somewhat the universality of the *nemo*, for the Horatian *Durum sed levius fit patientia quidquid corrigere est nefas* is an exceedingly convenient maxim; but probably the *nemo* is true enough so far as persons are concerned who have studied the plays as much as Klinkenberg has.

Distinct advances in the detection and classification of interpolations have been made especially by Cobet, Nauck, Hirzel, Wilamowitz, advances which may fairly lead us to believe that a tolerably complete separation of the wheat from the chaff will some day be effected, a tolerably precise theory of the motives and methods of interpolation will some day be stated and universally accepted. Of these writers Hirzel was the first to call attention distinctly to the impregnable thesis, that, if the text of Euripides is interpolated, we can form no just or rational notion of his art until we have decided, at least in the main, what the interpolated portions are. But although Hirzel was an acute and persuasive critic, and although his pamphlet (*De Eur. in componendis diverbiis arte*, Bonn, 1862) is of permanent value, he was much under the influence of his theory of elaborate responsion in the dialogue of Euripides, and so attacked his problem from the wrong end. But preconceived opinions have not been the only misleading influence. The fear of critics "*die in der Jagd auf Interpolationen eine Modekrankheit der zeitgenössischen Philologie sehen*" has doubtless done something to deter timid scholars from stating the question in the way which the peculiar facts of the tradition of the text of Euripides render imperative. Even Nauck, the first of living authorities in this field, almost apologizes (*Eur. Stud.* II 22) for having detected three spurious verses together. But it is no part of a reviewer's duty to write a polemic.

Klinkenberg seeks to discover what plan Euripides followed in producing his prologues. Critics who believe that a poet like Euripides worked without plan, scholars who believe it possible to appreciate a poet's work without divining his plan, will naturally have little interest in the subject. But those who think a solid result, if gained by such an investigation, might be worth the trouble it cost, will agree with Klinkenberg that nothing can be done until the investigator is ready to pronounce judgment on the genuineness of each and every verse of the prologues. Scholars who hold that no such judgment can ever be pronounced, must also hold that any examination of the poet's art is wholly futile. Klinkenberg begins, then, by examining the genuineness of the prologues line by line, word by word, with an astonishing diligence and a very high degree of grammatical sobriety. It would be useless here to give a list of

his conclusions—they can really only have a value for those who read the discussions. It is of course impossible to examine the prologues without treating occasionally other portions of the plays, and the reader will find more than one valuable excursus. Of these the most striking is the settlement of the question where the scene of the Heraclidae is laid. The proof is complete that Euripides laid the scene at Athens. Evidently then the passage containing v. 32 has been seriously tampered with. The prologue of the Suppliants is the only one in which Klinkenberg finds no interpolations. The extraordinary difficulties of the Ion and the Bacchae are adequately treated, but it would be too much to say that they are made to disappear entirely. But readers of the Journal will be more grateful for a statement of Klinkenberg's results than for discussion of single passages. I quote his words: "Prologi Euripidei omnia ea continent quae spectatoribus ad ipsius dramatis actionem intellegendam scitu necessaria sunt: scaenam dramatis explicant et personarum gravissimarum fata, quantum quidem ad ipsam fabulam pertinent, usque ad illud temporis momentum enarrant, quo fabulae ipsius actio incipit."

"Prologos Euripides hoc consilio scripsit, ut spectatores ea quae dixi non per unam aut complures fabulae scaenas sparsa, sed perpetua oratione secundum rerum ordinem enarrata accurate cognoscerent et memoria tenerent." So far all sounds familiar. But let us see the precise application of the doctrine.

"Omnes prologi Euripidei tripartiti sunt."

"Exordium prologi praeeparat historias in media parte enarrandas."

"Semper fere persona *προλογίζουσα*, ut quam celerrime a spectatoribus cognoscatur, plerumque in exordio, certe inter prima narrationis verba nomen suum expresse dicit; si non dicit, alio modo curavit poeta, ut spectatores quemnam in scaena viderent statim in exordio intellegerent."

"Quam celerrime fieri potest, locus actionis fabulae indicatur notaturque pronomine *ὁδε*. Eodem cum vocabulo coniunguntur omnes res et personae quas spectatores in scaena conspiciunt; quas non conspiciunt eae illud pronomen respuunt." [Accordingly Med. 39, Hip. p. 48, And. p. 38, I. A. 72, are spurious.]

"Media prologi pars, . . . gravissima est: eas res spectatoribus enarrat, quibus fabulae actio nititur. Si totum drama unum est, unam complectitur historiam, si duo capita habet, duas historias praebet." [Compare Medea with Hippolytus.]

"Media prologi pars rerum narrationem usque ad illud temporis momentum producit, quo fabulae ipsius actio incipit; nunquam ea quae spectatores postea suis oculis videbunt, enarrat iisque voluptatem spectandae fabulae praeipit." [The apparent exception in the Hecuba is so clearly explained as to afford proof of the rule. "Nunquam Euripides in prologis fabulae ipsius argumentum praedixit; si qua delibare debebat, tam tecte et caute fecit, ut nihilominus spectatores in fabula ipsa prorsus nova viderent. Quam egregie haec quadrant in poetam *τραγικώτατον*!"]

"Prologi narratio nunquam interruptitur rebus alienis." "Quam ob rem Euripides in prologorum corpore a dictis, quibus aliis tragoediarum locis abundat, prorsus abstinuit." Especially noteworthy are the condemned passages in the Hippolytus (7, 8) and Medea (14, 15). •

"Prologi conclusio ad personam *προλογίζουσαν* pertinet; aut facta aut cogitationes eius continet. Interdum ea persona indicatur, quae post prologum recitatum in scaenam prodit demonstraturque spectatoribus pronomine *ὁδε*; nunquam autem eam personam *προλογίζουσα* alloquitur."

"Ii prologi qui optime cum ipsa fabula coeunt, omnes sunt prioris aetatis poeseos Euripideae. Posteriore tempore poeta non solum nexum internum magis magisque solvit, sed etiam externo illo vinculo, ut persona *προλογίζουσα* insequentem personam indicaret, non iam usus est."

"Duo genera interpolationis grassata sunt in prologis Euripideis: alterum quod grammaticum voco, alterum histrionale."

"Ad prius genus omnes eas refero interpolationes, quae verborum poetae interpretandorum causa additae sunt."

"Histriones duplici modo prologis Euripideis nocuerunt: additamenta intrusere aut ad scaenam fabulae immutandam aut ad *πάθος* sermonis augendum."

To the reviewer these principles all appear well established. If one more than another may be regarded as beyond the reach of doubt, it is the sharp rule regarding the use of *ὁδε*. And however unwilling the reader may be to accept so favorable a judgment, no one can read Klinkenberg's pages, so laborious and so luminous, without getting some stimulus from the conscientious and enthusiastic spirit of his work. The style is simple, clear, correct, and never dull.

J. H. WHEELER.

The New Phrynichus, being a revised text of the Ecloga of the grammarian Phrynichus, with Introductions and Commentary by W. GUNION RUTHERFORD, M. A., of Balliol College, Oxford. London: Macmillan & Co. 1881.

Rutherford's Phrynichus is a decided contrast to Lobeck's Phrynichus in every point, from the redundant style to the sumptuous dress, which one is almost tempted to call a *καλὸν ἐντάφιον*. Mr. Rutherford is a great admirer of the Dutch school, but his zeal is not always according to knowledge, and it remains to be seen what Cobet will think of his disciple. Dutch scholars are somewhat prone to declamatory depreciation of non-Batavian philologists, and Cobet's writings are full of sarcasm and diatribe, but there is a kind of convention among grammarians that the style shall not be wildly enthusiastic nor even oratorically fervid. If the ordinary tone is forsaken, the only variety that is considered tolerable is the subacid or the subacid, of which examples enough can be found in the works of "Augustus Lobeck," with which Mr. Rutherford professes himself to have been long familiar. So opening Lobeck's Phrynichus quite at random, one finds, p. 15: Taedet me recentiorum scriptorum inconstantiam ante oculos exponere, quam si satis considerasset Schweighauserus, nunquam spem illam temerariam, quam in praefat, ad Appian. p. 112, ostendit, restituenduae aequalitatis, animo concepisset, neque per magnam libri partem miserum illud sigma vi et furca expulisset. P. 270. Hic omnes fiduculas intendunt Abreschius et Sallierius. But even these *lumina orationis* were better away, because they foster a malignant habit, and grammarians are a crabbed race at best. Still there are worse things than malignity and crab-



bedness in a grammarian as a grammarian, and among these worse things must be classed profuse rhetoric in a subject which demands brief, sharp, lucid exposition. Mr. Rutherford desires to defend certain themes which are not startlingly new. So for instance he lays great stress on the Ionism of the tragic poets and on the untrustworthiness of Xenophon; and the wealth of rhetoric with which he enforces his themes is stupendous. Every new phenomenon calls for a new outburst. 'Even the stones cry out against regarding the peculiarly tragic forms of words as due to no more than a craving for elevation of style.' 'The large mantle which for centuries formed the outer covering of Greeks, and admitted of so many graceful adjustments, was in the Homeric age designated as *φάρος*, but in Attic invariably *ἱμάτιον*.' After stating the use of *ὑδρία* he says: 'There could not be a more striking instance of the vigor, thoroughness and rapidity with which the people of Attica recast their old language, and replaced worn and stiff terms by crisp and flexible innovations.' One stops and asks 'For whom is the New Phrynichus written?' Certainly school-boys would not care to read it, and maturer men can draw their own conclusions. Scholars do not need to be told 'that the phenomena of language presented by Greece up to the time of Alexander were exceptional to a degree,' and are not likely to brook the oracular tone in which Mr. Rutherford announces 'that it is contrary to all reason to treat Xenophon as a genuine Attic writer.' One or two specimens of this peculiar style of enlivening grammatical disquisitions will suffice to complete this anthology. After stating the rule, 'All verbs expressing the exercise of the senses or denoting any functional state or process have the inflexions of the middle voice, either throughout or in the future tense,' he goes on to remark: 'No inquiry (what inquiry?) is more rich in side results, and the history of this law is the history of the Attic dialect. The importance of the generalization cannot be overrated. It restores to the Athenian language the precision and symmetry which were peculiarly its own, and brings out its grand and simple outlines. It supplies rules for textual criticism, it sheds a new light upon the import of many words, and is of incalculable service in tracing the development of Attic speech.' This is fervid and copious, and we long for a further revelation. But the oracle is mute just at the most interesting moment, and as if the enthusiasm had evaporated Mr. Rutherford tells us that the reason for the employment of the middle voice in the future while the active is used in the present, 'it is useless to discuss, as it is impossible to discover' (p. 381). This is coldly cruel, after raising our hopes so high in p. 138. It is perhaps not altogether unknown to those who have exercised the useful but not exhilarating function of teaching the Greek irregular verb, that *τίπτω* in many of its forms is theoretical and un-Attic. It is this very consideration that dislodged the venerable *εἰδωλον* from its throne of honor in the paradigms and put in its stead, now *λείπω* (Thiersch, 1812), now *λύω*, now *βουλεύω*. Veitch's Greek Verbs, Irregular and Defective, is a constant companion of all teachers who value the quality of their work, and to the owners of Veitch the eccentricities of *τίπτω* are no secret. And yet when Mr. Rutherford is about to write his pages on *τίπτω* he seems overwhelmed with his own audacity, and breaks forth in this deprecatory strain: 'It is almost reprehensible to destroy such a time-honored structure and root up so many fond associations, and it will readily be believed that the follow-

ing pages were penned in a turbulence of spirit almost equal to Luther's when he nailed his articles on the church-door at Wittenberg.' Mr. Rutherford can hardly be in a position to make free use of German literature, judging by the extraordinary jumble which he has made of a quotation from Tycho Mommsen (pp. 415, 416), but surely he ought to know what is going on in his own neighborhood, and a man so well acquainted with Mr. Verrall's plastic emendations should not be oblivious of Mr. Sandys' edition of Demosthenes, in which there is an excursus on *τίπτω* appended to the *contra Cononem* (LIV)<sup>1</sup>. But enough of Mr. Rutherford's eloquence. If he had rigidly cut out all his fine writing he might have done good service, although his ignorance of the elementary rules of Greek accentuation would exclude his book from any consideration whatever, had it not been written in England, where we no longer expect the mechanical accuracy of the older generation. Greek accent could have meant nothing to Porson, and yet he was careful about it. It means nothing to most Englishmen of our day, and many of their good scholars are lamentably negligent in this regard. Only Mr. Rutherford abuses our patience, and on one page (p. 99) accentuates nine perfect infinitives wrong, besides sprinkling false accents freely throughout the book. One point more. In a long discussion of *ἐρχομαι* and that group, Mr. Rutherford takes Professor Goodwin to task for giving a future sense to the moods of *εἶμι*. Mr. Rutherford is a great admirer of our American Hellenist, so great an admirer that he quotes in his preface a passage from Professor Goodwin, in which Professor Goodwin is only echoing Madvig, so that Mr. Rutherford's strictures on what he calls a 'book of rare merit' have no unkindliness in them. But while it is true that Professor Goodwin's phraseology is unguarded, Mr. Rutherford is himself in error when he denies a future sense to the moods of *εἶμι*. Infinitive, optative and participle of *εἶμι* may all be future in *oratio obliqua*, of which alone Professor Goodwin was thinking. Veitch is doubtless right in saying that the future sense is less common—and he might have said much less common—but there is no denying the future sense in *ὑπερέμειναι*, Plat. Phaidon p. 103 D, coupled with *ἀπολείσθαι*; of *ἐξίστηναι* in Xen. Hell. 5, 1, 34; of *ἰόντες* in Thuk. 5, 7—all familiar examples. What were the Attics to use? *ἐλευσοίμην, ἐλέβεσθαι, ἐλενόμενος*? Mr. Rutherford cannot produce one Attic *ἐλευσοίμην*, and for *ἐλέβεσθαι* he has recourse to the much emended passage in Lysias 22, 13, where he credits Rauch (!)—read Rauchenstein—with *οὐ καταφύβεσθαι*, Scheibe with *οὐκέτι φεύβεσθαι* and Cobet with *οὐ τρέψεσθαι*, adding 'there may be other corrections equally futile.' Some months ago when pondering this passage, what seems to me an evident emendation came into my mind, suggested doubtless by my recent reading in Dionysios (p. 1001), *πορεῖσθαι*. On turning from my old Bekker text to Frohberger I found that I had been anticipated and the reading substantiated by parallel passages. In view of the coincidence it is natural that I should not consider that emendation futile. Mr. Rutherford has done so much hard work that it is a pity he had not submitted his style to the pruning knife and more carefully tested his results.

B. L. G.

<sup>1</sup> By the way, Mr. Sandys corrects Veitch for quoting as from Lysias a passage of Theon's, and himself deserves to be censured for quoting a passage as Theon's which does not belong to Theon at all, as he might have found out, if he had not been in too great a hurry to catch the estimable Veitch tripping.

Die Lateinische Partikel *Ut*. Eine von der Norwegischen Universität mit der goldenen Medaille des Kronprinzen belohnte Preisschrift von BASTIAN DAHL. Kristiania, 1882. pp. 304.

This prize essay, which the author has made more accessible to the world of scholars by publishing it in German, is deserving of wide recognition as the most thorough and comprehensive treatise yet written on this many-sided particle. The author has gone conscientiously to work and collected his own materials, which for the early period may be said to be quite exhaustive, while numerous examples have been gathered from Vergil, Caesar, Sallust, Cicero, Ovid, Horace, Livy, Tacitus, Suetonius and later writers. The more important modern works which bear upon the field of investigation have not escaped the author's notice. While there is no painful straining after striking originality of view, the method of treatment is fresh, and gives evidence of a calm, independent judgment, and a disposition to weigh the facts and to grapple honestly with the difficulties which the conditions of each new problem present. If the results are not as surprising as *e. g.* those reached by Lübbert in his work on *quom*, it is due to the fact that the prevailing usages of *ut* were earlier fixed.

The treatise begins properly with a discussion of the form and etymology of *ut*. *Utei* is shown to prevail in the earliest period, there being 106 instances of its use in the first volume of the Corpus Inscriptionum as against 11 of *uti* and 10 of *ut*. In Plautus, however, the relation of *uti* : *ut* is about 100 : 1500, while Horace uses *ut* 350 times and *uti* only 21 times. The original form *quotei* is resolved into a root *quo* = Skt. *√ka*, and the locative of a demonstrative *√ta*. The Umbrian furnishes as parallel forms *pusei*, *pusi*, *puse*, the Oscan *pus*. Of locative force but few traces have been preserved; the predominating sense is modal. The various uses of *ut* are then treated under the following grand divisions: I. *Ut* interrogativum. II. *Ut* relativum. III. *Ut* temporale. IV. *Ut* consecutivum. V. *Ut* finale. VI. Gegenstandsätze mit coniunctivus generis. VII. Gegenstandsätze mit coniunctivus finalis. VIII. Elliptische *ut* sätze. The interrogative use is shown to be quite common in the archaic, but limited in the classical period. The transition is easily made to the exclamatory use, of which numerous examples are given. In treating of indirect questions Dahl follows Becker, and very properly takes issue with Fuhrmann, who conceives *viden ut* and *audin ut* to have analogy with *nescio quis*. It is to be regretted here that more light is not shed upon the development of the idiom *satin ut*. The relative *ut* receives attention under various heads. It is interesting to observe that in objective comparisons the early period is more circumstantial in repeating the predicate. Capt. 369, *Servitulem fers ita, ut ferri decet*. Noteworthy too is the archaic use of a relative clause after *verba declarandi vel sentiendi* where classical usage leads us to expect an indirect question. Amp. 1129, *Hanc rem, ut factast, eloquar*. 33 such examples are given, drawn mostly from Plautus and Terence. Here the modal force is seen in full strength, while in subjective comparisons it is often obscured. Where the comparison partakes of metaphor *sic* is more common than *ita* in the main clause. The use of *ut* as concessive-adversative seems not to antedate Cicero and is especially frequent in writers under the empire. Of *ut* iurativum, as Dr. Dahl felicitously terms it, after *ita* the comic poets furnish us a wealth of examples which deserve to be studied. How bitter is the irony in

Aul. 754, *ita te amabit Iuppiter ut tu nescis!* Certain parenthetic expressions like *ut mos est* show wide range of use, of others the rise may be pointed out. *Ut fit* which is so common in Livy occurs already six times in Terence, but not once in Plautus if we except Capt. Prol. v. 24, where perhaps it may go to swell the evidence of post-Plautine revision. Under *ut* affirmativum cases are treated where a parenthetic *ut* clause affirms a statement to be true which in the main clause is merely assumed. Cic. fin. 5, 51, *Si virtus digna est gloria, ut est.* On this use Anton, Studien zur Lat. Grammatik, Part II, is more full and instructive. No examples are cited from early Latin and the idiom is one more likely to occur in prose. On the other hand the comic poets use *ut* as a causal particle where the later language would prefer *quod* or *cum*. Truc. II, 7, 22, *Pallidast ut peperit puerum.* It must be remembered, however, that Plautus could not have used *quod* here in causal sense. In discussing the temporal use of *ut* perhaps the author is too ready to admit that *ut* here lays aside its modal force or that this is wholly absorbed in the temporal function, just as *ubi* unites both time and space relations. The transition in any event must have been a gradual one, and the modality often glimmers through where the connection seems purely temporal. So the English *as* certainly gives a different coloring from *when* or *while*. The different tenses used after *ut* receive judicious treatment. In dealing with the pluperfect Dahl accepts Hoffmann's views. We may note that the form *uti* is not well authenticated in temporal sense, that *ut* in the sense of *postquam* (*ubi*) does not occur in Lucretius, that *ut* with the iterative subjunctive is confined to the silver age, while *ut* descriptive with the imperfect so common in Livy occurs already in Plautus. Asin. 343, *In lonstrina ut sedebam, me inquit percontantur.* We should be loth to admit, however, that *ut* has here wholly lost its modality. For us it has a shade of meaning quite distinct from *dum* or *quom* and not to be translated by *während*. On p. 131 Dahl shows that *ita* is not used by classical writers in the apodosis after temporal *ut*, although it is affected by some modern Latinists. The list of passages given on p. 146, where *ut* has local force, which Ellis in the case of Catullus attributes to Alexandrine influence, might doubtless be increased. In Parts IV and V the more difficult functions of *ut* come up for discussion, namely, the consecutive and final. For this section the views of Delbrück, Lange and Jolly on the subjunctive and optative have been carefully studied. In the nature of the subjunctive itself the author finds the bridge between *ut* = *as* and *ut* = *so that, in order that*. He regards *qui* clauses of characteristic as essentially the same with *ut* clauses, and of earlier development, as the relative pronoun is anterior to the relative adverb. After a patient analysis of characteristic *qui* clauses, in which the subjunctive is shown to be essentially potential in its nature, he finds the consecutive use of *ut* to be a development of the optative or potential side of the subjunctive, while the final use is traced back to the subjunctive proper, which is primarily an expression of the will. If we define an action by the circumstances which accompany or follow it, we must have the subjunctive with *ut* (and not the indicative), even though we feel that the subjunctive expresses a real fact, and even though the consciousness or will of the principal speaker has nothing to do with the fact as such. For example: *Ita curro ut sudem.* I run in such a way as to sweat. The characteristic of the action is that through it I begin to perspire. Through the

constant employment of this form one naturally reasons out the fact that I actually am sweating, and thenceforth the objective result becomes the prominent thing in the statement. Actuality is not more strongly expressed by *esse* with the infinitive or by the English *as to*. Both forms of statement represent the result only as possible and leave it to the reader or hearer to supply the impression of reality. Such, briefly stated, are the views of the author. Space forbids our following him into the details of his treatment of purpose and result clauses and of object clauses which express in a modified way purpose or result. Individual feeling will assert itself against this or that principle of classification. Dr. Dahl is, we think, particularly happy in his treatment of parenthetic *ut* clauses of result, like *ut omitam*, *ut non dicam*, and subjective result clauses like *ita agendum est ut omnia inter se cohaereant*. The discussion of the so-called elliptical sentences is not all that we could desire, and we should gladly have seen in an appendix some treatment of the compounds of *ut*, especially *neutiquam*, *utique* and *sicuti*. But few persons, we presume, such is the frailty of human nature, will be found to quarrel with the brevity of a work of over three hundred pages, on a single particle spelled with two letters.

M. W.

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De Gladiatura Romana Quaestiones Selectae. Doct. Diss. by PAUL JONAS MEIER. Bonn, 1881. 52 pp.

In 1879 the Bonn Faculty set the following subject for a Preis-Arbeit: "Gladiaturae Romanae historia ex scriptorum et titulorum testimoniisque artisque monumentis explicetur." Of the essay which received the prize this dissertation forms only a part. Needless to say the author has taken full advantage of the archaeological facilities which a University like Bonn offers, and in which we are so lamentably deficient in this country. Moreover, he has spied out the land and made the German Museums from Berlin to Trier yield up their gladiatorial treasures for his purpose. He has sifted the ancient sources and made some new discoveries. After two years' occupation with gladiators one may be pardoned perhaps a combative spirit, and if some knock-down blows are dealt to veterans like Lipsius, Friedlaender and Henzen, it only shows what training will do for the youthful prize-fighter. Dr. Meier has certainly shown himself a vigorous *tiro* and merits the title *spectatus*.

The introductory chapter begins with a puzzle from Suidas, states afresh the nature of Suetonius' work 'de historia ludicra,' and the probable dependence upon it not only of Tertullian, Isidorus and Cassiodorus, but also of the scholiast to Juvenal. Chapter II is entitled *De gladiatorum armaturis* with the following subdivisions: § 1. *de Samnitibus*. § 2. *de secutoribus*. § 3. *de opломachis*. § 4. *de reliariis*. § 5. *de Thracibus*. § 6. *de Gallis et murmillonibus*. § 7. *de ceteris armaturis*.

Campanian hate first applied the name *Samnites* to gladiators. From the Campanians the Romans adopted the name together with the custom of gladiatorial shows. Lucilius is the first Roman writer to mention a *Samnis*. Literature and inscriptions are silent about them after the age of Augustus. Meier has an ingenious theory to account for this. New-fashioned names were found

for them. The *secutores* who fought with the *retarii* were really *Samnites* and their equipment was the same. In Cicero ad Att. VII 14. 2 we may not read with Friedlaender *secutorum*, but must keep *scutorum* of the MSS, so that the earliest mention of *secutores* occurs in Suetonius Cal. 30. Another designation of them is found in CIL VI 631 > RET = contra rete. The *oplomachi* had also substantially the same equipment as the *Samnites*, and the name was introduced at the beginning of the Empire. They differed from the *secutores* especially in that they were matched with the *Thraeces* and not with the *retarii*. Their helmets too were quite unlike. *Retarii* lasted as long as gladiatorial exhibitions, but when they came into fashion cannot be definitely determined. An interesting description of their armor is given. They fought with *murmillones* and *secutores*; had neither *galea* nor *scutum*, but were furnished with a *galerus* (cf. Juvenal Sat. VIII 207, of which Meier gives a new interpretation). The name *Thraeces* indicates that Thracians taken in war were compelled to fight in the arena. In inscriptions *Thraex* is the more ancient, *Thrax* the later form. TR also occurs, but *Thrax* is not authenticated. They fought with *secutores* and *murmillones*, and also with each other as appears from some *lucernae* at Berlin and Trier. Not so clear is the attempted proof from a Greek inscription CIG 2164, that the *murmillones* were pitted against each other. These latter took their name from the *μορμύρος* or *μορμύλος*, a fish which was attached to the helmet to be caught by the net of the *retarius*. They were earlier called *galli*, which name went out of use at the end of the republic. The famous statue of the dying gladiator has lately been rechristened 'the dying Gaul'. Curiously enough, if we accept Weissenborn's view followed by Meier. Livy XXXIX 42, 11, *vis tu, inquit, quoniam gladiatorum spectaculum reliquisti, iam hunc Gallum morientem videre?* points to the fact that the Gauls were known as gladiators as early as the time of Cato the Censor.

Chapter III treats of *Quaestiones diversae* under the following heads: § 1. *De significatione "stans missus est."* § 2. *De suppositiciis seu tertiaris.* § 3. *De gladiatorum ordinibus.* What we have already said will, we hope, lead those who take a lively interest in gladiators to read these sections, of which it is impossible to give here even a summary.

M. W.

Einleitung in das Sprachstudium, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte und Methodik der vergleichenden Sprachforschung, von B. DELBRÜCK. Leipzig, Breitkopf und Härtel, 1880.

Introduction to the Study of Language, etc., by DELBRÜCK. Authorized translation by E. CHANNING. Leipzig, 1882.

This work with the authorized translation, to which a special preface is added by the author for the "English and American public," appears as the fourth volume of the Indogermanische Grammatiken. The purpose of the book is to give a short account of the development of philological study since the time of Bopp. The main title is slightly misleading, as the words "zur Geschichte," which are added in the sub-title, explains the real drift of the essay. It is not so much an introduction to the study of language from the standpoint of philological principles and their application, but rather an historical sketch with here and there an independent discussion of the theories involved.

The cis-Rhenish student will be apt to agree with the author's remark in his preface to the English translation, that the men who have contributed to linguistic research in England, France, and America have been somewhat neglected. 'In fact, to explain the nature of the essay the title should rather have been an historical introduction to the study of the works of German philologists.' But understanding this as the aim of the writer, the book may be considered a very useful summary. The author begins with Bopp, to whom 36 of the 137 pages of the work are devoted. The influence of Fried. Schlegel upon Bopp is commented upon at some length, his views on phonetic laws are discussed, s. 21, and it is pointed out (what is often overlooked) that in formulating his synopsis of phonetic changes Bopp himself belongs to those who do not insist on the inviolability of phonetic laws, but content themselves with admitting exceptions without feeling the necessity of discovering their causes. Es wird, says Delbrück, s. 23, allgemein zugestanden . . . dass Bopp auf dem Gebiet der Lautlehre seinen Nachfolgern am meisten zu thun übrig gelassen hat. Bopp's genius the author sums up as depending upon "das glückliche Apercü" (s. 26) rather than as a result of learning and profound logical judgment.

More interesting is the following chapter, which treats of Bopp's contemporaries and successors to the time of Schleicher, Humboldt, A. W. von Schlegel, Grimm and Pott. A reminder, useful perhaps to non-German scholars, is given in the following allusion (s. 32) to "Grimm's Law" as "Das im Wesentlichen schon von Rask ausgesprochene unter Grimm's Namen gehende sogenannte Gesetz der Lautverschiebung." It is in fact one of the chief virtues of this essay that we are often reminded in it of the work done by men whose names and whose deeds have been obscured by the greater brilliancy of other scholars of the same epoch. Pott the author regards, although admitting that he has been often led aside by fancy, as one who has contributed more than any other to the establishment of sure phonetic laws.

Between the time of Pott's *Etymologische Forschungen* and Schleicher's *Compendium* important additions were made to philological science. In this period the author notes our better acquaintance with Indian literature, also the great help given by the lexicographic labor of Sanskrit scholars, the position which linguists begin to take in reference to phonetic laws, and most important of all, the attempt now made to separate with care the different languages from each other. A long section, some 15 pages, discusses August Schleicher. Passing from the question whether his Hegelian views influenced to any extent his philological opinions Delbrück shows us the main points of difference between the tendency of Schleicher and that of Bopp, and expatiates upon the one point "which best exhibits Schleicher's originality," the reconstructed Indogermanic *Ursprache*. In the *Compendium* Schleicher ascribes to this *Ursprache* an historical reality which in the Chrestomathie is contradicted. This point is treated p. 50 folg. As to the forms of the parent speech the author adds some sensible remarks. Whether we are to accept for this much-fought-over parent tongue the appearance at times claimed for it "lässt sich natürlich nicht bestimmen" (s. 53, s. 56.)

The chapter on *Neue Bestrebungen* is too short (s. 54-61). Worthy of chief consideration the author deems the question proposed by Merguet and answered by those scholars who have laid particular weight on the *Analogiebildung*—

especially Whitney, Scherer, Leskien—as to the possibility of new formations in separate languages when a completed inflection is postulated for the *ursprache*; and, secondly, the famous division of the *a*-sound, begun by Curtius and attacked by Brugman and others. Delbrück, of course, accepts the original *a-e* (â). Finally, among recent discoveries, Osthoff's "r sonant" of the parent speech is regarded as "sehr wahrscheinlich," and Brugman's "Nasalis Sonans" is "nicht minder wichtig." We could have wished this chapter had been more extended, and more discussion given in regard to these points which the author merely notes and leaves.

From this point the historical sketch yields in part to an investigation (s. 61-102) of the Agglutination Theory. It will be scarcely necessary to speak fully on this part; the author's main conclusions are all negative. Dismissing the Evolution Theory, that pronouns are evolved from personal endings, the author takes up Ludwig's Adaptation Theory, which he finds quite as unsatisfactory as the other. According to Ludwig the so-called personal suffixes had originally nothing whatever to do with the pronouns. They were not used to designate person at all, but each suffix and pronoun arose independently. This theory is not so satisfactory as the former, because the strong resemblance of the personal suffixes to the pronouns is not explained by it, and the Vedic diversity of form is not so great as has been asserted by Ludwig. Without this latter support, however, the internal evidence is insufficient. Delbrück roundly charges Ludwig with answering the question, "Whence comes this resemblance of pronoun and personal suffix?" by a mere *Inkompetenzerklärung*, or, in other words, he cannot explain it at all. In consequence the author leaves this theory as unsatisfactory, and reverts to Bopp's hypothesis that the endings arose from the pronouns. Under the three divisions of roots, noun, and verb, a detailed discussion is given. The key is struck in the first section, where, speaking of roots, the author says (s. 75): *Stellt man dennoch Wurzeln der Einzelsprachen auf, so haben diese keinen wissenschaftlichen Werth, sondern nur die Bedeutung praktischer Hilfsconstruktionen.* In regard to the form of roots, some five pages are devoted to the profitless inquiry as to whether dissyllabic roots may have existed alongside of monosyllabic ones. To those who are desirous of exact results as reward for philological labor on such themes we commend this whole chapter, s. 83. There may have been dissyllabic roots existing by the side of monosyllabic roots, *i. e.* we know nothing about it. S. 90, after discussing the views of Curtius, Scherer, Fick, Benfey u. a., in regard to the Stammbildungssuffixe, we arrive at the result: It is a matter of great doubt whether we shall ever succeed in reaching anything more than a probability in this field. S. 91, under Casusbildung: we may assume that case-suffixes were used at first to denote something like our present cases, and contained pronominal elements, or we can believe that stem-forming suffixes developed into case-suffixes, but "the uncertainty is here in all cases so great that after repeated consideration I have arrived at nothing but a *non liquet*." Not much more satisfaction is obtainable from the discussion of the verb which concludes the chapter. S. 99, the inflection has developed not all at once, but gradually; we cannot say however what the period of development was, for the material is not rich enough. This is the author's own confession, when he says in reviewing the whole chapter on agglutination: After a long and wearisome journey we arrived only at a bare *non liquet*, and seldom even at the possibility of



answering the question. The author therefore advises us to renounce this Sprachwissenschaftliche Metaphysik, and confine ourselves to what we can find out, making it our task to determine the fundamental forms (Schleicher's *Grundformen*) and explain from these the special forms.

At the beginning of Chapter VI, on Phonetic Laws, the author appears again as an advocate for justice, and this time in favor of Curtius. It is too often the custom with the younger school of philologists to speak of Curtius as too lax. He was, however, foremost in endeavoring to establish a sure foundation for phonetic laws. Curtius sees, however, not law so much as tendency at work in language. (Those who have heard Curtius lecture need not be reminded of the stress he is fond of laying on the "Sprachneigung.") Three principles, according to Curtius, are factors in forming language: Phonetic law, analogy, and preservation of sounds simply to conserve the sense. To this last point—sound saved by sense—Delbrück cannot agree, but proposes rather the principle of analogy. The first is the great fighting-ground of the younger school, whose shibboleth is: *phonetic laws admit of no exceptions*. Here we must, however, D. remarks, subtract all cases which are the result of analogy, for only after we have done this can we argue on phonetic laws. Even then comes the confession (s. 115): Auf inductivem Wege kann die Ausnahmslosigkeit der Lautgesetze nicht bewiesen werden. Deductively, then? Here we quote the substance of an important paragraph (s. 118), written against the idea that convenience plays an essential part in modifying inherited word-sounds, a theory maintained by Curtius and Whitney. Changes produced by climatic influences being left out of the question as a point too uncertain for argument, although maintained by Osthoff, we have to object against the theory of convenience the following facts: First, instead of asserting that love of ease plays so prominent a part in human society, we can say the opposite, viz. that most men give themselves a great deal of trouble to make their speech correspond to that of their associates (as for instance one who finds it hard to pronounce an *r* or *th*), and further, not only what suits the speaker, but what is pleasing to one's associates, is aimed at by the ordinary speaker. The principle that ease in speaking is the mainspring of phonetic change must, if this be true, be set aside. We find, then, the final cause of phonetic change in a more general theory, viz. that this occurs first in the individual, and not by the community. Such changes, originating, be it from ease, be it from fear of ridicule, be it from any other cause, starting with the individual, are propagated by imitation through whole groups or peoples. Against this lies the counterbalancing tendency to adhere to universal custom. Change in phonetic forms results from these two forces—one individualizes, the other equalizes. Finally, be it one or the other, both processes are made unconsciously. We have here the fundamental principle that underlies the development of one language from one another. Enlarging on this the author comes to two questions, where we can only note that his reply to each is a negation. First, Can it be assumed that change of sound appears in one series of words and not in another? Second, Can it be assumed that the same word-form may develop into different forms? In denying both of these propositions the author agrees with the school of Brugman, Leskien, etc. As an illustration of the latter, an example is quoted from the Greek: *μειζονος* and *μειζους* have not originated in the same dialect from *μειζονος*, but *μειζους* arose from *μειζοος*, whereas the other form is the

result of analogy with the nominative *μειζων*. The counter-opinion, advocated by Curtius, is that *μειζονος* became on the one hand *μειζοσος* (*o*, = nasal vowel), then *μειζοσος*, *μειζσος*; and at last *μειζσος*; on the other hand it became *μειζωνος*, then *μειζονος*. In criticising these theories we can observe that each is possible, neither is proved. The theory here advocated by Delbrück may commend itself to some scholars, as that of Curtius to others. It seems to us that this, like the agglutination theory, results merely in the same "*kahles non liquet*." Without sufficient data we may amuse but never satisfy ourselves.

The last chapter of this work gives us a review of the "separation of the races." It was Schleicher who first gave us the figure of the genealogical tree. Inside of this, as a result of the *Völkertrennungen*, he accepts three main groups: Asiatic, Slavo-Germanic, Greco-Italo-Celtic. Lottner divides into two, Asiatic and European. The latter is characterized by a common *l* in opposition to the Asiatic *r*. To this Curtius added the European *e* opposed to Asiatic *a*. Then comes the renowned "Wave-theory" of Johannes Schmidt, who admits no break between the different members of the Indogermanic family, but only one great continuous chain of mutual intercourse. Italic stands between Greek and Celtic, and Celtic between Italic and Germanic; Germanic, again, unites Celtic and Slavonic, etc. A modification of this theory was advanced by Leskien, who admits it as the first condition of things, but conceives a quickly entering barrier formed by natural state boundaries, which gradually prevented such intercourse and gave rise to special development of each individual element. To this latest modification Delbrück adds the warning given by recent investigation. This strikes at the data on which both the old ramification theory and the modern transition theory of Schmidt are founded. Mutual identity does not prove an original mutual community. Among new formations those elements can alone be adduced which are developed in common. Chief of these is the divided *k*-sound, *e* of European languages, *r* in the Italic middle and passive (as well as in the Celtic). Fick, however, showed that this *k* is an Indogermanic double sound; *e* is, again, also primitive; *r* of the Italic and Celtic may be, too, connected with the Indic endings *re* and *rate*. All, adds Delbrück, that we can say is that there was an original community of Indogermanic languages. It would be well not to attempt to classify them at all, with perhaps the exception of the undisputed group of Indo-Iranian. In other words, it were best to dispense with such terms as Greco-Italo-Celtic, Slavo-Germanic, and the like.

This book has been well translated by E. Channing. On comparison with the original no important deviation can be noticed, and it is high enough praise to say of any translation, as we can say of this, that it reads so smoothly that one would not suspect it was a translation. A judicious choice of words has kept the original sense of technical terms with great fidelity, and where such occur as are particularly difficult to render, the original has often been affixed. Disintegration (p. 103) does not exactly express the sense of *Verwitterung*, and it seems to us that the old *phonetic decay* is preferable. But it is at least more pleasing than the recent attempt of English translators to render this word by the extraordinary compound "weathering-away." In general, however, it were difficult to suggest alterations in the translation. The work has been well and conscientiously done—perhaps only a German scholar could appreciate how well, and how difficult it is to give us good equivalents for the German philological phraseology.

E. W. HOPKINS.

## REPORTS.

RHEINISCHES MUSEUM, XXXV, 4.

1. Pp. 497-513. A. Ludwich. On the Paraphrase of Nonnus. Metrical observations and criticism of the text.

2. Pp. 514-528. H. Gelzer. The Period of Gyges. "Demnach ist es überflüssig die thörichte, noch neuerdings von Cox aufgewärmte Ansicht zu widerlegen, als seien Gyges und seine Gemahlin gar keine historischen Persönlichkeiten, sondern Sonnengottheiten und Naturpotenzen." Both the mythical and the historical elements of the story are discussed,—the latter minutely and in the spirit of reconstruction.

3. Pp. 529-542. H. van Herwerden. Ad Plutarchi Vitas. Continued from XXXV, 3. Corrections proposed for 117 passages.

4. Pp. 543-563. F. Schoell. The Interpolation of Cicero's Speech for Caelius. S. argues that Halm went too far in denying the genuineness of the passages added by a later hand in the Cod. Parisinus, and discusses several passages (§§ 24, 35, 52, 80), attempting to detect the traces of genuine tradition. The method followed seems fully justified; but S. does not and could not claim precise certainty in the results reached. He admits the partial interpolation of the passages in question, and continues: "Nur hat man ganz Aehnliches und Gleiches, wie das Beanstandete bisher bestehen lassen, hat die einmal festgestellte Thatsache der Interpolation nicht consequent verfolgt und ausgebeutet." S. attempts this neglected duty. In reporting his views, as the interesting nature of the subject makes it desirable to do fully, it is generally impossible to report or to attack his arguments; and in the reader's interest the order of the oration rather than of Schoell's discussion is followed. In 3 he writes *habitam esse hodieque haberi*, striking out *summam*. In 4 he strikes out *ista*. In 5, *si nituntur iudicio suorum*. In 6 the words *ut ad me revertar* are condemned, —unnecessarily. In 7 he rejects *maledicendi* (hunc m. locum). In 8, *qualis es talem te existiment* and *at non sine argumento*, writing *sine ulla suspitione*. In 9 he writes *nemo M. Caelium*, striking out *hunc*. In 10 he proposes *studuerunt, mecum existimetur*. In 18 he strikes out *quod quidem iam in hac aetate minime reprehendendum est*, and further on *migrationemque*. In 21 he writes *gloriosum etiam esse*, striking out *hoc*. In 22 he strikes out *facillime fingi*. In 23 he writes *et si Asicio plus profuit*, striking out *causa*. In 26 he rejects *non me haec movent* and then writes *etenim una cenasse*, omitting *eos*. In 30 he writes *ut oportet respondere*, omitting *ita*, and further on casts out *aurum sumptum a Clodia, venenum quaesitum quod Clodiae daretur, dicitur* and *non crimina sed maledicta*. In 31 the Wolfenbüttel MS has *paravit quam* locum,—the *quam* not appearing in other MSS. S. remarks that *paravit* needs an object and suggests *paravit opem*. In 35 he writes *ut verear*, omitting *et*. In 36 he writes *ex tuis igitur sumam aliquem*,

and further on *fuisti non numquam eius domi, in hortis*. In 37 he writes *vix ferendi*. At the end of 45 he proposes to read *quod nos facimus non modo agendo dicendoque, verum*, with a hint that perhaps the *dicendoque* is an interpolation. In 48 he condemns *ego rem definiam*. In 49, *sese in meretricia vita conlocavit* and *aquis, navigatione, conviviis*. At the end of 50 S. cuts off everything after *impudentia*, holding the words to be of the nature of marginal explanation, with the possible exception of *et huic*, which may be a corruption of a genuine word. In 54 the words *neque neglexisset* are condemned. S. supports his attack by calling attention to the following *neglegere potuisset* and *neglegeret*. At suo gladio se iugulat. Cicero recurs three times with cumulative force and with evident intent to the argument of the original *neglexisset*, just as he recurs twice (*leniter ferret—dissimulandum putaret*) to the *tulisset* which follows *neglexisset*. In 57 he casts out *quibus omnia committantur—qui versentur isdem in voluptatibus—per quos gerantur*. I have little hesitation in admitting the fact of interpolation here, much more in accepting his metes and bounds. Possibly the words to be rejected are *quibus occulta credantur* and nothing more. In 71 S. writes *Veltiano stupro*, omitting *nefario*. In 77 he rejects *bonorum virorum*. In 78 he writes *cum suo coniuge et turpissimum*, striking out *fratre*. He finds in the *fratre si* of the Wolfenbüttel MS a corruption of an old marginal note, *fratre sc.*

5. Pp. 564–568. P. Egenolff. In *Herodianum Technicum critica*. A collation of a manuscript at Copenhagen, showing the need that still exists for an accurate edition of Herodian.

6. Pp. 569–577. H. Hagen. On a new Epigram with the heading *Octaviani Augusti*. The epigram is in a manuscript of the tenth century at Berne, which contains the text of Priscian and a variety of extracts from various sources, many of them written in *notae Tironianae*. Hagen gives a facsimile of the epigram and deciphers it as follows:

Octaviani Augusti.  
Convivae, tetricas hodie secludite Curas :  
Ne maculent niveum nubila corda diem.  
Omnia sollicitae vertantur murmura mentis,  
Ut vacet indomitum pectus amicitiae.  
Non semper gaudere licet. Fugit hora; iocemur !  
Difficile est Fatis subripuisse diem.

A considerable commentary follows, in which every syllable is discussed in an effort to prove that the lines are in the manner of the Augustan age and fit the character of the man whose names (not his name) are found with the epigram. A note of the editor offers the reader a warning against too ready credulity.

7. Pp. 578–585. L. Ahrens. The Inscription from Olympia, No. 362. This inscription has been published and explained by Kirchhoff in the *Archaeologische Zeitung*. Many readers will doubtless be glad to see it in the form which Ahrens gives it. It reads:

Ἄ Εφάτρα τοῖς Φαλείους. πατριὰν θαρρῆν καὶ γενεὰν καὶ ταῖντῶ, | αἱ ζή τις κατα-  
ραύσειε Φάρρενον Φαλείω. αἱ ζὲ μῆπιθειαν τὰ ζῖ | καὶ ὅρ μέγιστον τέλος ἔχει καὶ  
τοὶ βασιλᾶες, ζέκα μναῖς κα | ἀποτίνοιαν Φέκαστος τῶν μῆπιποθέντων καθυταῖς τοῖ Ζῖ

Ὀλυν | πίοι. ἐπένποι ζέ κ' Ἑλλανοζίκας, καὶ τάλλα ζίκαια ἐπενπ | ἔτω ἃ ζαμιωργία.  
αἱ ζέ μῆνποι, ζίφνιον ἀποτινέτω ἐν μαστρά | αι. αἱ ζ(έ) τις τὸν αἰτιαθέντα ζικαῶν  
ἱμάσκοι, ἐν ταῖ ζεκαμναίαι κ' ἐ | νέχο(ε)το, αἱ Φειζῶς ἱμάσκοι. καὶ πατριᾶς ὁ γροφεὺς  
ταῖτά κα πάσκοι. | (ἀκ)ιν(η)τὶ κ' ἐο(ε) ὁ (π)ναξ ἱαρὸς Ὀλυνπία.

In the form ἐπένποι Kirchhoff sees an equivalent of ἐκπέμποι, Ahrens of ἐφέποι.

8. Pp. 586-606. C. Paucker. De Latinitate Claudiani Poetae Observationes. Statistical remarks on peculiarities of vocabulary, formations and meanings of words, syntax.

9. Pp. 607-609. A. Philippi. The Battle of Arginusae and the Decree of Kannonos. A very plausible argument to prove that the words κατὰ τὸ Καννοῦ ἔψηγμα in Xen. Hell. I 7, 34 are interpolated.

10. Pp. 610-626. W. Ribbeck. Homeric Miscellany. Discussion of μάχης ἐπ' ἀριστερά and of the ναύσταθμος, with not a little polemic irony directed at Naber's theories about the growth of the Iliad.

11. Pp. 627-630. F. Bücheler. Old Latin. Two brief chapters,—the first treating an inscription recently found near Spoleto (Spoletium), which we copy: *honce loucom nequs violatod neque exvehito neque exferito quod louci siet, neque cedito nesei quo die res deina anua fiet; eod die quod rei dinai causa (f)iat, sine dolo cedre (l)icetod. Seiquis violasit, Iove bovid piaculum datod; seiquis scies violasit dolo malo, Iovei bovid piaculum datod et a. CCC moltai suntod. eius piacli moltaique dicator[ei] exactio est[od].* This inscription B. refers to the period preceding the Second Punic War. He quotes the explanation of *δικάτωρ* from Hesychius, and finds it so confirmed by the evidence of this stone as to leave no doubt that *dicator* is a good Latin equivalent of *dictator*. The *res dina* of the inscription supports the reading of the Cod. Vetus in Plaut. Epid. 314, where B. writes: *dum rem dinam faceret, (quae) cantaret sibi.* The second chapter treats the word *sedulo*, of which queer etymologies are more or less current. It is, like *obviam*, *denuo*, simply two words in one,—*se dolo*=sine dolo. From the adverb thus formed sprang up, by a familiar process, the adjective *sedulus* and its further derivatives, not found earlier than Cicero.

12. Pp. 631-640. Miscellany. N. Wecklein reads μάχης in O 459 and rejects 460—doubtless right. His change in Π 128—*ἔλῃσι* for *ἔλωσι*—seems over-acute. He remarks: "If the ships burn up, the Trojans cannot get possession of them." Very true; but if the Trojans get possession of the ships, they can spread the fire.

F. Bücheler recurs to the inscription from Olympia copied above, and calls attention to its importance in illustrating the conflict between law and ancient custom. The riddle about the meaning of ἐπένποι, etc., is surely solved when B. points out the phonetic equivalence of *ἐνπει* and Latin *inquit*. He compares *conquere* and refers to the various senses of *pulare*, *legere*. But in this case he translates ἐπένποι by *indictet multam*.

A. Stachelscheid gives the marginal notes in Bentley's copy of Gellius.

J. Klein treats of P. Rubrius Barbarus, Praefect in Africa under Augustus; of Sulla Cerialis, one of the victims of Heliogabalus; and of L. Tutilius Pon-

tianus Gentianus, a favorite of Faustina—all with the aid of materials furnished by the inscriptions.

F. Schöll replies to a critic of his notes on Quintilian (R. M. XXXIV 84 ff.)

J. Freudenthal adds a few words to his discussion of Phavorinus (R. M. XXXV 408 ff.)

J. Steup calls attention very neatly to several loose joints in the armor of Wilamowitz.

XXXVI, 1.

1. Pp. 1-10. B. Schmidt. Tribute to the fame of Boges on an Attic Hermes. The epigram upon Kimon's victory at the Strymon, which was graven upon these Hermae in the Agora at Athens, is quoted both by Aeschines (in Ctes. 184) and by Plutarch (Vita Cim. 7), the text given by the manuscripts of Plutarch being in the main decidedly nearer the original. S. points out that Plutarch can hardly have borrowed the epigram from Aeschines, that the epigram, in fact, does not really belong to the text of Aeschines. He thinks it probable that Plutarch borrowed directly from some compiler of historical documents, most likely Krateros, and that we have in the text of Aeschines a modified interpolation from the same source. But the word *πρώτοι* in v. 4 of the epigram is puzzling. Of course the form upon the actual stone would have been ΠΠΟΤΟΙ. This S. interprets as dative singular *πρώτῳ*, and understands it to refer to Boges, whose story, told by Herod. VII 107, must have been in the mouths of all Athenians at the time when these Hermae were set up. The neat and satisfactory character of this explanation can hardly be denied.

2. Pp. 11-25. F. Ruehl. On the Codex Laurentianus, 53, 35, with additional matter touching the most recent investigations on Cicero's Letters. A letter from Florence, giving a mass of palaeographic detail about the handwriting of Petrarch and the much-discussed manuscripts of Cicero's Letters.

3. Pp. 26-37. W. Christ. Notes on Homer. C. defends the combination of subjunctive and optative in T 54, 55, by citing the similar expression in a closely similar situation at A 386. In the latter passage the subjunctive is necessary to the metre. C. refers also to X 42, μ 345, ρ 539. But X 42 is hardly a parallel passage, and perhaps Aristarchus is not so very much to blame for writing *ἔδοιεν* there. Of course we have all been told he did not know much Greek; but then, he did know some. C. then gives nearly a page to E 338, reaching the conclusion: "So lange daher niemandem etwas besseres einfällt, wird man bei der Vermuthung Heyne's [*i. e.* to regard *πέπλον* as neuter and write *δ' οἱ*] stehen bleiben müssen, wenn man auch Bedenken trägt dieselbe geradezu in den Text aufzunehmen." δ 692, C. gives good reasons for doubting the optative *φιλοίη*, proposes to read *φιλείη*, defends the latter as a good subjunctive form at length and very satisfactorily. The optative *ἐπιβρίσειαν*, ω 344, is troublesome; and C. proposes to help the matter by treating the words *ἐνθα . . . ἑασιν* in 343 as parenthetical. The change of the tense is paralleled in κ 349. The form *εἰοικνῖαι*, Σ 418, C. declares to be a monstrosity. He writes *νεήρισσιν* *φευκνῖαι*. In ψ 517 he points out that *δς τε* and not *δς βα* is wanted—*δς τε ἀνακτα*. In I 455 he regards *οἶσιν* as a possessive of the first person. E 293, he writes *ἐξέλυθεν*; Δ 706, *διεῖλομεν* for *διείπομεν*.

4. Pp. 38-49. J. Asbach. The Chronology of Pliny's Letters.

5. Pp. 50-86. G. F. Unger. The Lupercalia. Four topics: (1) The names of the priestly fellowships, the Quinctiliani and Fabiani. Unger concludes that resemblance of sound in the names to *quinquare* (= *lustrare*) and *februare* led to the choice of the Quinctilii and the Fabii as the most suitable patricians for headship in these early priesthoods. (2) Evidence of change in the significance of the worship during the third century before Christ. This change came from the belief which grew up in the efficacy of the ceremonies in preventing the barrenness of women. Earlier the only purpose had been to ensure the strength of the Palatine fortifications against invasion. (3) The names of the divinity worshipped. U. refers the name Lupercus to *lua*, *lues*, and *parco*, and explains it as *averruncus luis* or *luae*. Lupercus has been generally identified with Faunus. U. argues against this, maintains that in early times the real name was a matter of mystery. (4) Concluding that this real name was Inuus, U. discusses the Etruscan divinity Inuus at length, holding him in his turn to be Juppiter, the god of the sky, appearing under a special name and with special attributes.

6. Pp. 87-115. Th. Bergk. On Aristotle's account of the Athenian Constitution. Blass has recently published (Hermes XV) some fragments, found on tattered bits of Egyptian papyrus, which he ascribes to Theopompus. Bergk makes it exceedingly probable that Aristotle is the real author—that the fragments belong to the *πολιτεία Ἀθηναίων*. The most important fragment throws some light on the state of parties at Athens before the legislation of Solon. Another relates to the institution of ostracism, and confirms the tradition that Kleisthenes fell a victim to his own innovation.

7. Pp. 116-119. O. Ribbeck. New Readings. "Da man nicht wissen kann, wann entweder die von Ritschl eingesetzten tres viri oder der Strassburger Thensauochrysonococrypsides zu der Bearbeitung des Miles gloriosus kommen werden, . . . so will ich einige Mittheilungen über neue Palimpsestlesungen, welche ich der Freundlichkeit G. Löwe's verdanke, nicht länger zurückhalten." The Ambrosianus has in 683 ESSEE (or T) ME (or I) IDMULTOLEPIDI-USEST, and after *bona uxor* in 684 LUDUSDURUSTSISITUSQUAM, and in 685 EAPOSSITINUENIRI. R. writes: *liberum esse me, id multo lepidius*, and *nam bona uxor ludus durust, si sit usquam gentium, ubi ea possit inveniri*. In 686 A. has *eme, mi vir*, but leaves out *tibi*. In 689 the palimpsest has Fleckeisen's *e somno*, in 690 Ritschl's *munerem*, in 692 Scaliger's *praecantrics*, in 697 *quae supercilio opicit*. In 708 A. has *hi apud me aderunt, me curabunt, visent quid agam, quid velim*. Ribbeck thinks, if this be genuine, *si* must stand at the beginning of the verse. In 712 there is a *me* after *abducunt*; in 715 there is a *me* before *certatim* (so Bugge). In 716, A. has TUAMUITAMABES. R. writes: *tuam vitam vales*. In 720, A. has *si ei forte fuisset*; in 721, *aut de equo uspiam*; in 722, DE (or I) FREGISSET; in 724, *usui est* (so Ritschl's conjecture); in 737 and 738 *iam* is omitted. In 740, stands *quantum sumptum*, and R. writes *quantum sumptuum fuerit*. In 745, *serviendae servituti*. In 747 *si illis aegrest* (so Camerarius); then MIHIEO (or ID) QUOD (R. *mi id quod*); then *meo remigio rem gerunt*. In 748, apparently *odios*. In 791, *ex matronarum*. The close of 793 R. had already assigned to Pleusicles. This he finds con-

firmed by the new reading of 794: ATSCIETISPOSTEAECQUA, i. e., *at scietis post eae ecqua*. In 797, A. has *quasique*, and *hoc* instead of *hunc*. In 800, two letters stand before *dabo*. R. writes *ego rectis meis* (sc. manibus) *ei dabo*. After 1401, A. has a verse beginning with AG. R. conjectures this may have been an address to the Iorarii. Ritschl's note on 1406-8 is a mistake.

8. Pp. 120-126. E. Meyer. Original sources for the war of Antiochus the Great with the Romans. An argument in support of Nissen's view (against Mommsen) that Appian is substantially dependent upon Polybius, and that Polybius got his account from Greek sources (mainly Rhodian). Livy owes much to Polybius, but shows something of the influence of Roman annalists.

9. Pp. 127-130. F. v. Duhn. The harbor of Pompeii. A portrait-bust, a gold chain, two bracelets, a ring, a lamp, a drinking cup, were found all together a few years ago near Pompeii, and passed into the hands of a resident of Naples. In the wall by which these objects were found was a marble tablet bearing the inscription SEX. POMPEIVS SEX. L. RVMA NEPTVNO. V. S. L. Evidently a sailor had here paid a vow made while at sea to Neptune. This inscription, then, closely fixes the position of the (or a) temple of Neptune. But Neptune's temple must have been close to the water. And the place of this inscription (near the "Molini") confirms Ruggiero's view of the ancient coast-line. This is plausible, but hardly conclusive.

10. Pp. 131-160. Miscellanies. P. Cauer proposes to read, β 203, οὐδ' ἀποτίσαι. For the construction he compares, among other passages, φ 565.

W. Ribbeck continues from XXXV 469 his notes on the scholia to the Iliad.

N. Wecklein gives critical notes on several Greek authors. Aesch. Sept. 326-332 and 338-344 he proposes should change places, and in like manner 835-839 and 843-847. For 385 he proposes ὁμφάκων τρυγερὰν ὀρόσον, an attractive conjecture at first sight, though it may well be doubted whether this gives what must have been the Aeschylean word-play in ἀρτιόρροπος ὠμοδρόπων. W. remarks that the first stasimon is capable of a natural division into twelve parts, perhaps divided among the twelve choreutae. Sept. 282, he proposes ἐγὼ δ' ἐπάρχους ἐξ. 480, μηδέ μοι λήρων φθόνηι. 482, τοῖσι δὲ ὄντομεῖν. Several emendations of the scholia on the Septem follow: 310, τῆς ὑγρασίας δεσπότης. 398, τὰ ἐπίσημα οὐδὲ δπλα, and φέρων αὐτὰ γένοιτο γενναῖος. 457, Ἐτεκλῶ ἐξέθορον ἐκλήρος. 692, παρορμᾷ εἰς τὸ κτανεῖν τοὺς ἀνδρας. 727, ταῦτα κτανεῖν κατὰ τῶν παιδων. Soph. O. T. 896, τί δέι με θυοσκεῖν,—comparing the gloss of the Cod. Laur. with Hesych. on θυοσκεῖν. In both places the words are disordered. W. conjectures that the marginal explanation in the Cod. Laur. was originally ἱεροῖς πονεῖν ἢ τοῖς θεοῖς χορεύειν; the words of Hesych.: θυοσκεῖν ἱερὰ παρέχεσθαι ἢ θεοῖς χορεύειν. The combination seems doubtful at the best; nor can I feel that the objections to χορεύειν in the text of Sophocles are weighty. Ai. 179, W. proposes χαλκοθύραξ λήσστιν Ἐννάλιος; 919, φλεβὸς μελανθέν. Tr. 328, κακὴ μὲν αὐτῆς; 1018-1021, μείζον ἂν εἴη ἢ δὲ ἐμοῦ σωκεῖν· σὺ δὲ σύλλαβε· σοί τε γὰρ ὅμα ἐμπλεον—ο—ο—ο—ψάτω. Frag. 761 (Dind.), κοπὶς ταχεῖ ἐθήχθη καὶ ταχεῖ ἄμβλινεται. Eur. Hipp. 1148, ποὶ τὸν τάλαν' ἐκ πατρίας γὰς. Iph. A. 213, ἐκόνει; 251, πτερωτοῖσιν ἀρματήλατον; 674, αἰσιον σκοπεῖν. Cyc. 505, σκάφος ὀλκάδος γεμισθείς. Frag. 773, τί ποτε τοῦδ' ἐπαίτιον; 899, βάρβαρος μύθων.



Lysias XII 88, τῆς παρ' αὐτῶν τιμωρίας; XIII 36, the words ἐν ψ . . . ἐδύνασθε are stricken out. In 90 W. writes οὐδένα γὰρ ὀρκυν οἱ ἐν Πειραιεὶ τοῖς ἐν Πειραιεὶ οὐδ' οἱ ἐν ἄστει τοῖς ἐν ἄστει ὤμωσαν. XXV 5, W. thinks the clause ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἀδικούντας τιμωρεῖσθαι cannot have been written by Lysias, since punishment of the Thirty is out of the question, but may have been added by the client who delivered the speech. Was it, then, this client who revised the speech for publication? 22, W. writes: τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δεδύτας. In 27, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις περὶ ὁμοιοῖας. Plat. Lach. 189 C, striking out δὲ before μεταξὺ,—καὶ αὐτὸς ἂν ἀκούσω, ἐὰν μεταξὺ ἄλλοι λόγοι γένηνται, οὐ πᾶν μέμνημαι,—a very neat and convincing correction. Apol. 21 D, τῶν δοκούντων σοφωτέρων εἶναι,—striking out ἐκείνων. 27 E, ὡς οὐ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν καὶ δαίμονια καὶ θεῖα καὶ δαίμονας καὶ θεοὺς ἡγείσθαι καὶ αὐτοῦ αὐτοῦ μήτε δαίμονια μήτε θεῖα μήτε δαίμονας μήτε θεοὺς, οὐδεμία μηχανὴ ἐστὶν,—a thoroughly good sense with changes which are, under all the circumstances, not violent enough to excite a scruple.

W. Dittenberger calls attention to a long-known Attic inscription (Boeckh, Opusc. VI 6, 386) with the name Μασαννάσα.

K. K. Müller gives critical notes on a Heidelberg MS. containing excerpts under the name of Planudes.

A. Viertel explains the mistake of Flavius Blondus in thinking that Petrarch was not acquainted with Cicero's letters to Atticus.

A. Duncker reports the discovery of a fragment of a manuscript of Cicero de Officiis in the binding of an old book at Cassel.

K. J. Neumann shows that Minucius Felix, in his Octavius 7-10, borrowed from the lost argument of Cotta in Cic. de Nat. Deorum III. The place from which the extract was taken followed III 65.

A. Stachelscheid sends from London Bentley's emendations to Marcianus Capella.

J. W. Förster puts in tabular form the results of searching the inscriptions for the age of Roman soldiers on entering the service. He finds one or more at every age from 13 to 37, one at 46 and one at 47. The whole number of cases is 600. Of these about one-half entered between the ages of 18 and 21, about a quarter at the age of 20.

J. H. WHEELER.

#### MNEMOSYNE, Vol. IX, Part 4.

All the matter in this part is contributed by Cobet, except an article of some twenty pages by Herwerden on Isaeus. The first paper (pp. 361-369) contains remarks and emendations on Hesychius. One of the earliest of these is on the following: *θριπτόβρωτος*: οἱ Λάκωνες σφραγίσιν ἐχρῶντο ξύλοις ἐπὶ σιγῶν βεβρωμένοις. On this Cobet remarks that the word to be explained has evidently fallen out; and this must have been *θριπτόδεστος*. 'Veteres dicebant *ἐδομαι* (κατεδόμαι), *ἐδόδοκα*, *ἐδόδεσμαι* (κατεδόδεσμαι), *ἡδέσθην* (κατηδέσθην), *ἐδεσμα*, *ἐδεσὰ καὶ ποτά*, *ἐδώδιμος*. Haec omnia apud Graeculos in desuetudinem abiierunt proque iis dici coepta *βρώσομαι*, *βέβρωκα*, *βέβρωμαι*, *ἐβρώην*, *βρώμα*, *βρωτὰ καὶ ποτά*, *βρώσιμος*, quorum pars apud Veteres in usu fuit, sed rariore et fere poetico. Sic igitur ὁ ἐπὶ *θριπῶν κατεδόδεσμένος* a Veteribus dicebatur *θριπτόδεστος*, a Graeculis *θριπτόβρωτος*.' After illustrating further the use of these

forms he says: 'sed in futuri forma vehementer Graeculi peccant. Promus interiit *ἐδομαι, κατέδομαι*, proque eo Favorinus *βρώσομαι* dixit, et faex Graeculorum et barbari Graece balbutientes in Aegypto et Palaestina *φάγομαι* constanter usurpant. Reprehendit haec omnia Phrynichus in Bekk. *Anecd.* p. 37, 30: *ἔδει—ἐδονται: οἱ μὲν ἀμαθεῖς φάγει λέγουσιν ἐπὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος. Ὁ δὲ φαβρωτός—τῷ βρώσομαι ἐπὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐχρήσατο.* In Vetere ac Novo Testamento constanter *φάγομαι* scribitur et in secunda persona etiam vitiosius *φάγεσαι*.' Two or three other specimens of these notes may be given: '*ἀμακίς: ἀπαξ. Κρήτες. Scrib. ἀμάκις* ex antiquo et obsoleto *ἀμός* pro *εἰς*, cuius certa impressa vestigia sunt in *οὔδαμοί, μηδαμοί* Ionice pro *οὔδενες, μηδένες*, et *οὔδαμνός* id est *οὔδενός* *ἄξιος*, ut *οὔτιδανός* ex *οὔτις*, quod constanter pro *οὔδεῖς* in epica poesi ponitur. Item in permultis adverbis veluti in *ἀμῶς γέ πως* id est *ἐνὶ γέ τῳ τρόπῳ*, et *οὔδαμῶς* nullo modo, nullo facto.' '*ἀφῶν τιμή*: τὸ ἐλαιον, ἐπεὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἔφονται. Saepè miraberis apud Hesychium absurdas interpretationes, quae nec coelum, ut aiunt, nec terram tangunt. Habes h. l. luculentum exemplum. Respicit Grammaticus (Didymus) locum Aristophanis ex *Acharn.* 939 :

εἰ δέ τις ὑμᾶς ὑποθωπεύσας λιπαρὰς καλέσειεν Ἀθήνας,  
εὔρετο πᾶν ἂν διὰ τὰς λιπαρὰς ἀφῶν τιμὴν περιάνψας.

Sententia perspicua est: *qui Athenas appellat λιπαρὰς (nitidas et pingues) cum honorem vobis tribuit quae aruarum esse solet, nempe quae ob pinguedinem laudantur.* Quid autem Didymus facias, qui serio annotavit ἀφῶν τιμὴν esse *oleum*, quod et ipsum absurdum est et salsum Aristophanis dictum *ἀδυσκόπον* reddit? Sed festinanter talia *ἡ βιβλιοθήκη* in *chaotum* coniecitbat.

In the next article (pp. 380–399) Herwerden offers notes and emendations on some 120 passages in Isaeus. Most of these are interesting; but few can be made available for this report. On VII 38 οὐκ ἐκ συμμορίας τὴν ναῦν ποιησάμενος ὥσπερ οἱ νῦν he writes: 'coniecit Naberus *πορισάμενος*, quae correctio, quantumvis lenis, neutiquam admittenda esse videtur, siquidem trierarchi non magis naves *πορίζονται* quam *ποιούνται*. Civium est *παρασκευάζειν* sive *παρασκευάζεσθαι τὴν τριήρη* sive *εὐτρεπίζειν*. Vide v. c. Dem. p. 1228, 5. Nisi fallor tota haec periodus sih est emendanda: *καὶ τριηραρχῶν τὸν πάντα χρόνον διετέλεσεν οὐκ ἐκ συμμορίας τὴν ναῦν παρασκευαζόμενος* (aoristo locus non est ob verba τὸν πάντα χρόνον διετ.) ὥσπερ οἱ νῦν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ δαπανῶν, οὐδὲ δεύτερος αὐτὸς ὢν ἀλλὰ κατὰ μόνας οὐδὲ δὴ' ἐτη διαλιπὼν ἀλλὰ συνεχῶς, οὐδ' ἀφοσιούμενος ἀλλ' ὥς οἷόν τ' ἄριστα [*παρασκευαζόμενος*]. Participium quod suo loco restitui olim inde motum erat ad explicanda verba ὥς οἷόν τ' ἄριστα, quo facto nescio quis in antiquitate Attica plane hospes pessime supplevit *ποιησάμενος*. Locus sic constitutus vide quam sit egregie compositus. In tribus ultimis membris identidem participium et adverbium sibi respondent: *δευτερος ὢν—κατὰ μόνας, διαλιπὼν—συνεχῶς, ἀφοσιούμενος—ἄριστα*. Quot veneribus nos privavit *inscita* magistrorum sedulitas!' On VIII 24, οὐ μὴ εἰσεῖ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν he writes: 'bene sic correctum est pro οὐ μὴ εἰσῆς τὴν οἰκίαν, sed post οἰκίαν requiritur signum interrogandi; quae notissima est *vetandi* ratio. Alia est ratio vocularum οὐ μὴ seq. Coni. aut Fut. sine interrogatione, quibus aliquid fore *vehementer negatur*.' On IX 24, λέγων ὅτι θεῖος εἴη Ἀστυφίλῳ καὶ ἀποφανοίῃ διαθήκας [ἐκείνον καταλελοιπότες] εἰ τις αὐτῷ [l. αὐτῶ] *κοινώσοιτο*, he writes: 'licet grammaticae non adver-

setur locutio ἀποφαίνω τινὰ διαθήκας καταλειπούσα, multum tamen dubito vocabula ἐκεῖνον καταλειπούσα esse ipsius oratoris, siquidem constans est iuris Attici formula ἀποφαίνειν διαθήκας, ut infra § 25, ubi eadem repetuntur, utramque vocem omissam videbis—De pronomine αὐτῷ ab eiusmodi locis alieno rectissime statuit Naberus. Addam in talibus Atticis optionem esse inter οὐ, οἱ, ἐ, σὺν, σφίσι, σφᾶς et αὐτοῦ, cett. Antiquiores fere, ut Thucydides, illam, paullo recentiores hanc sequi assolent, Isaeus semper.'

The next article (pp. 400-440) is by Cobet, and is entitled 'Annotationes ad Livium.' The purpose of it is to controvert the opinion of Mommsen on two points. The first is that Perseus (Röm. Gesch. I<sup>8</sup>, p. 753; Eng. Tr. II, p. 340) "inherited along with the kingdom the troubles, resentments, and hopes of his father. In fact he entered with the utmost determination on the continuance of his father's work, and prepared more zealously than ever for war against Rome: he was stimulated moreover by the reflection that he was by no means indebted to the good will of the Romans for his wearing the diadem of Macedonia." Cobet endeavors to show on the contrary that the war was forced by the Romans on Perseus. To decide this point he says 'ante omnia de testium fide et auctoritate constare debet. Quatuor esse putantur Polybius, Livius, Diodorus Siculus, et Appianus in *Macedonicis*, sed sunt duo tantum; namque Livius totus a Polybio pendet et Diodorus nil nisi incredibili impudentia Polybiana descripsit. Quis sit ille testis optimus et veracissimus et rerum gestarum aequalis et παρηγουσῆς, qui in Appiano libro lateat, deprehendisse mihi videor et infra ostendere conabor.' Cobet sums up extracts from Livy and Polybius with 'quibus si credimus Romani de bello Macedonico ne cogitabant quidem antequam Eumenes in curia crimina de Perseo detulit.' He then quotes from Appian, *Maced.* IX 'ante adventum Eumenis οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ταχέως ἀναβόμενοι τὸν Περσέα ὑπερωρῶντο καὶ μάλιστα αὐτοὺς ἠρέθιζεν ἡ τῶν Ἑλλήνων φιλία καὶ γειτνιάσις, οἷς ἔχθος ἐς Ῥωμαίων ἐνεπεποιήκεσαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι στρατηγοὶ κτ᾽'; and after a long exposition of this text he continues: 'quum diligenter mecum quaererem quis Romanorum fuisset tam audax ut scriberet' the above passage, 'venit in mentem Catonis. Immodice libera videtur lingua eius qui dicat: *Romanis tam cito crescentes Persei opes suspectas fuisse et male urere Romanos quod Perseus Graecorum amicitia floreret et magistratuum Romanorum iniurias ingens in animis Graecorum peperisse Romanorum odium.*'

In the next 22 pages Cobet collects the passages bearing on the origin and course of the third Macedonian war, and endeavors in several to show that Appian relies upon the elder Cato as his authority. The second point on which Cobet corrects Mommsen is (R. G. I<sup>8</sup>, p. 770; E. T. II, p. 360) the statement in Polybius and Livy (44, 13) *de tractatis inter Eumenem et Persea conditionibus amicitiae*, which Mommsen declares 'was as certainly a fable as any newspaper *canard* of the present day'; saying further 'that no proof was found either in the papers of Perseus or elsewhere is sufficiently certain.' Against the last statement Cobet quotes Diod. Sic. XXXI 7, 2 ὑπόπτως εἶχον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ πρὸς τὸν Εὐμένην ἔνεκεν τῶν γραμμάτων τῶν εἰρημένων ἐν οἷς συμμαχίαν ἦν συνθεσμενὸς πρὸς Περσέα κατὰ Ῥωμαίων.' Cobet shows that the change in the feelings of the Romans towards Eumenes after the fall of Perseus which Mommsen attributes to a determination 'to render all the Hellenic states, friend and foe, forever incapable of harm,' is better explained by assuming

that the reports about the bad faith of Eumenes, which Mommsen admits were current, were also true; and as to the unlikelihood of the astute Eumenes engaging in any negotiations with the enemy of Rome, he says: 'magis mirandum est quo pacto ὁ πανουργότατος βασιλεὺς, tam cautus, tam perspicax quam callidus et astutus non providerit id fore quod factum est. Scilicet conversa repente est fortuna belli. Omnia propemodum μέχρι τῆς Πάβλου στρατηγίας Romanis adversa fuerunt, et difficillimi belli taedio, ut vidimus, ad pacem componendam inclinati erant animi. Eumenes operam suam venditat Perseo Romanis aut faventibus aut certe non improbantibus. Itaque securus per occulta colloquia et legationes id quod susceperat aggressus est. Sed ubi Pauli virtute repente debellatum est, Romani in pacis conciliatorem Eumenem eodem animo fuerunt quo in Rhodios eadem conatos.'

Cobet then (pp. 441-444) comments on the interpretations of an 'antiquissima inscriptio nuper Romae reperta' furnished by Dressel and H. Jordan. The letters COSMIS occur. 'Quid est COSMIS? Bücheler respondet COMES: Jordan contra COMIS esse putat' and connects it with κόσμος. 'Fugit subtilissimi ingenii virum non *comis* et κόσμος, sed *comis* et κῶμος esse inter se cognatissima. Nempe ἀνὴρ κόσμος (ordentlich) plus gravitatis habet quam comitatis. Contra κῶμος (κωμάζειν, κωμαστής) ad amussim cum Latino *comis* congruit. Οἱ κωμάζοντες inter se optime volunt, sunt *humani, benigni, hilares*, et quia in lautis epulis sumtui non parcitur, iidem *splendidi* sunt et *prodigi*. Res est, ut vides, manifesta. Derides, inquires. Fortasse, sed tam facile est ista imitari.' After more criticism in the same vein Cobet says: 'non premam denique suspicionem, quae mihi diligenter haec omnia consideranti subnata est. Saepius in Italia et nonnumquam etiam extra Italiam factum est ut inscriptiones circumferrentur spuriae aut per iocum aut ab impostoribus fictae. Ante hos paucos annos in patria nostra scurra nescio quis protulit inscriptionem litteris Runicis conceptam, cuius prima verba erant OBA et RONIE aut RONJE. Quis nostratum non meminit ridens quantum ineptiarum illa inscriptio pepererit, donec tandem KERN noster sollertissime fraudem deprehendit? Idem nunc Romae factum esse suspicor. Commentus est id scurra aliquis ut homines pereruditos sed non admodum acutos ludificaretur. Νᾶφε καὶ μέμνας ἀπιστεῖν!'<sup>1</sup>

The last article (pp. 445-448), as well as parts of previous pages otherwise unoccupied, contain notes by Cobet on various passages of Galen. There is also supplied an index to this ninth volume.

C. D. MORRIS.

ARCHAEOLOGISCHE ZEITUNG. Jahrgang XXXIX. 1881. Four Numbers.

I. The first number opens with an article by O. Benndorf on some technical points in the manufacture of Greek vases. A theory held by Jahn, Semper and Blümner is criticized in the light of observations made at the British Museum by the writer. His view is that in the older vase manufacture the process was not simply to cover the original clay with black and then to produce outline drawings in red by discovering the color of the clay, but that after these *graffiti* were thus made their lines were filled with a white pigment, which seems to be the same used, especially for the naked portions of female figures, as an

<sup>1</sup> See Amer. Jour. Phil., III, p. 107.

*engobe*. Of this white filling very extensive traces are noticeable in the collection at the British Museum. *Graffiti* pure and simple seem to occur only in coarse and careless work; the better vases have all a white or a light yellow filling. In some cases even a dark red filling is noticeable. Traces of the gradual disappearance of this the writer sees in the scratched outline around the (black) hair of the later figures in dark red. This outline it seems was long filled with red according to the technical traditions of the older style, but finally in the perfected style no incision was made—a hair's-breadth of the plain red surface was left instead.

Next Gustav Krüger discusses a bust said to represent Euripides, which is among the comparatively recent acquisitions of the British Museum. He agrees with Mr. Newton in considering it an admirable work, and gives in a rather dim photograph both its front and its profile. It is strikingly like other heads supposed to represent Euripides, and yet sufficiently unlike them, the writer thinks, to make it certain that this bust was not from the same original portrait-statue of the poet with the others. There seems no reason why any one who is so inclined should be restrained from taking this bust as an excellent portrait of Euripides.

Ernst Curtius then discusses the 'Telamones' or 'Atlantes' which adorn and dignify a certain bronze tablet on which is seen an inscription in honor of Apollonius, the whole dedicated by the town of Anisa. I have said 'Telamones,' because two are represented in the cut at the head of the article. Only one is really preserved, but the longing eye may still see the toes of the second figure; and, with such a hold upon it, some one has found it the simplest and easiest thing in the world to enrich us with the whole figure. Surprise at this unexpected good fortune should not, however, interfere with the writer's general discussion of the use of 'Atlantes' and Caryatids in ancient architecture and decoration. His statement of the limits within which such figures were used in the better days of art is what might have been expected. The rule was: You must not call upon any figure to carry what it is manifestly too weak to bear, nor must you put all that it can support on its back and then make it dance or reel in any of the various irrelevant and exhausting ways exhibited by the Atlantes and Caryatids of the decline of Art.

Then comes an article by Löschke describing an interesting work in clay found at Tanagra. Perhaps we can stretch the term vase so as to include this tripod in clay. The three supports give an opportunity for Medusa's two sisters to pursue Perseus. The fact that Perseus is beardless and unarmed is compensated for by the safe distance which separates the foot of the tripod where he is represented from the two occupied by his grinning pursuers. The cauldron supported and surrounded by this agonizing pursuit is adorned with a more genial scene. Here we see a bacchanalian offering, but the cover brings us back to a chase—this time we see a hunter and two dogs in hot pursuit of a hare; just such a scene is described as represented in beaten metal on the shield of Heracles.

This last scene provokes the writer to an investigation, in the course of which he maintains that this 'vase' was of Athenian workmanship. Further he claims that the theme of a hare pursued by dogs was borrowed in the earliest

days from workers in beaten metal by the potters and handed down more or less mechanically. Aside from the combination of dogs and a hare, the earliest art seems to have given only mechanical rows of this or that species of animal. The mention of a scene of this kind in the shield of Heracles confirms what is apparent after an examination of many early works like this one. The pursuit of a hare was a favorite subject with decorators of vases at Athens and Corinth from the middle of the eighth century to the beginning of the fifth. If we wish to go back of the time when the Shield of Heracles was probably written, then we are referred to Layard's Nineveh, where rows of running dogs may be seen used in decoration in stripes alternating with rows of running hares, or again, rows of alternating dogs and hares; rows of running men are similarly used. From this to the scene under discussion the early decorators advanced by putting two and one together, which in this case has made four, *i. e.* one man, two dogs and a hare. Various common scenes from Homer—so they came to be regarded—are then shown to have had a similarly mechanical and purely decorative origin.

Among various short notices in this number it is interesting to find an attempt to defend Apollo from that libel upon the beauty of his later god-head—the Apollo of Tenea in the Munich Glyptothek. Perhaps many will be too glad to believe that this is no Apollo.

II. The second number is opened by an article from F. Hultsch, who is regarded as especially qualified by his researches to enlighten the world as to the various Greek units of measure. In this article is examined the bearing which the new measurements of the Samian Heraion by M. Barthélémy de St. Hilaire have upon our knowledge of the unit of length used by various architects on various Greek temples. To begin with, the ratios of the various dimensions of the Heraion are examined. The new measurements, which are rather vague, suggest a correction of Gell's figures. This is made somewhat arbitrarily to suit the convenience of the writer, who proceeds to ask: Is the simple proportion of 1 : 2 found in the ratio of length to breadth in the case of the lowest or the highest of the steps or terraces on which the Heraion is built? The breadth of the uppermost step is 50.67 m. If the length were twice this it would be 101.34 m. This is the measurement of length which the writer argues for in an abstruse and complicated plea of which no summary is here desirable. The general considerations, suggested by Hultsch's analysis of the dimensions of the Samian Heraion, the Ephesian Artemision and other temples, he thus expresses: "The various ratios"—of the number of pillars in front to the number on the side, of the breadth and length of the lowest platform to the breadth and length of the cella—"move this way and that, and the course of their variation may be compared to a pendulum in motion. The simple relation of 1 : 2 we may compare to the pendulum at rest; this we find *once* in the conspicuous dimensions of the temple. Starting from this ratio, by addition and subtraction we reach the other dimensions. They stand in new ratios to each other, each one of which has a harmony of its own. The combination of them all gives a surprising rhythmical concert which may be not inaptly compared to a great musical composition." Returning to the narrower but more com-

prehensible discussion as to what unit of measurement was practically employed, our writer tells us that several were used side by side; he mentions two ells, one royal and one national—this last was subdivided into thirds, two of which made a foot, in very common use.

Just at this point it is well to leave the second number and take up by anticipation the first article in the fourth number, which is a very careful attack upon Hultsch's premises and conclusions, written by Wilhelm Dörpfeld, known in connection with the Olympian excavations. Dörpfeld practically maintains these points: (1) "All the actual measurements used by Hultsch are inaccurate; he has changed some arbitrarily, and others he has reached by arithmetical blunders." (2) "Granted for a moment that the dimensions used in forming the ratios are correct, 'the resulting self-evidence (*Durchsichtigkeit*) of proportions' is a delusion and a snare." (3) "It is an insult to our common sense to suppose that an architect would measure the front of his building with one unit and the side of it with another."

Returning to the second number, we find R. Engelmann describing two Spartan Mosaics (Plate 6) which are to the unilluminated eye particularly unpleasant. One of them represents Achilles at Scyros and the other the rape of Europa. It is consoling to hear that they are of late workmanship, belonging probably to the first century after Christ. Plate 7 is a colored lithograph reproducing a statue of Aphrodite, a rather fleshly and distinctly fleshy goddess here, leaning upon a very unpromising smaller figure of Elpis. The interest of this group, unearthed at Pompeii in March 1873, is derived from the well preserved traces of color, which are somewhat imaginatively reproduced in the plate and are minutely described by K. Dilthey. The chiton of Hope is green, but she is otherwise rather yellow. Aphrodite is chiefly arrayed in gold ornaments and yellow garments as far as she has raiment at all.

Next P. Robert discusses (in connection with various other vases obviously representing the same scene) an Athenian *aryballos* upon which is painted the embassy to Achilles. The heroes of the scene are Odysseus, who has just ended his telling speech; Ajax, sullen and muffled up in his grief, who has only half listened; Phoenix, who stands behind engaged in a very pretty quarrel of his own with Diomedes; Diomedes is turning away disgusted with so much vain delay. The Odysseus here—unlike the same hero in other vase-representations of this scene—suggests the influence of Phidias and his Parthenon sculptures. No doubt these designs exercised a great influence upon the development of art in all its subsidiary branches. The writer further maintains that in this representation the account of Homer has been followed and Diomedes has been proleptically introduced. Finally, A. Milchhöfer gives some account of one of the many monuments in honor of the great historian Polybius. It is disheartening to note that these numerous monuments in various places were dreary repetitions of one and the same design.

III. In the third number we have an article by K. Lange on the Athena Promachos of Phidias and kindred representations of that goddess. He argues that the figure of Athena so common on Athenian coins is a careless

reproduction of the great original Promachos statue, or was at least suggested by it. This leads to his theory that the shield of the Promachos was raised aloft and did not rest on the ground. The statue was not enormous, and therefore the decorative reliefs of the shield could, he argues, be seen. But at the same time he seems to urge that because they could not be seen the great Phidias was not responsible for them and they were added later. It ought to be just as impossible archaeologically as it is gastronomically to have your cake and eat it too, therefore this point in the argument is not well taken. In seeking to identify with the general type of the Promachos other statues and reliefs enumerated by Sybel as coming from some one early original, the writer claims that the Parthenos was an earlier creation of Phidias than was the Promachos. Pausanias says the Parthenos came after the Promachos, but this means that it took a much shorter time to finish and cast in bronze what was really the later conception (the Promachos) than was required to elaborate the chryselephantine perfections of the Parthenos.

Next comes No. III of A. E. J. Hollwerda's Olympian studies. This chapter is devoted to the Pentathlon. Pinder's work and an article by Percy Gardner have raised a question as to the terms on which the prize in the Pentathlon was awarded. Pinder begins by fixing the order of the five contests as follows: ἄλμα ἀκόντιον δρόμος δίσκος πάλη. Then he claims that no athlete who failed to achieve a given minimum in leaping was allowed to enter the contest of spear-throwing; the four best spearmen entered the foot-race; the three best runners cast the discus, and the two best discus-throwers were allowed to wrestle. This distressing complication of the game was proved impossible by Percy Gardner, who, however, substituted a theory of his own about the matter. It is to overturn this theory that Hollwerda comes forward. Having with a vigor worthy of a competitor in the Pentathlon utterly routed all men with views on the subject, our author proceeds to give his own, which he says is really an old theory propped up with new quotations. Three out of the five events gave the victory. Under this rule, if a man won the first three or the second third and fourth, the whole contest was decided without recourse to the πάλη. As to the order of the events he quarrels with Gardner and his Panathenaic Amphora, which is no better than others where the order is reversed. His conclusion favors this order: ἀκόντιον (third) δρόμος (fourth) πάλη (fifth); whether ἄλμα or δίσκος came first is, he thinks, past our finding out. The article closes with some detailed observations on the ἄλμα δίσκος and ἀκόντιον.

The next fifteen pages of this third number are devoted to O. Puchstein's article on the vases of Cyrene. This account is the forerunner of a more detailed treatise on the subject. The writer attacks what Luyens has said to the effect that it was impossible to classify Greek vases according to their place of manufacture with any certainty. In these later times, he declares, there has been great progress toward such classification. Then he takes a list of vases classified as Cyrenaic by Brunn, Klein and Löschke, and shows the points of similarity, which proves that there was a special tradition among the potters of Cyrene.



(1) The favorite form of cup adopted by the Cyrenaic makers was a slight modification of the hemispherical cup. About half an inch below the rim its semicircular (elliptical) outline is drawn in and thence spreads out, forming a lip. In all these cases the bowl is placed on a high, slender support and has two horizontal handles, but this of course is not peculiar to Cyrene.

(2) Many traces and peculiarities point for the potters of Cyrene and Rhodes to a common inspiration, which came from Cyprus and its school of workers in metal. "Both in their ornamental details," says the writer, "and in the composition of more elaborate scenes, the vases of Cyrene like those of Rhodes show the influence of a school of workers in beaten metal who must have been Phoenicians and probably worked in Cyprus." The writer specifies peculiar lotus-patterns and the decorative use of the pomegranate as especially characteristic of Cyrene.

(3) As to the subjects selected for illustration by the painters of the Cyrenaic school, they are largely 'genre' scenes. Prometheus also is a favorite, and Heracles, but hardly any of the greater gods. This may, however, be due to an accident that has left comparatively few vases from Cyrene. In a footnote to Mr. Clarke's admirable report upon his investigations at Assos, attention is called to one of the scenes from a Cyrenaic vase reproduced on Plate 12 of this number. The scene is the combat between Heracles and the Centaurs, the same represented in low relief on the temple at Assos. A common peculiarity in the two representations consists in the introduction of Centaurs with human forelegs along with the ordinary kind of Centaur with four horse-legs.

IV. The fourth number has less that is of especial interest. Of the first article directed by Dörpfeld against Hultsch I have spoken above. F. Dehnecken describes minutely a very beautiful, though sadly mutilated, bas-relief in the Louvre. It represents in one and the same scene a visit of Dionysus at the board of a mortal and the apotheosis or canonization of that mortal. W. Gerhard gives a careful account of certain rather uninteresting splinters of pottery recently gathered together in the Brunswick collection. A. Milchhöfer writes about some very meaningless Spartan works of art.

Max Ohnefalsch-Richter gives a brief account of his excavations near Larnaka in Cyprus. He dug into a "Phoenician grave" and it soon turned out to be a "Roman bath."

In the account of the various meetings in honor of Winckelmann we hear of Professor Schaafhausen at the Bonn meeting, where he gave an account of Fraas' unearthing Athenian vases and bronzes near Stuttgart. These vases date back, it appears, to the fourth century B. C.

It will not be possible to give any account of the most important and interesting Olympian Inscriptions published in three of these numbers. A list of numbers must suffice. In the first number are published and explained Nos. 381-392; in the second Nos. 393-414. In the third number there are none; in the fourth number are published Nos. 415-423.

Finally come the reports from Olympia. In Report 46 Wilhelm Dörpfeld tells of the final discovery of the Pelopion. This had been sought

before in vain ; a long trench had been dug to find it, but, as luck would have it, the trench passed through two corresponding openings in the wall of enclosure. Chance finally yielded what forethought long had sought. To the east of the Pelopion traces, supposed to be the great altar of Zeus, have been found, and also they have uncovered the Leonidaion mentioned by Pausanias.

In Report 47 Georg Treu gives some account of the heads of marble, the bronzes and the terra-cottas found during the last year. Among them are a head of Aphrodite, suggesting the school of Praxiteles, and fragments (most useful in restoring the group) of the head of Sterope from the eastern tympanum of the great temple.

LOUIS DYER.

GERMANIA. Vierteljahrsschrift für deutsche Alterthumskunde. Herausgegeben von Karl Bartsch. Wien, 1881. Heft 3, 4.

Fedor Bech begins the third number with a paper proposing emendations in L. Ettmüller's edition of Heinrich von Meissen (Frauenlob). B. specially treats of Ettmüller's reading of certain passages in Frauenlob's Kreuzleich, Minneleich, Frauenleich and Sprüche.

A. Raszmann follows with an interesting article "Wodan und die Nibelunge," in which he reviews the opinions that are held by Mühlhoff (Z. f. deut. Alt. 23, 113) and others on the much debated subject of the Volsungs, and takes occasion to correct some of his own statements in his Helden-sage, I, 22. In treating of the probable origin of the Nibelungenhort and its baneful influence on each possessor, R. brings forward evidence of a close connexion between the ransom of the Asas (Andvari's gold) paid by them for the slaying of Hreidmar's son Otter, and some mythological facts which are found among several Indo-European races. Assuming the etymological relation of the Norse word *otr* with the Sanskrit *udra*, the Greek *bōpa* and the Slavic *vydra*, the article attempts to prove by citations from the Avesta, from the Greek Herakles myth and Slavic mythology, that the killing of an *udra* (otter) must have been looked upon by the Aryans as a fearful crime for which only death could atone. The water was held sacred, and with it the animals that inhabited it. Whether Raszmann has made out his case as regards the connexion of this fact with the killing of the otter and the subsequent terrible penalty in the story of the Volsungs may be doubted, but at all events every one interested in the subject ought to read this clever article.

K. Rehorn subjects the early authorities for the life of Bruder Berthold (1250) to a critical examination, beginning with the abbot Hermann of Niederaltaich (1242) and closing with the compilers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The life of Berthold has in late years been investigated with such care by Grimm and Pfeiffer, and in 1876 again by Wackernagel and Rieger in *Altdeutsche Predigten und Gebete*, as to show numerous conflicting statements in the writings of Berthold's earliest chroniclers.

We still need a full and reliable history of this remarkable preacher. Rehorn contributes some additional matter touching the subject, and hopes that it will not be long before some master-hand will collect the materials offered and give to the world a complete picture of the life and labors of brother Berthold.

C. M. Blaas furnishes *Bruchstücke aus einem mitteldeutschen Arzneibüchlein*, formerly in the city archives of Kronenburg and now in the imperial library at Vienna. J. Haupt of that city places the date of these fragments in the beginning of the fourteenth or end of the thirteenth century.

Tell-Dellingr-Heimdall, by Friedrich Neumann. This paper criticises sharply a contribution "Neues zur Tellsage," by A. Rudolf in *Herrig's Archiv* 63, by whom Tell Dellingr is conceived as the morning. However much we may differ otherwise with Neumann's views, in this we must confess we incline to his opinion, "wenn Tell Dellingr der morgen ist, so ist die ganze Tellsage willkürliche erfindung." The suggestions offered by N. with reference to the legend are more ingenious than convincing. The incidents of the Tellsage, he thinks, might by a poetical change imply occurrences manifest to every eye during a thunderstorm. The sun and thunder-clouds are personified. Tell, representing the sun, meets his enemy Gessler, the thunder-clouds. In the small cloud, forerunner of the storm, that caps the mountain, we have Gessler's hat, which Tell heeds not. Gessler's eye flashes and the distant rolling of thunder betokens his wrath. Gessler approaches and Tell must shoot at his child. The sun's children are mankind, and before a thunderstorm the rays of the sun (Tell's arrows) sting, *i. e.* the heat is oppressive. The first dark clouds step before the sun, and bounding forth to the right and left, his rays appear under them. They are the remaining arrows (?) that would have pierced Gessler's heart if the first had chanced to hurt the boy. But enough. We can quite appreciate the readableness of the article and give the writer credit for the best of intentions, but we could have welcomed a less fanciful explanation of the legend. The arguments which Neumann advances to establish identity of Tell Dellingr with the Sun-god and Heimdall = Heimdeglingr, seem to us likewise susceptible of modification.

The origin of the proverb "Morgenstunde hat gold im munde," forms the subject of a short paper by Robert Geete. Dissenting from L. Tobler (*Germ. XXV*) who explains *mund* = *os* and assigns to the saying a mythological origin (Heimdall), Geete believes the word *mund* to mean *hand*—Morgenstunde hat gold in der hand—(A. S. *munt*, O. H. G. *munt*, O. N. *mund* = *manus*), and does not see why we should go to mythology for an explanation of the proverb when it might very naturally have sprung up among the people.

Fedor Bech sends a short article on the word *leben* in the following lines of the *Nibelungenot* (ed. Bartsch) 698, 3-4:

Do *gewan* dar umbe Hagene *ein zornlichez leben*;  
Er sprach "jan mac uns Gunther zer werlde niemen gegeben."

In the introduction of Bartsch's *Wörterbuch zu der Nibelungenot*, p. 31, the strange expression in this verse "ein leben gewinnen" is commented upon.

Other M. H. G. dictionaries do not speak of it. Bech has found in the course of his M. H. G. readings several instances which show that *leben* often has the sense of *muot* = *animus*. In a second paper Bech quotes a passage from *Denkwürdigkeiten des Hallischen Ratsmeisters Marcus Spittendorf* ed. Opel, p. 272, and proves by it that in the last half of the fifteenth century the language of the common people in Halle an der Saale was still the Low German, entirely distinct from the Middle German which we meet in the city documents of that time.

The text of a Faust volkslied found in Graz by Adalbert Jeitteles, and fragments of a Tristan poem sent by the custos of the Bohemian museum in Prague to H. Lambel, complete the list of the original articles in the third number.

Felix Liebrecht reviews the second edition of the third volume of Leon Gautier's great work *Les Épopées Françaises*, and bears witness to the eminent merit of this almost exhaustive work on the subject. The work displays throughout the unflagging industry and scholarly research of Gautier. The notes contributed by Liebrecht in his review are a valuable addition to Gautier's text.

H. Lambel criticises K. Sass's essay *Über das Verhältniss der Recensionen des niederdeutschen Spiels von Theophilus, Elmhorn 1879*. Of the three known copies of the Low German Theophilus, the Helmstädt, the Stockholm and Treves MSS, the essay assigns to the first, from internal evidence of the poem, a place nearest to the lost original. With this Lambel agrees (and we may add that most German scholars have done so long ago), but dissents from the views of Sass as to the relation which the Stockholm MS bears to the other two.

The Miscellany contains a communication from Adelbert Jeitteles, "Ein Augsburger Judeneid," and A. Raszman sends additional matter regarding his article *Wodan und die Nibelunge*. There are some minor communications besides from Fedor Bech, J. Franck, Reinhold Bechstein, A. Birlinger, Dr. Möller, Pfarrer Falk and Alfred Landau. Among the personals we notice the death of Dr. Eduard Müller (author of the well-known *Etymological Dictionary of the English language*) and of Adalbert Kuhn.

A. Jeitteles' final answer to A. Schönbach's sharp criticism of J.'s *Alt-deutsche Predigten aus dem Benedictinerstifte St. Paul* closes the third number.

The fourth number leads off with a paper by Reinhold Bechstein, *Drei Conjecturen zu Hartmann's Iwein*. The reading of verses 3372, 73

"Nû jach des ein ieglich man  
Wie er verloren wære,"

in the Lachmann and Bech editions MSS (a) Bb, was rejected by Paul (Beiträge I, 374) and in this B. thinks he was justified. Variants show a better reading, thus D: nu dâht er se ein gevellich (c. siecher, d. schickerlich) man. They all, however, lack more or less the suitable adjective describing *man*. Bechstein proposes the adjective *schellich*, *schellic* = *crazed*, and reads in

his Anthology, Stuttgart 1881, "nu dûhte er sf ein schellic man," which expresses well the impression of the maiden upon beholding Iwein. In v. 3474 (ed. Fedor Bech): darzuo sf vil stille sweich, Bechstein derives the word *sweich* from swichen, geswichen = entweichen, verlassen (cf. Wb.), not from swigen = schweigen, and supplying the dat. *im* prints: darzuo sf im vil stille gesweich. Vs. 3254-56 (ed. Lachmann) read:

doch meistert vrou minne  
daz im ein krankez wîp  
verkêrte sinne unde lîp.

Bechstein inserts the acc. *in* before *vrou* in the first line.

J. Kottenkamp follows with an article embodying further results of his Tristan studies. In the space of six pages he examines and explains a number of verses in the epic which hitherto seem to have been misunderstood by translators. K.'s essay *Zur Kritik und Erklärung des Tristan Gottfried's von Strassburg* was published in 1879.

P. Piper furnishes a list of Altdeutsche Pflanzennamen, and K. Frommann discusses the orthography and use of the pronoun *das* and the conjunction *dass* in Luther's Bible. Originally the same word, they were spelled alike—M. H. G. *das*, N. H. G. (fifteenth century) *das*. The older (M. H. G.) spelling *das* and its contraction *dz* (changed in the second half of the sixteenth century to *dass*) were, however, not entirely dropped, but often used indiscriminately for *das* by the printers. Luther in his earliest and later works employs the spelling *das* for both pronoun and conjunction. The proper definition of the word, particularly in the Bible translation, must therefore always be well considered. F. adduces a number of examples from the Luther Bible in support of this. After comparing some thirty different editions (older and later) of the German Bible, F. finds that v. 19, chap. 1 in Paul's Epistle to the Romans reads in all of them: Denn *dass* man weisz, *dasz* Gott sey, ist ihnen offenbar, i. e. the existence of God is manifest to them. Although this is the meaning generally given to this passage by Germans, it is contrary to the original text (cf. Engl. Bible). The Bibles of Herborn (1619), Pfaff, Gerlach, and the Nürnberg edition of 1703 express the verse differently, and none of them found out the correct reading of the Luther text, which simply needs (according to our present spelling) the substituting of *das* (= was) for *dass* (man weisz), cf. Canstein edition 1867 and edition of the Prussian Bible Society. F. further calls attention to Luther's use of *das* for *dass* *es*, cf. Jer. 2, 24: Wenn es vor grosser Brunst lechzet, und läuft, *das* (*dasz* es) niemand aufhalten kann, etc. In Isaiah 51, 6 we find the pronoun *das* = eine kleinigkeit, ein nichts: Der Himmel wird wie ein Rauch vergehen, und die Erde wie ein Kleid veralten, und die darauf wohnen, werden dahinsterven wie *das*. Luther explains in a marginal note, "Solch *das* mus man mit ein Finger zeigen, als schlüge man ein Kliplin mit Fingern." cf. R. Hildebrand in Grimm Dict., Vol. 5, 1209, also W. Grimm in Vol. 2, 806, and Eng. transl. of Bible passage.

Ludwig Laistner examines the Provençal Alba published by J. Schmidt in the *Z. f. deutsche Philol.* 12, 335, and concludes "Dass der verfasser ein geist-

licher und das gedicht selbst ein geistliches ist." L. also contributes a minor article Zum Reinfrid und Archipoeta, and Fedor Bech sends Nachträge appertaining to articles in Germania XXIII, XXIV, XXV.

A list of recent publications in the field of Germanic philology by the editor Karl Bartsch, and brief communications from R. Maurer, H. Deister, A. Jetteles and F. Liebrecht, close the fourth number.

C. F. RADDATZ.

NEUE JAHRBÜCHER FÜR PHILOLOGIE UND PAEDAGOGIK. FLECKEISEN U. MASIU. 1881.

I.

1. Pp. 1-16. A. Römer of Munich, who is well known to the readers of the Jahrbücher by his articles on the scholia of Homer, reviews Hermann Schrader's edition (Fasc. I, Leipzig, 1880) of the fragments of Porphyry's Homeric Problems, relating to the Iliad. The catechetical ζητήματα and λύσεις, introduced by Aristotle, appear in their most dreary state in the problems of Porphyry. Some of them, it may well be, rest upon observations of Aristarchus, but others combat his views. In the scholia of the first hand the ζητήματα appear in their clearest, purest form. Many additions of little worth and concerning matters of little interest were introduced by the second copyist. Much which belongs to the later hand is given in this edition as in the MSS, under the name of Porphyry, without any strict criticism on the part of the editor, who has collected and arranged the fragments without separating the chaff even when the end of a scholion was indicated in Ven. A by a new lemma. The editor was careless also in neglecting too much the various readings in Ven. B. Schrader had made himself, however, thoroughly familiar with his subject, and his work may be welcomed as a careful treatment of an uninviting theme.

2. P. 16. R. Arnoldt of Königsberg conjectures ἀδραβεῖς for ἀφανεῖς, Aristides XI, p. 130 Dind.

3. Pp. 17-30. H. Blümner of Zurich, the editor of an elaborate edition of Lessing's Laocoön, discusses the new interpretation of the Laocoön group. Archaeology has made great strides since Winckelmann's day. New points of view have been opened and old theories discarded. From the literary sources, students had reconstructed the sculptures in the pediments of the temple of Zeus, at Olympia on the model of the Parthenon, as it was known that their sculptors were scholars or contemporaries of Phidias. The fragments are brought up from the alluvial soil of the valley of the Alpheus, and are found to be of comparatively hasty, rude workmanship. The same excavations have shown that the Hermes (Antinous) of the Belvedere, which was thought to belong to the school of Lysippus, is really Praxitelean. So the discoveries at Pergamos, which promise to concentrate upon themselves the art-interest of the cultured, seem likely to change our views of the condition of Greek art under the successors of Alexander. Yet the Laocoön group will always be of interest because of the great names, Lessing, Goethe, Winckelmann, etc., connected with it. In spite of the heap of literature which has collected on the subject, no one up to this time has been able to decide whether this group belongs to the time of the *diadochi* or to the first century of our era. The question now

proposed, however, relates only to the interpretation of the group. Its *motive* (the killing of the father and both sons) was never disputed until less than three years ago, when Brunn made known the view of his friend Bernard Stark, that, as in the *Iliupersis* of Arctinus, only the father and younger son were killed by the serpent. To this view Stark seems to have been led by Goethe's remarks concerning the beautiful climax—the elder son only entangled by his arm and foot, the younger son firmly held in the serpent's coils, the father bitten by the other serpent as he endeavors to free his sons and himself. The artist, according to Goethe, chose the moment of the highest interest; fear, horror and sympathy are all expressed. The poet's observation is to be corrected in so far as the younger son is *in articulo mortis* and the father's efforts are all directed to oppose the serpent, to save his own life. It is true that the elder son seems so slightly involved that he might be freed, but did the artist intend to give the impression that he *would* be freed? This must be answered in the negative. There appears no determined effort for safety on his part. He yields to the danger and forgets himself in his father's sufferings. In a moment the left arm of Laocoön will sink, and the serpent having accomplished his work with him, has but a slight movement to make to reach this eldest son in the most vital spot. Sophocles and the following poets make both boys die, and the artist was more likely to follow them than Arctinus. Surely if the artist worked in the reign of Titus he must have followed Vergil's form of the story.

4. Pp. 30–32. Ziegler of Stuttgart notices Heinrich Kraz's translation of and notes to the three orations of Pericles as given by Thucydides (Nördlingen, 1880), and briefly calls attention to his views on different passages.

5. Pp. 33–44. Schweizer Sidler gives an appreciative review of H. Jordan's critical contributions to the history of the Latin language (Berlin, 1879). Jordan has shown that the influence of the Etruscans was not preponderating in the choice of the form in which Greek names were adopted in the early Latin language. He holds that they were borrowed from some dialectic form, not making his view so precise as G. Meyer, who thinks the Etruscan names were derived from Ionic forms, the Latin names from Doric forms. Pollux, Polluces is derived from Poluduces, Poluluces. The change from *d* to *l* in this word is assumed as taking place on Italian soil, as also the change of *ss* to *x* in Ὀλυσσεύς, Ulixes, or Uluxes. Jordan's arguments to prove that the old Latin Melerpanta is not a capriciously altered form but comes from a dialectic Μελλεροφάντης, are not considered convincing.

6. Pp. 45–58. Brix of Liegnitz, the editor of Plautus, likens the contents of Langen's contributions to the criticism and exegesis of Plautus (Leipzig, 1880) to the treasures discovered with spade and shovel in Greece and Asia. L. has studied Plautus's versified language of popular conversation without taking as his canon the literary language of Cicero. No one has determined the peculiar Plautinian use of so many constructions. The result is valuable not merely for the explanation and criticism of the plays of Plautus, but also for the history of the development of the Latin language in forms and syntax and meanings of words. Thus *paenitet me* does not mean 'to be sorry' in Plautus; nor *commodus*, 'favorable'; nor *resistere*, 'to oppose'; nor *reprehendere*,

'to blame.' Plautus does not use the forms *dis*, *dites* for *dives*, *divites*, nor *mori* for *moriri*, nor the constructions *orare ab aliquo*, *precari ab aliquo*, *cupere ut*, nor *statim* in temporal sense, nor *unus idemque*, nor *invidere* with a dative of the thing, nor *debere* with the infinitive. Such positive determinations of usage not only cut off many superficial conjectures, but also give a valuable criterion for the criticism of suspected passages. The book, the ripe fruit of long-continued studies, is recommended as an *ἐγχειρίδιον*, especially as an introduction to the study of old Latin for the younger generation.

7. Pp. 59-79. W. Brandes commends the careful presentation of a mass of new material by Peiper on the MS tradition of Ausonius in the eleventh supplementband of the *Jahrbücher*, but differs from him on two points. Peiper conceived of an original collection of the Ausonian poems as the source of both our collections—that found in Vossianus (V) as well as that found in Tilius (Z), but that the latter contained the gleanings of smaller poems which were added after the author's death. But from certain letters it is known that Ausonius never published his works except as he sent them one by one to his friends. By a comparison of the dated poems it is shown that V was compiled later than Z. But Z seems to be neither the first volume of the poet's collected works nor the last gleanings after his death. It was begun by some friend of the poet about 370 A. D. and received additions until about 383 A. D. V has suffered some lapses, but represents the edition which the poet at his death left unpublished, with the addition of poems which were afterwards collected, probably by the poet's son Hesperius, from letters, loose sheets, etc.

8. P. 80. P. Stengel of Berlin corrects a prevalent view that only female or emasculated male victims were sacrificed to the gods of the nether world, and indicates the probability that this belief is due only to the scholiast's false interpretation of Hom. *λ* 30.

## II.

9. Pp. 81-93. W. Jordan of Frankfort continues his "Homeric novelties" (see *Am. Journ. Philol.* II 266). The motto of the tragedy of the true Iliad is found in Σ 107-110. *Χόλος* is used here in the sense of 'revenge,' which is *γλυκίων μέλιτος*, but is followed by the stifling (*ἥντε καπνός*) feeling of regret. (This interpretation, like many of the rest, must be regarded as novel rather than probable.) In the suspected passage Σ 590-606, the *κυβιστηγῆρε* must be among the onlookers, and thus we have a distinct separation into two groups. T 147-153 show that Achilles still cherishes his anger against Agamemnon. (They show rather the intensity of Achilles's grief for Patroclus and rage at Hector, which make all treasures seem of little account.) *Ἀπαρέσσασθαι*, T 183, is not a strengthened *ἀρέσσασθαι*, but means 'to refuse to be appeased.' In T 18, *ἀγχισα* is to be connected closely with *δέδωκε* in the sense of 'has almost broken out.' In Y 70, *χρυσηλάκατος* applied to Artemis is 'spinning gold,' with reference to the golden light of the moon, as he would translate *ἀργυρότοπος*, 'shooting silver rays.' In Φ 1-328, the different parts of the scene are artistic and full of life, but their combination is unsatisfactory. The appeals of the Scamander to the Simois and Apollo are both but fragments; they are unanswered. Jordan supplies the appropriate replies. The scheme which he



suggests for the new arrangement of the book is too elaborate and uncertain to find place here. *Ἰσχυρὸς ἥρως*, § 568, is to Jordan an indication that the myth of the invulnerability of Achilles was known to the Homeric poets, although in general it is the divine armor which cannot be pierced.

10. Pp. 93-94. Julius Caesar of Marburg, to show that the study of mythology needs not only a lively imagination but also a firm hold on strict philologic-historical methods, calls attention to the carelessness of two mythologists; one of whom (Schwartz) writes of Zeus as having swallowed Semele and her offspring, while the other (Gruppe) understood Hesiod, Theog. 886, *ἀλλ' ἄρα μιν* (i. e. Metis) *Ζεὺς πρόσθεν ἔην ἐσκάτ' αὖτο νηδύν*, as 'Zeus received her into his thigh.'

11. Pp. 95-102. Adolph Philippi of Giessen remarks on Thuc. VI and VII. The Olympic festival at which Alcibiades appeared with seven chariots must have been Ol. XC, 420 B. C., and not four years later. In VI 46, of the votive offerings on the Eryx, for *ἀργυρὰ πολλῶ κτλ.* we should read, not *ἐπάργυρα*, 'plated,' with Meineke, but *ὑπάργυρα* or *ἀργυρὰ τὰ πολλὰ*. In view of the sums needed (60 talents monthly, or at least yearly), silver-plated vessels would be of no account at all. In VI 64, *καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐμπρήσειν* should stand after *αἰρήσειν*. In VI 103, for *αὐτὸν ἐκομίσαντο*, read *αὐτοὶ κτλ.* In VI 101, *πρὸς* must be inserted, to read *ἀπὸ τοῦ κύκλου ἐτείχιζον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πρὸς τὸν κρημνὸν κτλ.* Cf. the following: *ἐπειδὴ τὸ πρὸς τὸν κρημνὸν αὐτοὺς ἐξείργαστο*, and c. 103, *ἀπὸ τῶν Ἐπιπολῶν καὶ τοῦ κρημνώδους ἀρξάμενοι κτλ.* A number of annoying words or phrases which are unnecessary or at variance with other statements or known facts, are ejected summarily. E. g. VI 46 *ἐκ τῶν τριήρων*, VII 19 *ὅπως μὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι κτλ.*, VII 36 *οὐκ οὐσης αὐτοῖς ἐς πάντα κτλ.*, VII 53 *τὴν δολάδα*, VII 56 *πλὴν γε δὴ τοῦ ξυμπαντος κτλ.*, VII 60 *ἡλικίας μετέχων* (which, in truth, hardly seems to be needed to say of any man in the Athenian camp near Syracuse); in VI 68 *οὐκ ἐν πατρίδι* has usurped the place of *ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ*.

12. Pp. 102-104. Wichmann of Eberswalde offers a few suggestions of generally unnecessary corrections to the text of Lucian's Dialogues of the gods. I 1, for *τί χρὴ λέγειν*, he would read *τί χρὴ καὶ λέγειν*, for XX 11 for *πρὸς ὅτι ἀποβλέψω* would read *πρὸς ὅτι καὶ κτλ.* In VIII 1 *τί γὰρ χρὴ ποιεῖν* he would insert *μή* before *χρὴ*. In VI 5 for the vulgate *ποιεῖσθαι* he would read *ἔχειν*, and *ἐν μέρει* for *παραμένει* in XX 8.

13. Pp. 105-111. Hitzig of Berne reviews W. Roeder's contributions to the explanation and criticism of Isaeus (Jena, 1880). Roeder intends to prepare an exegetical and critical edition of this author. He defends the authority of the MSS against the recent critics who have made unnecessary corrections because they considered inadmissible certain deviations from ordinary prose usage of the uses of the moods. E. g. he shows the MS authority for the fut. opt. with *ἄν* outside of dependent sentences, and makes it probable that Isaeus used even the fut. ind. with *ἄν*. He claims for Isaeus seven examples of the potential optative without *ἄν*. He treats also of the omission of *ἄν* in conditional sentences of the second class (contrary to fact), and the question whether as in Homer so in good Attic prose the subjunctive without *ἄν* is found in relative sentences relating to the present or future. The answer to this question depends, of course, on each man's view of the value of MS authority.

14. Pp. 111-112. Sitzler of Tauberbischofsheim gives as a supplement to his edition of Theognis the results of the last collation of the best codex, Mutinensis A.

15. Pp. 113-122. Ludwich of Königsberg reviews Abel's edition of Colluthus's Rape of Helen (Berlin, 1880), of which now for the first time we have a revised text with critical apparatus, a firm foundation for our study of the author. Ludwich gives the results of his partial collation of the text of this poem in the just mentioned Mutinensis A. This is the oldest MS of Colluthus, but the editor is thought to have followed it too closely. Thus the rule of Nonnus, to whose school Colluthus belonged, is known to be that a trisyllabic oxytone with short ultima is avoided at the end of a verse. The only exception to this in Colluthus is 177 ἀρωγόν. This the editor gives, following Mat. A, instead of ἀρωγόν which conforms to the rule and is found in all the other MSS. The rule just stated is further extended in this poem, in which oxytone amphibrachs are avoided not only at the end of the verse but everywhere, even before the feminine caesura. The editor is praised for his caution in admitting conjectures, but is rebuked for allowing changes which break the Nonnian rules that neither a noun nor a pronoun should ever suffer elision, and that proparoxytone amphibrachs are allowed only immediately before the feminine caesura. The reviewer modifies a former statement that Colluthus seems to have avoided entirely the use of the particle *τε*.

16. Pp. 123-128. Hachtmann of Seehausen on Livy XXV. He proposes 16 § 10, *quandoque res quo* for *quando res quoque*; 34, 13 *alia auxilia via haud difficilis* for *alia auxilia haud*, etc.; 35, 8 *utroque* for *tuto*.

17. P. 128. Prebisch of Tilsit would read *ignis* for *ignes* in Ovid, Met. XV 355.

18. Pp. 129-138. Nissen of Strasburg, in defence of his views against Hankel (see Am. Jour. Phil. II 531), gives an interesting discussion of the Roman camp according to Polybius. He rejects Hankel's reduction of the breadth of the *intervallum* from 200 to 100 feet. He sets the breadth of the trench as in general only 6-10 feet. Taking into account the stakes for the fortification which the Roman soldier had to carry, the weight of his pack is calculated to be about 40 kilos (88 pounds), which makes him on the march little but a beast of burden. The length of the side of the camp is reckoned as 2150 feet, leaving 2100 feet (after subtracting the entrance) for which each legion had to provide a wall. Camp was always pitched before a battle. This was one of the first Roman commandments of war. The *velites* had nothing to do with the entrenchment of the camp.

19. P. 138. Prebisch of Tilsit suggests for Quint. Curtius Rufus VII 4, 4 *expertus es unum quemque* to read *expertus es* (in passive sense, 'it is known of you') *tu quoque*.

20. Pp. 139-140. Sommerbrodt of Breslau considers the entire § 58 of Cicero's Cato Major to be an interpolation which interrupts the connection of thought. § 59 takes up the picture of country life which has extended from § 51 to § 57, and in § 60 the whole passage is closed by the thought that these rural joys are open to old age until its last hour.

21. Pp. 140-142. Emil Wörner of Leipzig suggests *astus* for *arcus* in Hor. Car. III 26, 7.

22. Pp. 143-144. Rossberg of Norden offers half a dozen conjectures to the *Silvae* of Statius.

### III.

23. Pp. 145-160. Christ of Munich on a particular kind of interpolations in Homer. Kirchhoff has well said that it is a wholly unscientific procedure to point out passages in the text as interpolations without explaining the aim or reason of such interpolations. Thus the investigations of the origin of the Homeric poems are made more difficult. It is one of the most dangerous mistakes of criticism ancient and modern to remove difficulties by brackets without showing what could have led a rhapsode or a grammarian to insert those verses. The reason for many interpolations can be given at once. An Athenian did not like to miss Theseus among the heroes of the lower world, and so, according to Plutarch, smuggled into the text of the *Odyssey* λ 631 Ἡσίοτα Περὶ πόον τε θεῶν ἐρικυδέα τέκνα, and very likely in the *Iliad* A 265 and Γ 144, as it seems to be one of Peisistratus's redactors who in the catalogue of the ships B 558 made the Salaminian Ajax draw up his ships next the Athenians. On a lower level is Θ 533 οὐδὲ κῆρες φορέουσι κτλ., inserted by some versifying grammarian as an explanation of the preceding κηρεσσιφορήτους. Much of the same kind are the enumerations of the loves of Zeus, Ξ 317-327, and of the Nereids in the train of Thetis, Σ 39-49. Somewhat more free are the additions of sententious verses and fuller descriptions. Such interpolations are found in the text of every author. Peculiar to Homer are the additions which were designed to bind the separate lays more closely together; e. g. O 390-405, inserted to connect more closely the Patroclea with A, or II 60-79 which were inserted after the *Προσβεία* had been added, to refer to it. But this article refers to a kind of interpolation which has been less noticed. Whether and how the great national epics of the Greeks, Germans, etc., were developed from single lays is still mooted, but it is undisputed that the bards who on festive occasions sang of the glorious deeds of men and gods did not sing long poems like the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, but shorter lays. This is indicated by the contents mentioned, e. g. α 326 fg., θ 73-82, 266-366, 492 fg. The one which Homer incorporates in the *Odyssey* is only 100 lines. Others may have been a little longer. The rhapsodes often had occasion to sing parts of the Homeric poems as we have them. Od. ε-θ form a connected whole, from the mind of one poet, but still on some occasion a bard might sing not these four books but only the episode of Nausicaa, and end with her return to the palace of her father and the prayer of Ulysses to Athene, ζ 316-327. For a fitting close, ζ 328 ὥς ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος, τοῦ δ' ἐκλυε Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη was added by the bard, and when this line was fixed in the text, vs. 329-331 were added to separate ζ 328 from η 1 ὥς δ' ἔμην κτλ. So the episode of the battle by the river in φ was suited for separate recitation. Sometimes the whole description φ 1-382 was recited, and at other times only vs. 1-227. In the latter case v. 227 was added as a close, and later vs. 228-232 were inserted to separate v. 227 and its equivalent, v. 233. So ζ 311 was added by a rhapsode who ended his recitation there. A similar suggestion is made concerning Σ 356-368 and E 418-430. A more com-

plicated kind of interpolations by rhapsodists is where an episode was particularly adapted for recitation on some occasion, but needed slight additions and changes when it was withdrawn from its original connection, as E 507-511, inserted by a rhapsode who began his recitation with v. 471.

24. Pp. 161-176. Wilisch of Zittau, who had treated the fragments of Eumelus in a programme, gives in detail and with remarks the various passages of the Greek authors which refer to Corinthian epic and lyric poets. He also collects the 14 lines remaining of Corinthian poetry, the pseudo-oracles in Herodotus relating to that city and distichs from Diogenes and Photius, with a consideration of the relation of the government of Corinth to poetry.

25. Pp. 177-184. Friedrich of Mühlhausen in Cicero's Brutus § 145 would read *in augendo, in probando* (for *ornando*), *in repellendo*, comparing *de Or.* II 182. In Orator § 9, for *ea quae sub oculis non cadunt, sic*, etc., read *ea quae sub oculis cadunt, ipsa non cadit: sic*, etc.

Pp. 184-185. Harnecker of Friedeberg urges that the *conditi fructus* of Brutus § 16 must be a historical work; not the great history of Rome to which allusion is made Plut. Cic. 41, but a secret history of his times.

26. Pp. 185-188. Dombart of Erlangen, on the Captives of Plautus, defends his previously expressed view that the two prisoners were on the stage not merely during the prologue but during the first act (cf. 105 *istos captivos duos* and 165 *ecum captivum hunc adolescentem*); showing that the examples adduced of *iste* referring to some one not immediately present, as Capt. 986, are not parallel, as in them *iste* is used as a demonstrative of the second person.

27. Pp. 189-192. Plüss of Pforta on the so-called Swan's Song (Car. II 20), of Horace, gives his view of the situation, occasion, design, contents, worth, etc., of the poem. The poet is dead, his friends are sad, his rivals are joyful, the grave is ready, the dirge is sung, the dearest friend speaks the farewell. The soul of the poet answers the last call of his friend with the declaration that he shall live and work in the future as ideal poet in a broader and more appreciative world. The poem may have been occasioned by a sickness or some other experience which made the poet despondent of his power here and made him mindful of approaching death. "Did Horace write all that stuff?" said Lehrs after he had gone through the ode with his criticisms. It is our own fault if we do not appreciate it.

28. P. 192. Teuber of Eberswalde, in Florus II 13, 26, changes *populationibus et pugnae campos aperuit* to *pabulationibus*, etc.

29. Pp. 193-201. Wodrig of Schwedt reviews Luchs's critical edition of Livy XXVI-XXX (Berlin, 1879). The critical apparatus is prepared with great exactness. Here is shown in detail (what had been discovered by Heerwagen and confirmed by Studemund and Mommsen) that besides the Puteanus, another MS of another family, of the third decade of Livy's history, must have been in existence. Of this readings which resemble those of the lost Codex Spirensis are found now in several stragglers. Both families are considered of equal authority. Where they differ, the decision must depend on Livy's usage. In this matter Luchs has exercised good judgment, with critical acumen and proper regard to the views of other scholars. His discussion of

the lacunae in the Cod. Spir. deserves hearty approval. He concludes from the equality of the two missing passages that each occupied one leaf of the original MS. From the false resolution of ligatures it is inferred that H, the most important MS next to S, was copied from a codex of the tenth or eleventh century, and thus may have been copied directly from the archetype of S. A number of critical remarks are made upon the text.

30. P. 201. Oberdick of Westfalen, for *impurissimo* in Cicero *de domo sua* 18, § 48, reads *spurcissimo*, comparing the imitation by Aelidus Lampridius, Alex. Sev. 9, 4.

31. Pp. 202-208. Opitz of Dresden reviews Hildesheimer's *de libro de viris illustribus quaestiones* (Berlin, 1880). He rightly denies Hermann Haupt's claim that the principal part of this book is derived from Cornelius Nepos. The points of agreement are not enough to make him the chief source. The principal authority is wisely assumed to be Hyginus *de viris illustribus*. Livy also was drawn from. Part of the coincidences with Florus are to be attributed to a common use of Livy (perhaps only a full epitome), part to a like use of some unknown author (perhaps the lost books of Livy). But H. believes that this work is not derived immediately from Hyginus's original work, but from a revised and altered copy. An investigation of the sources of Hyginus follows. Opitz shows that he cannot have drawn from Cicero because his report is the fullest. Where the book *de viris* agrees with Cicero it is probable that Varro was the common source of both.

32. P. 208. Bitschofsky of Vienna defends in Lat. Anthol. 21, 255, the reading *pelagus cum litora frangit* by comparing Statius Achill. I 390 and II 104.

33. Pp. 209-224. R. Unger of Halle continues his critical remarks on the text of the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*.

#### IV.

34. Pp. 225-235. Knapp of Tübingen makes a contribution to the explanation of wall-paintings. Among the most charming landscape pictures with *genre* scenes are the two companion pieces in the *casa dei Dioscuri* in Pompeii. In one of these a female figure before a straw-thatched hut, clothed in a violet chiton and buff mantle, with a yellow hat pointed at the top (the hat of many of the Tanagrine terra-cottas, the *θαλία*), is recognized as an *ἀγέρτριά μαντευομένη*, a servant of Cybele. By a comparison of similar scenes a connection between Cybele and Priapus is made probable. The scene seems to be a copy of a Greek original. In opposition to a view recently presented, Knapp argues that the agreement between a Pompeian scene (Helbig 1150) and a fragmentary group of the Museo Chiaramonti is nothing but accidental. Incidentally he enumerates a large number of representations of Heracles with the cornucopia.

35. Pp. 236-238. G. Benseler of Chemnitz defends the reading *θηρευταὶ πάντες*, Plato Rep. II 373 B, and shows from the Laws 824 B that the *θηρευταὶ πάντες* include *οἱ αὐτόχειρες θηρεύοντες τε καὶ οἱ ἐνυγοθηρευταί, οἱ ὀρυζευταί, οἱ σκυτερευταί*.

36. Pp. 230-240. Büttner-Wobst of Dresden gives from pre-Euclidian inscriptions a short list of coins, weights and measures which are not mentioned in the Thesaurus of Stephanus: δεκάπους, ἐκτεὺς, ἡμίδραχμον, ἡμικοτυλ-, ἡμιπόδιον, ἡμιχο-, κρατεῦται (as a lead weight), πεντῶβολον, τρισχοιν-.

37. P. 240. H. Röhl of Berlin makes two ingenious and plausible emendations to Athenaeus. In III 126 B, a fragment of Nicander, for ἡ αὐτοῦ δρυιθός he would read ἡ ἐκ κλυτοῦ δρυιθός (the cock), comparing the gloss of Hesychius κλυτὸς δρυις · ὁ ἀλεκτρυών. VII 302 A ἔρπε τέρ' εἰς ὕδατος στεφάνους = 'go to the market where the finest fish (ὕδατος στέφανοι) are sold.'

38. Pp. 241-267. A. Daub of Freiburg. Contributions to the lives of the poets in Suidas (Hesychius of Miletus). He discusses with especial fullness the articles on Aesop, Ibycus, Nicander, Sophocles, Sosiphanes, Chaeremon, Anaxandrides.

39. Pp. 267-268. Deiter of Emden, on Caesar's Gallic War VII 35, 2. For *misit captis quibusdam cohortibus* he would read *misit ita apertis quibusdam*, etc.; i. e. certain cohorts of the centre marched in *open order* that the absence of the other two legions might not be noticed by the enemy.

40. Pp. 269-280. Schütz of Potsdam makes critical remarks on the Agricola of Tacitus. 24, 1 *nave prima* means 'with the first fleet,' with which Agricola went beyond the Clyde. This fleet was only of transport boats. In c. 25 we learn that in the sixth year of his command Agricola added a fleet of war ships to his forces (*in partem virium*). Schütz defends 30, 3 *eoque in ipsis penetralibus*, etc., and compares the address of the Roman general c. 34 *fugacissimi ideoque* (like *eoque*) *tam diu superstites*.

41. Pp. 280-282. . . . on an ἀπόρητον Horatianum, the "absolutely unintelligible sentence," Hor. Car. III 10, 9 fg. The writer makes some criticisms in detail, and then asks if any one acquainted with poetry and the Latin language can find in this ode a single attractive, poetical thought, or a graceful figure or a well-turned phrase. He believes it high time to throw such stuff overboard and not confuse or demoralize our scholars with it; to clear out our pseudo-Horace, especially as a reaction seems to be setting in in favor of a more conservative treatment of the poems. (The writer might be advised to read the 27th article of the volume.)

42. Pp. 283-288. M. Herz of Breslau continues his miscellaneous notes on Greek and Latin authors. The fact of the Roman embassy in the 300th year of the city is generally admitted now. Perhaps it is to this that Thucydides refers II 37 (speech of Pericles) *χρώμεθα γὰρ πολιτεία οὐ ζηλοῦσιν τοῖς τῶν πέλας νόμοις, παράδειγμα δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτοὶ δντες ἐντὶ ἡ μιμούμενοι ἑτέρους*. This certainly does not refer to the Spartans as Classen supposes.

43. P. 288. Thielmann of Speier in the Carmina Priapea (86, 20 Bücheler; 3, 20 Baehrens) would read *neglegens Priapi* for *neglegens Priapus*. The speaker (the statue of the god) warns his boys not to rob his master's garden, but tells them that they may go to the field of the rich man next door who cares little for Priapus.

T. D. SEYMOUR.

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## I.—ON THE CULEX AND OTHER POEMS OF THE APPENDIX VERGILIANA.

The *Culex*, with the *Ciris Dirae Moretum Copa* and epigrams generally known as *Catalecta*, as well as the *Aetna* now usually ascribed to Lucilius, have recently been re-edited by Bährens in the second volume of his *Poetae Latini Minores*. This work marks a great advance on the *Appendix Vergiliana* of Ribbeck, published in 1867, and has suggested to me many new views on these poems, which, from their peculiarly intimate relation to those of Catullus, have at all times had an attraction for me much beyond their intrinsic merit. None of them have come down to us in a more corrupt state than the 'Gnat,' and it is therefore of some importance to record from time to time the readings of a Bodleian MS, Auct. F 1, 17, which here, as also in the *Dirae* (see Cambridge Journal of Philology, VIII 72), may be reckoned among the uninterpolated class, generally exhibiting a close resemblance to Bährens' B.

24-27.

Et tu cui meritis oritur fiducia cartis,  
Octauī uenerande, meis adlabere coeptis  
Sancte puer, tibi namque canit non pagina bellum  
Triste Iouis ponitque canit non pagina bellum  
Phlegra giganteo sparsa est quo sanguine tellus.

It is obvious that in 26 *canit non pagina bellum* has been erroneously repeated from the following verse. Ribbeck completed the lacuna by reading *tibi namque humilis conamine primo*, Bährens *tibi namque sonant mea carmina, quamquam*. Retaining

this in outline, I would change *sonant* to *merent*, which would repeat with emphasis the expression of 24 *cui meritis*, unnecessarily altered by B. to *cuius monitis*. The metaphor is natural enough to a Roman: the poem takes service under the banners of Octavius: *ponitque*, which has been altered to *Rhoetique*, *Rhoecique*, *Coeique*, *Cottique*, *Phorcique*, may after all be *Pontique*, for Poseidon took his part in the war with the Giants (Apollod. I 6, 2). I cannot agree with Ribbeck and Bährens in supposing the Octavius to whom the poem is addressed to be any one but the youth who became later Octavianus and Augustus; only so can the strong expressions *Octavi uenerande*, *Sancte puer*, which last occurs twice (26, 37), be adequately explained; this too gives a meaning to the elaborate invocation to Apollo, a god especially associated with the history of Augustus. It is not necessary to suppose the poem actually written to the young Octavius; for my own part I have never been able to regard it as anything but the composition of a later, but still early period, when the tradition that Virgil had written a *Culex* prompted some versifier to supply the required poem. Such a forger would naturally inscribe his *Culex* to Augustus, and as Virgil was supposed to have written it in boyhood, to Augustus still a boy. No one can, I suppose, read the verses eulogizing a country life (58 sqq.) and not feel certain that they are an imitation of the famous passage in Georg. II, *O fortunatos nimium*.

37, 8.

Haec tibi, sancte puer, memorabilis et tibi certet  
Gloria perpetuum lucens mansura per aeuum.  
Et tibi sede pia maneat locus, et tibi sospes  
Debita felicitis memoretur vita per annos  
Grata bonis lucens.

It is surprising that Bähr. retains *et* in 37. It is not only weak, but cacophonous in view of the double *et* in 39. I would read:

Haec tibi, sancte puer, memorabimus: haec tibi restet  
Gloria, etc.

And what can B. find so absurd in the words *Et tibi s. p. maneat locus?* which he alters to *Serum s. p. m. locus*. Surely the poet, whose gnat finally rests in Elysium, might reasonably enough wish his patron the same good fortune; *tibi* with *maneat* as in Cat. VIII 15; Phil. II 5, 11.

55.

O bona pastoris si quis non pauperis usum  
 Mente prius docta fastidiat et probet illis  
 Omnia luxuriae spretis incognita curis.

In my Catullus of 1867 I conjectured that *illi somnia* had been corrupted into *illis omnia*, and suggested that the error arose from the two verses having at some time been written *continuously*. Subsequently I found that Haupt had conjectured *somnia*, leaving *illis* unchanged. I still prefer my original explanation of the corruption and venture to think that most critics will consider *illi* more elegant, as it is certainly on other grounds more probable than *illis*. 'Happy the shepherd's lot, should there be any who scorns not the employment of the poor and commends the dreams that proud life of luxury never knew, despising the cares that torture the covetous.'

57.

Haec teneras fruticum sentes rimatur, at illa  
 Inminet in riuī praestantis imaginis undam.

Here *imaginis* is usually supposed to be a corruption of *marginis*, wrongly, I fancy; at least none of the emendations which it necessitates in the rest of the verse can be considered very probable. On the other hand the goat might well be described as hanging over the water to look at her own reflected image, like the horse in a well-known fragment of Sophocles (593). Hence I would read *praesentis imaginis undam*, an image-presenting stream. The double genitive, the latter of quality, is not harsher than the double abl. in 153. So Spenser in his translation, 'The whiles another high doth overlooke Her owne like image in a christall brooke.'

89, 90.

Illi dulcis adest requies et pura uoluptas  
 Libera simplicibus curis.

Rather *duplicibus*.

101.

Tendit ineuctus radios Hyperionis ardor,  
 Lucidaque aethereo ponit discrimina mundo.

This strange word *ineuctus*, which is supposed to recur in 342:

Ne quisquam propriae fortunae munere diues  
 Iret ineuctus caelum super

seems to raise no doubts in lexicographers, who explain it as 'mounted upon.' We must then suppose that in the first passage the sun's heat is described as mounted on its rays, *tendit radios quibus inevectus est*, and in the second that the rich man mounts on the chariot of his wealth above the sky. The first of these is undeniably harsh, and the word itself is spelt in Bährens' MS V in *eicectus*; while in 342 the Bodl. MS above alluded to (Mr. Macray, one of our best experts, dates it about 1230) gives *euectus*. In this passage indeed there are other signs of the traditional reading being wrong, for though the Bodl. MS (which I shall call F) like the others collated by Bähr. gives *Iret*, a Paris Anthology has *Tendit*, and it seems more than probable that *Tenderet euectus* is the right reading. But may not *inevectus* in 101 be, as we should at first sight more readily believe (cf. *inexcitus*, *inexhaustus*, etc.), a negatival adj., 'not yet borne aloft,' i. e. to the highest part of the sky? We must then suppose the poet to mean that *up to that time of the day* the sun had not reached the zenith, and *now begins* to approach it and disperse his rays equally to both sides of the sky. This quite agrees with what immediately follows, 107 *Iam medias operum partis euectus erat sol*, which is a further step onwards, that part of the day when the sun had got *beyond* the zenith, at the hottest part of the afternoon. Still as V gives in *eicectus* and no authority is quoted but the *Culex* for *inevectus*, it is possible that the right reading is *in erectum*, 'the sun stretches his rays in an upright line,' not slanting at an angle as at an earlier or later period of the day.

109.

Vt procul aspexit luco residere uirenti,  
Delia diua, tuo, quo quondam uicta furore  
Venit Nyctelium fugiens Cadmeis Agaue,  
Infandas scelerata manus et caede cruenta.

157.

Pastor ut ad fontem densa requiescit in umbra,  
Mitem concepit proiectus membra soporem.

Such I believe to be the real apodosis of *Vt procul*. With *quo quondam uicta furore* begins a description of the grove, which continues for more than 50 lines, and thus disguises the fact that the sentence began with a protasis and remains incomplete. The nominative is accordingly resumed in *Pastor ut*. This will enable us to dispense with the changes suggested by Ribbeck, Bährens and earlier editors. Nor can I think that any alteration is required



in 112, either Bembo's *e* or Ribbeck's very problematical *ec*: as abl. *cruenta* would be tautologous, as nom. 'gory with a deed of blood' it is Virgilian (Aen. I 475) and animated.

117.

Tantum non horridus Hebrum  
Restantem tenuit ripis siluasque canendo  
Quantum te per nigre morantem diua chorea  
Multa tuo laetae fundentes gaudia uultu.

For *horridus* or *orridus* in 117 is ordinarily printed (as in Pithou's Collection, p. 6, ed. 1590, and even by Ribbeck and Bährens) *Orpheus*, which is found only in *one* of B.'s MSS (V) as a first-hand reading, and can scarcely be right, whether on metrical or palaeographical grounds. It is quoted indeed by L. Müller (de r. m. p. 268) as a trisyllabic nominative with *Orphæus* in Cul. 269; but this was before the MSS had been accurately collated; and in 269 *Orpheos* as a genitive is rightly restored by Ribbeck. The nearest approach I can find to *orridus* is *odrisis*, and we might then suppose the Odrysian *region* to be substituted for the Odrisian *bard*, which is a mild, almost tame license in the poet, if compared with the parallel description in Seneca's Hercules Oetaeus, 1043 sqq., where Athos breaks part of its crags away with the Centaurs on them to come and stand near Rhodope, while Orpheus sings. If this should seem too bold, I would suggest *Non tantum Oeagrius*. V. 119 was emended by Haupt *Quantum te, pernix, remorantur, diua, chorea*, and *pernix* is actually written in V. But here again, as in 117, I hold the truer reading to be that of the other MSS, including F, and would read *Quantum te pernice morantur, diua, chorea*, by which the awkwardness of *chorea* as nom. followed by the plural *laetae fundentes* is obviated.

123, 4.

Nam primum prona surgebant valle patentes  
Aeriae platanos, inter quas impia lotos.

So F; B has *platane* with *us* written over *e* in a more modern hand; V and several other MSS give *platani*. I should here, against Ribbeck, incline to regard *platanos* as the less corrupted reading, and, with Bembo, restore the rare but not incredible form *platanus*, which Neue seems to accept, Formenlehre I 536.

127.

At quibus tinsigni curru proiectus equorum  
Ambustus Phaethon luctu mutauerat artus  
Heliades.

This is no place for styling Phaethon's chariot splendid; an obvious correction is *indigne*. So Ovid speaking of the Sun's anger at Phaethon's death says, M. II 400 *Sacuit enim natumque obiectat et imputat illis*.

131.

Posterior cui Demophoon aeterna reliquit  
Perfidiam flamentandi mala perfide multis  
Perfide Demophoon et nunc tdefende puellis.

Bährens is, I believe, right in reading *lamentanti*, as certainly wrong in his *i nunc defendeque vela*. It would be difficult to improve on Scaliger's *defende*, which Ribbeck retains. 'Thou faithless Demophoon, to many a maiden faithless, aye still a memory to rouse their tears,' a pleasing and natural apostrophe to the oft-repeated story of Phyllis' betrayal.

137-9.

Hic magnum Argoe naui decus edita (so F with most MSS, adita V) pinus  
Proceros (Proceras, MSS) tdecorat (decoras, F) siluas hirsuta per artus.  
Ac petit aeriis tcontingere tmontibus astra.

I can hardly think *decorat* right. Possibly *superat*. *Montibus* was corrected by Scaliger to *motibus*, a very weak word; by Heinsius to *frondibus*. Audacious as to some it will seem, I believe the right word is *morsibus*; for the successive growths by which the fir and pine are continually rising, a new apex marking the new growth, might not inaptly be described as so many *bites in the air*.

153.

Argutis et cuncta fremunt ardore cicadis.

Bährens, ingeniously, *a rore*. I doubt, however, whether the fact is so, and suggest *stridore*, the regular word for the peculiar sound of the cicada, Plin. XI 266 *alia murmur edere, ut apis, alia cum tractu stridorem, ut cicadas, receptum enim duobus sub pectore cauis spiritum, mobili occursante membrana intus, attritu eius sonore*.

166-8.

Obuia uibranti carpens grauis ore trilingui  
Squamosos late torquebat motibus orbes.  
†Tollebant aurae uenientis ad omnia uisust.

In *ad omnia* I think *abdomina* probably lurks. For *aurae* V has *arte*. Bährens reads *Tendebant acres venientis ad omnia*

*uisus*, which certainly gives a clearly defined picture of the restless eyes of the advancing snake; but seems to me, as Latin, a little strained; *tendebant* especially is hardly the right word, to say nothing of the fact that *omnia* several times marks a corruption, as in 217, 233, 242. Accepting *nisus* for *uisus* from Ribbeck I would read *Tollebant acres (?) venienti abdomina nisus*, the contortions of the snake in its progress cause the belly to be constantly lifted from the ground and exposed to view. Silius has *nisu se concitat acri* of a warrior, v. 235. Or can *aurae* conceal *caudae*? Haupt's *Pallebant aura uementis gramina uiri* is inexpressibly violent, and will, I should fancy, convince no one, a remark which extends to many of his alterations of the Culex, especially in reference to his introduction of elisions against the MSS and in violation of the laws observed by the poet. See Birt's careful examination, Halieut. p. 50.

In 177 *Saepius arripiens* should be retained, as a repeated darting at objects in the way would be natural in an enraged serpent; similarly *spiritibus rumpit fauces* is not to be changed into *spiritus erumpit* f. (Heinsius), the plural expresses the convulsive and continual motion of the hissing throat.

185. 6.

Qua diducta genas pandebant lumina gemmis  
Hac senioris erat nature pupula telo  
Icta leui.

Forbiger explains 'where the unclosed eyes laid open the lids to the pupil,' i. e. for the eye-ball to exert its function of seeing, supposing *gemma* to be another word for *pupula*. But no instance of such a meaning is quoted, and the resemblance of sound in *genas gemmis*, as well as the iteration *pupula* in 186 (Bährens alters this to *palpebra*), is suspicious. Possibly *pennis* 'to the gnat's wings,' i. e. to the approach of the whirring gnat. *Nature* is, of course, as Bothe saw, a mistake for *mature*, 'in time' to avoid the serpent's bite. I do not think *palpebra* is right; (1) it is not the MS reading; (2) the word seems only to occur in the plural and with the *e* long, Lucr. IV 952; (3) if the eyes are stated to have been *unclosed*, it was because the *eye-ball*, not the *eye-lid*, was stung by the gnat.

193-5.

Quam casus sociarit opem numenue deorum  
Prodere sit dubium, ualuit sed uincere tali  
Horrida squamosi uoluentia membra draconis.

It is not necessary to change *tali* (V) into *talis*. Here *tale* is 'such a thing,' 'so slight a thing,' as *omne* is used for 'everything.' F with two of B's MSS has *tales*, which perhaps points to *tale* (nom.) as what the poet wrote.

198-201.

Et quod erat tardus somni languore remoto  
 †Nescius aspiciens timor obcaecaverat artus  
 Hoc minus implicuit dira formidine mentem  
 Quem postquam uidit caesum languescere sedit.

Bährens is perhaps right in transposing 201 before 198, for 198-200 seem to explain *sedit*; the shepherd having killed the snake, instead of moving away at once from the scene of danger, sat down with less appearance of dismay than might have been expected, (1) *et quod*, because he was still drowsy from the sleep from which he had been suddenly awake (*remoto*); (2) because the sudden alarm of the sight of the serpent had for a while paralyzed his limbs and made him unwilling to move. Hence for *Nescius* I would read *Nec secus*. Bährens' *Quo plus* seems to me too remote for the MSS, nor can I think his *astringens* for *aspiciens* probable. F has *tonor* for *timor*; but though Quintilian (I 5, 23) says *tonor* was an old form of *tenor* in the sense of accent, it can hardly mean anything like rigor or tension of the limbs, and must therefore, I think, be dismissed. There is, however, some weakness in *timor*, *formidine* in two consecutive lines. If *aspiciens timor* is thought, as perhaps it may be, too harsh, 'and similarly fear at the sight of the snake,' it would be easy to read *ad speciem*.

225-7.

Praemia sunt pietatis ubi, pietatis honores?  
 In uanas abiere uices fet iure recessit  
 Iustitiae prior illa fides.

For *et iure*, the reading of F and most MSS, V has *uita*, whence Bährens reads *et uicta recessit Iustitia et* (Schrader) *prior illa fides*. Is not *et* here somewhat weak? If V represents the true tradition, I should prefer *euicta*, 'driven out of its holdings, dispossessed'; if the other MSS, perhaps *abiere*, a repetition corresponding to that of *pietatis* in 225.

239 sqq.

Terreor a tantis insistere, terreor, umbris.  
 Ad Stygias reuocatus aquas uix ultimus amni  
 Restat nectareas diuum qui prodidit escas

Gutturis arenti reuolutus in omnia sensu.  
 Qui saxum procul aduerso qui monte reuoluit  
 Contempsisse dolor quem numina uincit acerbas  
 Otia quarentem frustra sibilite puelle  
 Ite quibus tedas accendit tristis Erinis  
 Sicut himen prelata dedit conubia mortis.

In this difficult passage the poet recalls himself to the description of the infernal world: 'I shudder to dwell on such grim shadows, to return to the waters of Styx.' Hence *Ad St. reuocatus aquas* should be constructed with *terreor*, not with *extat*. At *uix* begins the description of Tantalus' punishment. *Extat* for *Restat* (Heinsius) is certain, which cannot be said of any emendation yet proposed for *reuolutus in omnia*. We saw above that *omnia* is a frequent residue of error; in 217 it seems to represent *moenia* (Sillig); in 233 *Quem circa tristes densentur in omnia* (*in omnua* F) *Poenae*, it is, I believe, a mistake for *ostia*, as the *Poenae* would naturally gather at the door of Hell; in the line before us Ribbeck may be right in conjecturing *inania*, and if so, *reuolutus* (which can hardly stand with *reuoluit* in the next line) may be a mistake for *releuatus*, a word peculiarly appropriate to relief of hunger or thirst. Or is it possible that *in omnia* is here for *insomnia*? then *resolutus* may represent some active participle, *reparans*, *renouans* or the like. The next five verses I would write as follows:

Quid saxum procul aduerso qui monte reuoluit,  
 Contempsisse dolor quem numina vincit acerbas,  
 Otia quaerentem frustra<sup>ibus</sup>? Ite puellae;  
 Ite quibus taedas accendens tristis Erinys,  
 Sicut Hymen, praefata dedit conubia mortis.

The reference is to Sisyphus and the Danaides. *Acerbas* is, I imagine, better than *acerbus* or *acerba*, and here again I find the Bodl. MS a reliable guide; *acerbas* is another instance of the suppressed *n* of the nomin. participle of which Corssen collects so many instances. *Frustratibus* is rare, but occurs in Plautus; it might aptly enough express the baffled attempts of Sisyphus to roll the stone to the top of the mountain. The allusion in the last two verses is to the deadly bridal of the Danaides, 'to whom the Fury, speaking the words of prelude, as it were Hymen (Cat. LXIV 382), assigned a bridal that was death.'

265, 6.

Ecce Ithaci coniunx semper decus Icarioris  
 Feminum concepta decus manet.

*Decus* in 265 is generally altered to *ducis*, in consequence of *decus* in 266. But it is not certain that this is the right word there, for F has what looks like *recus*. May not this represent *secus*, sex? With this Bährens' *consaepta* would well agree.

274. 5.

Ecfossasque (Necfossasque MSS) domos ac tartara nocte cruenta  
Obsita, nec faciles ditis sine iudice sedes.

*Ecfossas*, not *Defossas*, is what MSS point to, 'homes dug out of the earth,' *i. e.* subterranean and dark. The form *ecfodere* is indubitable in Tacitus and Cicero as well as Plautus; as Lewis and Short show from Neue Formenl. II 767. *Dictaeo* (Bährens) is very plausible, yet *sine* must, I think, be genuine; perhaps, therefore, *Dictae sine* is what the poet wrote. There is too strong a tendency in editors to eliminate difficult negatives or words implying a negative. Thus in Heroid. XII 169, 170, Medea says *Non mihi grata dies, noctes uigilantur amarae, Nec tener a misero pectore somnus abit*, for so I would modify A. Palmer's conjecture, following the MSS, which would hardly have changed *Nec* into *Et*. *Nec* qualifies *tener*, 'and sleep, not the soft sleep of a happy lover, flies from me.' So in the passage of the *Culex* before us, *nec* extends both to *faciles* and *sine iudice*, 'and the abodes that smile not with Dictae's judge away,' *i. e.* 'the abodes where Dictae's judge is ever present to make them forbidding.' Cf. the remarks of Birt, Halieut. p. 49.

286-288.

Haec eadem potuit Ditis te uincere coniunx  
Eurudicenque ultro ducendam reddere : non fas  
Non erat inuitam dire exorabile mortis.

'This same lyre had power to persuade thee, consort of Pluto, and to restore Eurydice unasked to be led away. But it might not be; to traverse the path of dreadful death was not to be won by entreaty.' I read then <sup>1</sup> *ire uiam*. F, both here and in 268, has *Erudice*, in which I trace a vestige of the old spelling *Eurudice*.

294.

Dignus amor venia tgratiam si Tartara nossent.

So F, *gratum* most MSS, as I incline to think, rightly. 'Gratitude,' viz. for Orpheus' devotion. Birt reads *gratam*, explaining of Proserpine, Halieut. p. 53.

<sup>1</sup> Birt, *Non fas, Non erat : Inuictae diuiae exorabile numen*. Halieut. p. 53.

295-303.

Peccatum meminisse graves tuos sede piorum  
 Vos manet heroum contra manus, hic et uterque  
 Aeacides, Peleus namque et Telamonia virtus  
 Per secura patris laetantur numina, quorum  
 Conubiis uenus et uirtus iniunxit honorem.  
 Hunc rapuit ferit ast illum nereis amavit.  
 Adsidet hac iuuenis sociat de gloria sortis  
 Alter in excisum referens a navibus ignis  
 Argolicis Phrygios turba feritate repulsos.

No passage of the *Culex* is more corrupt than this. I will give what appears to me the connexion of thought. 'Yet it were shame to remember Orpheus' sin: ye are both (Orpheus and Eurydice) destined to rest in Elysium with the heroes of old time. In Elysium are both the Aeacids Peleus and Telamon, rejoicing in the tranquil assurance of their father's divine power (Apollod. III 12, 15 *τιμᾶται δὲ καὶ παρὰ Πλούτωνι τελευτήσας Αἰακὸς καὶ τὰς κλείς τοῦ Ἅιδου φυλάττει*), and in life raised by their prowess and the love they inspired to marriages of high consideration. Seated near is Ajax, associated with them by the allotment of destiny—Ajax of boldness unapproachable, telling how the Trojans were beaten back in confusion from the Greek ships which they would fain have set on fire.' The whole passage I would write thus:

Peccatum meminisse gravest (Bähr.): uos sede piorum  
 Vos manet heroum contra manus. Hic et uterque  
 Aeacides: Peleus namque et Telamonia virtus  
 Per secura patris laetantur numina, quorum  
 Conubiis uenus et uirtus iniunxit honorem.  
 Hunc rapit *Hesiona*, ast illum Nereis amauit.  
 Adsidet *huic* inuenis, sociat *quem* (Bähr.) gloria sortis,  
 Acer (Bemb.) inaccessum, referens a nauibus ignis  
 Argolicis Phrygios turba *trepidante* repulsos.

The most doubtful point in these verses is the obviously corrupt *feritast* (*feritas* V) and again *feritate* (303). It is remarkable that *feritatis* recurs in 311 where it is undoubtedly right; but it cannot but be wrong I think in each of the former places. Bembo conjectured in 300 *serua ast*, Schrader *Periboea*, which Ribbeck and Bährens adopt. I greatly doubt the possibility of *periboea* becoming *feritas*; *ast* is thoroughly in its place in a contrast of this kind; in some forms of writing, *Hesionast* might easily be misread *feritast*; while to supply an exact parallel might be quoted Ovid M.

215 sqq. *Nec pars militiae Telamon sine honore recessit, Hesione que data potitur. Nam coniuge Peleus Clarus erat diua.* In the next verse Bährens seems right in recalling *quem* of H for *de* of F and most MSS, but I see no reason for changing *sortis* to *sorti*. For *in excissum* (*excidium* H, *excelsum* V) which Bähr. alters to *in excessum*, with very dubious meaning, I would write *inaccessum*, a rare word which easily became obscured; *turba* seems to be right, as Homer speaks of the confused scene which ensued when the Trojans were driven back from the attack on the ships, II. XVI 294:

Ἡμιδαῖς δ' ἄρα νηὺς λίπετ' αὐτόθι· τοὶ δ' ἐφόβηθεν  
 Τρῶες θεσπεσίῳ ὁμάδῳ. Δαναοὶ δ' ἐπέχυντο  
 Νῆας ἀνὰ γλαφυράς· ὁμάδος δ' ἀλίσστος ἐτύχθη.

And again, 367 :

Ὡς τῶν ἐκ νηῶν γένετο ἰαχὴ τε φόβος τε,  
 Οὐδὲ κατὰ μοῖραν πέραον πάλιν.

Besides, *torua feritate* is feeble, and everything points to the corruption lying not in *turba*, but *feritate*, for which V has *feritare*, H *fremitante*. What word these variants conceal is of course doubtful; *trepidante* is tolerably near and gives excellent sense.

304.

O quis non referat talis diuortia belli ?

*Diuortia* is perhaps a translation of the Homeric πολέμοιο γεφύρας.

311, 312.

Ipsa uagis namque Ida potens feritatis et ipsa  
 Ida faces altrix cupidis praebebat alumnis,  
 Omnis ut in cineres Rhoetei litoris ora  
 Classibus ambustis flamma lacrimante daretur.

Bembo wrote *iugis* for *uagis*, which Heinsius completed by writing *frondentibus* for *feritatis et*. But (1) the repetition of the two words *ipsa Ida* might well be accompanied by a connecting *et*; (2) *potens* or *patens* is an obvious corruption of *parens* which, retaining *feritatis*, will then be a translation of the Homeric μήτηρ θηρῶν. Hence *uagis* (*uatis* H) must conceal some accusative, possibly *trabes*, the material of spears. If *flamma lacrimante* is right, it can only mean an oozy flame such as is produced by pitch and similar resinous substances. My friend Mr. Shadworth Hodgson suggests *lambente*. In the difficult passage which follows this the word *Tegminibus*



can, I think, hardly represent *Ignibus hic*, but either *Fragminibus* or perhaps *Hic manibus*; for this last cf. Il. XV 716 Ἐκτωρ δὲ πρύμνηθεν ἐπεὶ λάβεν, οὐχὶ μεθείει Ἀφλαστον μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχων.

325, 6.

Rursus acerba fremunt Paris hunc quod letat et huius  
Arma dolis Ithaci virtus quod concidit icta.

*Arma* surely cannot be *Alma*, for who would think of applying such an epithet to the valor of Ajax? Bährens suggests that *Arma* is a relic of two lost verses, in which the adjudication of the arms of Achilles to Ulysses and the subsequent death of Ajax were narrated. F omits the words after *virtus*.

327-330.

Huic gerit auersos proles Laertia uultus  
Et iam Strymonii Rhodii victorque Dolonis  
Pallade tiam laetatur ouans, rursusque tremiscit  
Iam Ciconas iamque horret [atrox Laestrygonas ipse].

It is inconceivable that *iam* should be repeated four times so meaninglessly. Read *Pallade laetabatur ouans*, and cf. 50 sqq. *tondebant, carpuntur, petuntur*. The words after *horret* are omitted in F; so in 334 it omits *Atrides* after *gener amplis* (*sic*); in 340 it has only one word, *Neque*; in 362 it omits *moritura metelli*.

363, 4.

Curtius et mediis quem quondam sedibus urbis  
Deutum bellis consumpsit gurgitis unda.

For *bellis* a not improbable emendation is *uiolens*.

370, 1.

Scipiadaeque duces, quorum deuota triumphis  
Moenia trapidis Libycae Carthaginis horrent.

H gives *iapidis*. This suggests *lappis*, the burs or weeds which spring up on neglected sites, Virg. G. I 152. Haupt's *uepretis* conveys the same idea, but is farther from the MSS. *Sub* seems to have fallen out.

374, 5.

Et uastum Phlegethonta pati, quo, maxime Minos,  
Conscelerata pia discernis uincula sede.

'Phlegethon by which Minos separates the prison of the guilty from the abode of the blest.' I cannot see that *vincula* requires any change against all MSS.

399.

Et rosa purpureum crescent rubibunda terrorem.

So B; F has *quiescant rubicunda*; V *rudibunda*; H gives *tenorem*; C *per orbem*. The old reading *crescens* is to my mind made probable by the peculiar form it assumes in F; the whole line I would read

Et rosa purpureum crescens pudibunda per orbem,

'growing in the folds of a crimson disk.' *Per* denotes the gradual accretion of the petals into the full flower.

Dirae 83.

Tuque inimica tui semper discordia ~~tu~~ius. C

Bährens rightly calls *tui* meaningless; but *boni* is not so probable a restoration as *pui*. In Prop. III 13, 56 *hospitio non, Polydore, pio* most of the MSS have *tuo*; and in II 25, 31 *Namque in amore suo semper sua maxima cuique Nescio quo pacto uerba nocere solent*, the meaning is in favor of *pui*, a *faithful* love, as opposed to a wandering and shifting passion.

91, 3.

Tardius a miserae descendite monte capellae.

Mollia non iterum carpetis pabula nota.

Tuque resiste pater, te prima nouissima uobis.

The general sense is clear; the she-goats and their male leader are leaving forever their browsing-ground. They are therefore told to linger and *crop their last meal*. Possibly then we should read *ea thymbra nouissima uobis*, 'that is the last meal of savory you will ever see,' or *cyma*, 'the last sprout.'

Lydia 14.

Membra reclinarit teneremque illiserit herbam.

The Bodleian MS like most of Bährens' has *tenerem* (not *teneram*); H *veneri*. Hence I would read *temere atque*.

R. ELLIS.

## II.—THE CREOLE PATOIS OF LOUISIANA.<sup>1</sup>

If, as we are told by Prof. Whitney in his *Language and the Science of Language*, no sound ever uttered by a human being can be a matter of indifference to the linguist and phonetician, what shall we say of a whole corner of the United States where not only a peculiar Romanic population live the most curious of lives, but where, along with this life and seemingly as one result of it, a whole series of interesting problems in linguistics is going on, the explanation of which throws much light on the processes that originate and modify dialects?

Louisiana was settled by the French under Bienville nearly two hundred years ago. A good many of the earlier settlers were Canadians, Acadians, refugees and immigrants from San Domingo and the West Indies, adventurers from the provinces of southern and western France—a medley of Romance-speaking races from every part of Mediterranean Europe, Spain, Portugal and the Biscay regions. Superadded to these varied pigments we had early in the last century a tint from Africa—large masses of Guinea and other negroes who settled thickly on the plantations and haciendas of riparian Louisiana, and soon produced important social, agrarian and linguistic changes in the speech, economy, life and civilization of the colony. These changes, gradual at first, have gone on perpetuating themselves down to the present day, until the parishes of Louisiana have a physiognomy as distinct as the isles of Greece.

Several ingenious etymologies have been suggested for the word *creole*, though most of them are either obelised or asterisked in the current lexicons. Littré, with his usual caution, tells us that the origin of the word is doubtful (Span. *criollo*, Ital. *creolo* ?), that it may or may not come from *criar*, to rear, feed—an irregular formation; or that it may be a Carib word; or, lastly, that the guess of the Spanish Academy, that it was a word invented by the conquerors of the West Indies and handed down by them, may be true.

<sup>1</sup> The author is indebted for many of the facts in this paper to Dr. Alfred Mercier, an accomplished physician of New Orleans, whose article in the *Athénée Louisianais* contributed materially to the ensuing discussion.

If we are not bewildered among so many alternatives, a glance into Skeat may contribute a little to the clarification of the subject.

The Cambridge professor tells us first that a *creole* is one born in the West Indies, but of European blood; and then he proceeds with agile pen—dashes, abbreviations, equation lines—to deduce the word, though with many misgivings, from the Span. *criollo*, a native of America or the West Indies; a corrupt word made by the negroes, said to be a contraction of *criadillo*, dimin. of *criado*, one educated, instructed or bred up, pp. of *criar*, lit. to create, also to nurse, instruct; hence the sense 'little nurseling.'

Victor Hugo uses the word boldly in the line:

Un noir où luisaient des regards de *créole*.

Whatever may be the ultimate source of the word, everybody who has ever visited Louisiana knows what the thing is—the *femme créole*, the quite inexpressible expressiveness of the verb *créoliser*, and the fundamental changes undergone by a European or American temperament when the pp. *créolise* once becomes applicable to it.

The notable *differentia* of the Creole patois is that it is a dialect that has sprung up almost entirely by the ear. Illiterate white folk and Africans of the purest blood, catching by ear the more or less indistinct utterances of the landed and commercial aristocracy around them, have reproduced in their own way, otographically, so to speak, the message delivered to their far from fastidious sensorium, producing a dialect resembling French in a fashion that suggests the relation between the *Æthiopica* of Uncle Remus and current English. Innumerable instances of what Haldeman called *otosis* (Outlines of Etymology, 30) are the result—word-jumbles, half heard or entirely misunderstood, reproduced in a very singular way as the very staple and foundation of every-day indispensable speech.<sup>1</sup> The thick lips—the aural myopia—not of one, but of tens of thousands of individuals to whom the term *Boeotian* *ἑν* is not far from applicable—a Boeotianism only paralleled by that of the editors who in certain MSS of Cicero insist on changing *consules* to *asinos*—gave birth to these winged Ethiopianisms, the delight of the French quarter of New Orleans and the nursery babble of countless Creole homes. The Franco-Louisianais still

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 'sapsago' cheese, mispronounced from German 'schabzieger,' the 'Picket Wire' river of Colorado, from *Purgatoire*, etc.

number several hundred thousands. The whites of this class are still surrounded by negroes, with whom they communicate in a Pigeon French curiously resembling the English of the Chinese seas. The Creole children, entrusted from infancy to the care of negro *mamans*, learn the patois before they learn the regular French, just as the children in deaf-and-dumb asylums talk glibly with their fingers—dactylically—before they have mastered the intricacies of lingual speech. All the *petits blancs* or ‘poor white trash’ of the urban and plantation population speak the same patois simultaneously with the French. In many households full of intelligent boys and girls, the patois is often spoken exclusively till the children are ten or twelve years of age. By that time their organs—larynx, speech-chords, pharynx, uvula—are so habituated to the drawling utterance of the kitchen and scullery that they chant rather than speak the cultivated French—a noticeable characteristic of Louisiana as it is of the dialects of the south of France, of Catalonia, and of parts of Italy.

As a general rule those who speak the patois of the parishes are able to speak pure French also. Address any *négrillon* in good French and it is a point of honor with him to reply in the same. The aboriginal language of the French negro has almost totally disappeared in the South, leaving behind hardly a dozen words of African origin.<sup>1</sup>

The French negro of Louisiana is endowed with a cunning set of wits; his auditory nerve, while not acute, enables him to pick up certain word-fragments and *débris* of conjugation which he adapts to his purposes and weaves into an ingenious and intelligible scheme highly interesting psychologically.

Note for instance how he goes to work with his verb. To his consciousness, as often to the Hebrew's, a copula is a mere pleonasm: he needs no bridge to slip from subject to predicate, but gathering up his linguistic skirts he leaps agilely across and says: *Mo contan* (je suis content). The pronoun is virtually his pres. tense ind. as well as his infinitive.

The progressive forms which we represent by the verb to be and a part. pres. he represents thus: He is dining = *lapé dinin*, i. e., *li* (lui) *apé* (après) *dinin* (dîner). In every case, seizing the emphatic disjunctive form of the pronoun as capable of a strong accent (*lui*, *moi*, *toi*, etc.), he adds it to the prep. *après* (abbe-

<sup>1</sup> See Thomas's Theory and Practice of Creole Grammar, p. 19, for many interesting examples of Creole and African words at the Port-of-Spain.

viated to *apé*) followed by an inf. There is no copula. Hence the paradigm :

Mapé	} dinin.	Napé	} dinin.
Tapé		Vapé	
Lapé		Yapé	

Resolved, these forms become *mo* (moi) + *apé*; *to* (toi) + *apé*; *li* (lui) + *apé*; *nou* (nous) + *apé*; *vou* (vous) + *apé*; *yé* (ils, eux) + *apé*. So, *mo*, *to*, *li*, *malade*; *vou*, *nou*, *yé malade*.

The prep. *apé* is quite indispensable to the Creole dialect (as *after* is to the Irish). The use of it is now an archaism in France, though it is constantly heard in Canada, where the patois has a very remarkable resemblance to the dialect of Louisiana. Cf. the Canadian *je suis après écrire*, *après m'habiller*, etc., phrases which excite the righteous indignation of the authors of *locutions vicieuses*.

The forms *Mapé*, etc., show that the Creole has reduced his pronoun-prefix to a single letter, as the descendants of the Aryans did the suffixes of their verb. *Nou*, *vou*, as heard by the illiterate and the negro, have no *s*; hence none appears in the combination *napé*, etc.; while *ils*, *eux*, have attracted a parasitic *y* like the *y*-sound in *useless*, *university*, or in the Anglo-Saxon vowel-sounds *ea*, *eo*, etc. Cf. Fch. *hier*, *lendemain*, etc., for a loose analogy.

The frequent use of the imperf. tense *étais* made an early and profound impression on the ear of the negro; chiefly, however, the syllable that had the stress, *té* (-'tais). This sound, occurring throughout the French tense, stuck indelible roots in his memory, and came to symbolize to him nearly all of what he knew of the past. Agglutinating it without trouble to his pronoun-scheme, he produced the following characteristic model:

Moté—j'étais	Nouté—nous étions
Toté—tu étais	Vouté—vous étiez
Lité—il était	Yété—ils étaient.

Nearly all the other shades, intricacies, delicacies of conjugation in the past were swallowed up in this simple and frequent form. The Creole after all follows rigorously the genius of his language, and, picking out of the syllabic *misch-masch* that germinal accented syllable which the cultivated French itself did when gathering its vocables from the Latin, he throws his whole soul into that. Compare for illustration the manner in which Canadian blasphemers have treated the word *sacré*: (s)*acré* fou; (sa)*cré* tête croche;

*cré yé* (= sacré Dieu); (sac)*ré* enfant tannant; (sac)*é* innocent!  
*é* visage! (sac)*és* z'enfants tannants! etc.

As for the Creole's representation of the indefinite pret. tense it is very simple: he uses the inf. preceded by a noun or pronoun. Thus: la nouite *vini*, li *soupe* (la nuit vint, il soupa). The same form is attached to any person, and the result is a convenient hobby-horse which may be ridden in any number or person without change.

With the tenses of the future and conditional he goes to work no less ingeniously. The great sign of the Creole fut. is the third pers. sing. pres. ind. of the verb *aller*, *va*, which the native hears frequently from the lips of the people around him; as, Gro stimbotte-là pa capab décende can dolo *va* basse (= gros steamboat-là n'est pas capable de descendre quand l'eau *va* basse). This useful monosyllable *va* is then prefixed to any given infinitive, while the noun or pronoun required by the context introduces the whole complex. Thus:

Mo—nou	}	va chanté (va chanter).
To—vou		
Li—yé		

This, however, is the primitive future of the Creole verb. Agglutination takes place without delay, and we have: *mova*, *tova*, *liva*, *nouva*, *vouva*, *yéva*, chanté; and the next result of vowel and consonant submergence and disappearance is:

Ma—na	}	chanté.
Ta—va		
La—ya		

Further abbreviation and wearing-down take place, leaving behind a colorless *a*; as, Tan bel zordi, zozo *a* chanté plice pacé ier (= temps bel aujourd'hui, les oiseaux vont chanter plus passant hier); ouzote *a* galopé dice foi cate narpan (= vous autres galoperez dix fois quatre arpents).

For the imperative the inf. is again called into play in a way paralleled by many ancient and modern languages; *e. g.*, Jule *vini* avé vou (= que Jules vienne avec vous); to *vini* dimin (= viens demain). Cf. the usage in Greek, in French advertisements and physician's prescriptions, and in colloquial German (da *bleiben*! etc.). See also *Chanson de Roland*, ll. 1113 and 2337 (Gautier's ed.) The Creole imperative first pers. plu. calls in the help of

the verb *aller*, viz. *allons*, pronounced *anon*. (Similar substitutions of one letter for another occur in the Canadian *aiduille*, *ékui*, *amikié* = *aiguille*, *étui*, *amitié*. Cf. *tloud*, *tlamp* for *cloud*, *clamp*.) Hence, *Anon* traversé larue cila (= *traversons cette rue*); *anon* boi, *anon* dromi, *anon* coude (= *buvons*, *dormons*, *cousons*).

The inf. has been truly called the Creole's anchor of salvation, as it is of the speakers of the *lingua franca* of the Mediterranean (see Molière's *Bourgeois Gentilhomme*). He clings to it with almost passionate attachment and makes it serve many a useful purpose. Nothing shows this more curiously than his use of it in the evolution of the conditional.

Just as, in listening to conversations having reference to time past, his ear was constantly struck by the sound *té* (*étais*), so in listening to discussions of doubtful, contingent, hypothetical import he is struck by the sound *sré* (*serait*, *chasserait*, etc.), which to him involves the whole of contingent possibility. He seizes the sound *sré* with characteristic eagerness, prefixes to it his noun or pronoun and then suffixes the infinitive, thus evolving a triumphant conditional admirably suited to his simple purposes. Thus, *Mo sré fumin si mo sré gagnin taba* (= *Je fumerais si j'avais du tabac*); *si sré fé pli frette, bécassine sré dija rivé* (= *s'il faisait plus froid, les bécassines seraient déjà arrivées*).

More curious even than this is the genesis of the perfect conditional. To arrive at this subtle and important distinction, which many cultivated languages have failed to grasp (cf. the early Germanic and other dialects), the Creole takes his particle of past time *té* and combines it with his particle of conditionality *sré*. Thus, *Ier mo té sré couri à la chache si té sré pa fé si tan cho* (= *hier je serais allé à la chasse s'il n'avait pas fait si chaud*). Cf. the Modern Greek use of the particle *tha* (*θα*?) to form the future. The gerundial relation with *en* is expressed in Creole by a circumlocution with *après* + the infinitive. Thus, *Ta pranne la fiev' apé joué lontan dan soleil* (= *tu vas prendre la fièvre après jouer longtemps au soleil*).

In many of these examples the simplification of the negative will be noted, the real neg. *ne* being dropped and the complementary particle *pas* being retained. The same peculiarity occurs in Canadian and in colloquial Parisian and other French dialects: *li pa peur* (= *il n'a pas peur*). The speaking directness of the Louisiana dialect is seen in the economy of effort which is one of its marks: *Mo comancé lasse*; *mo cré tan nou tournin*; *mo lé di*



Madame vou la (= je commence à être fatigué ; je crois qu'il est temps de nous en retourner ; je vais dire à Madame que vous êtes là). Prepositions, conjunctions, copula, non-essential or indeterminate words are cast overboard as useless baggage despite the *πλατὺς γέλως* of the Olympic audience.

The increasing nasalization going on in cultivated French is very obvious in Creole, where a nasal desinence attaches itself unpleasantly to the pronouns (*moïn, toïn, etc.*) and infinitives (*gagnin, fumin, etc.*) The intrusion of the nasal is clearly marked in Canadian also, where whole classes of words insert it (*anpauvrir* for *appauvrir*, *anbandonner*, *angencer*, *anvaler*, *ampât, anvoisiner*, etc.), giving rise to an intolerable twang. Sweet (Phonetics, p. 8) thinks the nasalization of English in this country and in the cockney dialect is due to the pronunciation of the vowels with imperfect closure of the nose passage:

The word *capab* in one of our examples suggests another Creole peculiarity—Canadian also: the systematic ignoring of the trill *l*, which gives rise to such examples as *admirabe, aimabe, diâbe*, etc., and *Adof* for *Adolph*. In certain Canadian words, on the other hand, there is an interloping *l* or an *l* substituted for *r* or *t*, etc.: *altère* for *artère*, *altérage* for *atterrage*, *aléner* for *agneler*, etc. The transposition of *dormir* into *dromi* is paralleled in many languages, but for the present purpose the Canadian *apocalyspe* for *apocalypse* (cf. *lisp* from *lips*, etc.) may suffice.

The Creole in his corruptions of words is often enigmatically concise, almost as much so indeed as the Canadian when he corrupts the Eng. Happy New Year! into *Apénouyir*: *on va fêter l'apénouyir* or *l'apinouyir*. Agglutinations of the article with a noun abound in the patois of Louisiana. The *petit blanc*, in certain instances, hears the article associated with the noun ; it strikes him as a sort of inseparable prefix to which he clings on most occasions, even when the word is otherwise modified. Thus, *larue* (*la rue*), *ain (une) larue* ; *mo labouche* (*ma la bouche*). Inquire of a *négrillon* what bell it is that rings at a certain hour. His answer may be: *Cé segon lacloche*. So the Creole cuisinière inquires : *Ki lasoupe* vou oulé? *lasoupe* bef ou *lasoupe* cribiche? (*quelle soupe voulez-vous? soupe au bœuf ou soupe aux écrevisses?*)

Not content with this, the Creole plays strange tricks with his plurals, for in certain cases he associates the plural article with a noun in the singular: *un os* is, in Creole, *ain d'ézo*; *un œuf* is *ain d'zef*; probably from the continual association of the partitive

article with such common objects as bones and eggs. *Dézo* mo bra apé fé moin mal (l'os de mon bras me fait mal); vou poul té pondi ain *déze*f dan mo jardin (votre poule a pondu un œuf dans mon jardin).

Specimens of transpositions are seen in the following colloquialisms: Can mo rivé, lié té encore apé *dromi* (quand j'arrivai, il *dormait* encore); mamzel apé coude en la *garlie* (mademoiselle coud sur la galerie), etc.

The constant omission of the gen. sign *de*—not with proper names only—is a characteristic of Creole and has parallelisms enough in Old French (see Bartsch's *Chrestomathie* for countless examples). As a matter of course, however, it seems pure carelessness on the part of the Creole, while in Old French there was a strong consciousness of the Latin gen. Cf. the Middle Eng. treatment of the words manner, kind, sort, with appositional substantives following.

A curious parallelism between certain Creole locutions and Homeric Greek has been pointed out: *e. g.* li *parli couri* (il partit courir, il s'en alla) and βῆ δ' ἵμεν, βὰν δ' ἰέναι, βῆ δὲ θέειν. A similar usage was widespread in Anglo-Saxon, as in Beowulf I, l. 26-27:

Him tha Scyld *gewo*lt tō gescāp-hwile  
fela-hrōr *fēran* on freān wāre, etc.

Cf. the Germ. spazieren gehen, reiten, fahren, etc.

A form of the possessive peculiar to the Creole is believed to be an importation brought into Louisiana by *émigrés* from San Domingo: *e. g.* *ziés à moin* (mes yeux), *tchor à li* (son cœur). The Canadian vulgarism, "la fête à mainan, le chapeau à ma sœur, is of a piece with this. *Tchor* for *cœur* might be compared with the Frisian palatalization of the guttural *k*: cf. original Frisian *kerke*, church, which appears as *tsuirke*, *sthereke*, *skirurke*, etc. (Hewett's Frisian Lang. p. 41).

Many philologists have noted the felicitous αἰθιονίσειν of Uncle Remus in the negro dialect of the South. The Creole lends itself no less felicitously to the *récit* and to the *conte*, as we may say on good authority. The fables of La Fontaine and Perrin and the Gospel of St. John have, indeed, been translated into the dialect of San Domingo or Martinique; lately we have had a Greek plenipotentiary turning Dante into the idiom of New Hellas: what next? Any one who has seen the delightful *Chansons Canadiennes* of M. Ernest Gagnon (Quebec, 1880) knows what pleasant things

may spring from the naïve consciousness of the people. The Creole of Louisiana lends itself admirably to those *petits poèmes*, those simple little dramatic tales, compositions, improvisations, which, shunning the regions of abstraction and metaphysics, recount the experiences of a story-teller, put into striking and pregnant syllabuses the memorabilia of some simple life, or sum up in pointed monosyllables the humor of plantation anecdote. Interesting examples of the patois occur in the romances of G. W. Cable, though they are transliterated with far less delicacy than in the work of Dr. Mercier, *L'Habitation Saint-Ybars* (Nouvelle-Orléans, 1881).

As eccentricities in the domain of phonology may be mentioned the disappearance of the letter *r*<sup>1</sup> in Creole: *apé* for *après*, *di* for *dire*, *cate* for *quatre*; exactly paralleled in numerous instances by the patois of Canada (cf. Can. *i' pa'lent* = *ils parlent*). *U*, as in *Junon*, becomes *i* (*Jinon*), *jige*, *jigemen'* (Cable's *zizement*), *dipi* (*depuis*), Can. *p'is*; compare *sich*, *jist*. In many instances *u* has been diphthongated into *ou*: *nouite* (*nuit*, with prolonged *t*, as in Can. *drette* for *droit*, Creole *frette* for *froid*); *tou souite* (*tout de suite*). The sound *eu* is changed into *air*: *l'honneur* = *lonair*, or even into *i* and *ié*, as in *Michié* = *Monsieur*. Cf. the Can. conversion of *u* into *eu*: *breune*, *breume*, *pleumes*, *preunes*. The Creole has a lingual trouble in the pronunciation of *ja*, *jou*, *gé* combinations; he slips easily into the flat sibilant *z*, as easily as some German dialects flatten *s* into *sz*: *e. g.* *jalon*, *toujours*, *manger*, become *zalon*, *tonzou*, *manzé*; *banjo* becomes *banza*, etc. Aphaeresis is one of his favorite processes, *'blié* = *oublié*, *'pélé* = *appelé*, *'baracé* = *embarrassé*, *'tite* = *petite*, *'sieur* = *monsieur*. The same clipping is common among the *habitants* of Canada.

As a specimen of the phonetic and syntactical processes and of the humorous capabilities of the Creole dialect, I reprint the following *Conte Nègre* after Dr. Mercier, inserting a literal interlinear version to give a clue to the meaning.

#### MARIAGE MLE. CALINDA.

1. Dan tan lé zote foi, compair Chivreil avé compair  
Dans temps les autres fois, compère Chevreuil avec compère
2. Torti té tou lé dé apé fé lamou à Mamzel Calinda.  
Tortue étaient tous les deux après faire l'amour à Mademoiselle Calinda.

<sup>1</sup> See Sievers' *Phonetik*, p. 212, for interesting observations on *Einschiebung* u. *Ausstossung v. Consonanten*.

3. Mamzel Calinda té linmin mié compair Chivreil, cofair  
Mlle. Calinda avait aimé mieux compère Chevreuil, [pour]quoi faire
4. li pli vaïan ; mé li té linmin compair Torti oucite,  
le plus vaillant ; mais elle avait aimé compère Tortue aussi,
5. li si tan gagnin bon tchor ! Popa Mamzel Calinda di li :  
il si tant gagner bon cœur ! Papa Mlle. Calinda dire lui :
6. "Mo fie, li tan to maïé ; fo to soizi cila to oulé." Landimin,  
"Ma fille, il (est) temps te marier ; faut te choisir cela tu voulez." Len-  
demain,
7. compair Chivreil avé compair Torti rivé tou yé dé coté Mlle. C.  
compère Chevreuil avec compère Tortue arriver tous eux de côté Mlle. C.
8. Mamzel C., qui té zonglé tou la nouite, di yé : "Michié Chivreil avé  
Mlle. C., qui avait songé toute la nuit, dire eux : "Monsieur Chevreuil avec
9. Michié Torti, mo popa oulé mo maïe. Mo pa oulé di ain  
Monsieur Tortue, mon papa vouloir me marier. Moi pas vouloir dire un
10. dan ouzote non. Ouzote a galopé ain lacourse dice foi cate  
dans vous autres non. Vous autres va galopper une la course dix fois  
quatre
11. narpan ; cila qui sorti divan, ma maïe avé li. Apé dimin  
arpents ; cela qui sortir devant, moi va marier avec lui. Après demain
12. dimance, ouzote a galopé." Yé parti couri, compair Chivreil  
dimanche, vous autres va galopper." Eux partir courir, compère Chev-  
reuil
13. zo tchor contan ; compair Torti apé zonglé li-minme :  
son cœur content ; compère Tortue après songer lui-même :
14. "Dan tan pacé, mo granpopa bate compair Lapin pou  
"Dans temps passé, mon grandpapa battre compère Lapin pour
15. galopé. Pa conin coman ma fé pou bate compair Chivreil."  
galopper. Pas conner (= connaître) comment moi va faire pour battre  
compère Chevreuil."
16. Dan tan cila, navé ain vié, vié cocodri qui té gagnin  
Dans temps cela en avait un vieux, vieux crocodile qui avait gagné
17. plice pacé cincante di zan. Li té si malin, yé té pélé li  
plus passé cinquante dix ans. Lui était si malin, eux avaient appelé lui
18. compair Zavoca. La nouite vini, compair Torti couri trouvé  
compère Avocat. La nuit venir, compère Tortue courir trouver
19. compair Zavoca, é conté li coman li baracé pou so  
compère Avocat, et conter lui comment lui embarrasser pour sa
20. lacourse. Compair Zavoca di compair Torti : "Mo ben  
la course. Compère Avocat dire compère Tortue : "Moi bien
21. oulé idé toi, mo garçon ; nou proce minme famie ; la tair  
vouloir aider toi, mon garçon ; nous proche même famille ; la terre
22. avé do lo minme kichoge pou nizote. Mo zonglé zafair  
avec de l'eau même quelquechose pour nous autres. Moi va songer cette  
affaire
23. To vini dimin bon matin ; ma di toi qui pou fé."  
Toi venir demain bon matin ; moi va dire toi que pour faire."

24. Compair Torti couri coucé ; mé li pas dromi boucou,  
Compère Tortue courir coucher ; mais lui pas dormir beaucoup,
25. li té si tan tracassé. Bon matin li parti couri  
lui était si tant tracassé. Bon matin lui partir courir
26. coté compair Zavoca. Compair Zavoca dija diboute apé  
côté compère Avocat. Compère Avocat déjà debout après
27. boi so café. "Bonzou, Michié Zavoca." "Bouzou, mo  
boire son café. "Bonjour, Monsieur Avocat." "Bonjour, mon
28. gaçon. Zafair cila donne moin boucou traca ; min mo  
garçon. Cette affaire cela donne moi beaucoup tracas ; mais moi
29. cré ta bate compair Chivreil, si to fé mékié ma di toi.  
crois toi va battre compère Chevreuil, si toi fais métier moi va dire toi.
30. "Vouzote a pranne jige jordi pou misiré chimin au ra  
"Vous autres va prendre juge aujourd'hui pour mesurer chemin au ras
31. bayou ; chac cate narpan mété jalon. Compair Chivreil a  
bayou ; chaque quatre arpents mettez jalon. Compère Chevreuil va
32. galopé on la tair ; toi, ta galopé dan dolo. To ben compranne  
galopper en la terre ; toi, tu va galopper dans de l'eau. Toi bien com-  
prendre
33. ça mo di toi ?" "O, oui, compair Zavoca, mo ben  
cela moi dire toi ?" "O, oui, compère Avocat, moi bien
34. couté tou ça vapé di." "A soua, can la nouite vini,  
écouter tout cela vous après dire." "Le soir, quand la nuit veñir,
35. ta couri pranne nef dan to zami, é ta caché aine dan  
toi va courir prendre neuf dans tes amis, et toi va cacher un dans
36. zerb au ra chakène zalon yé. Toi, ta couri caché au ra  
herbe au ras chacun jalon eux. Toi, toi va courir cacher au ras
37. la mison Mamzel Calinda. To ben compranne ça mo di toi ?"  
la maison Mlle. Calinda. Toi bien comprendre cela moi dire toi ?"
38. "O, oui, compair Zavoca, mo tou compranne mékié ça vou  
"O, oui, compère Avocat, moi tout comprendre métier cela vous
39. di." "Eben ! couri paré pou sové lonnair nou nachion."  
dire." "Eh bien ! courir préparer pour sauver l'honneur notre nation."
40. Compair Torti couri coté compair Chivreil é rangé tou  
Compère Tortue courir côté compère Chevreuil et arranger tout
41. kichoge compair Zavoca di li. Compair Chivreil si tan sire  
quelquechose compère Avocat dire lui. Compère Chevreuil si tant sûr
42. gagnin lacourse, li di oui tou ça compair Torti oulé.  
gagner la course, lui dire oui tout cela compère Tortue vouloir.
43. Landimin bon matin, tou zabitan semblé pou oua  
Lendemain bon matin, tous habitants assembler pour voir
44. gran lacourse. Can lhair rivé, compair Chivreil avé  
grande la course. Quand l'heure arriver, compère Chevreuil avec
45. compair Torti tou lé dé paré. Jige la crié : "Go !" é yé  
compère Tortue tous les deux préparés. Juge là crier : "Go !" et eux
46. parti galopé. Tan compair Chivreil rivé coté primié  
partir galopper. Temps compère Chevreuil arriver côté premier

47. zalon, li hélé : " Halo, compair Torti ! " " Mo la, compair jalon, lui hélé : " Halo, compère Tortue ! " " Moi là, compère
48. Chivreil ! " Tan yé rivé dézième zalon, compair Chivreil Chevreuil ! " Temps eux arriver deuxième jalon, compère Chevreuil
49. sifflé : " Fioute ! " Compair Torti réponne : " Croak ! " Troisième siffler : " Fioute ! " Compère Tortue répondre : " Croak ! " Troisième
50. zalon bouté, compair Torti tink-à-tink avé compair jalon au bout, compère Tortue tingue-à-tingue avec compère
51. Chivreil. " Diâbe ! Torti la galopé pli vite Chevreuil. " Diable ! Tortue là galopper plus vite
52. pacé stimbotte ; fo mo grouyé mo cor. " Tan compair passé steamboat ; faut moi grouiller mon corps. " Temps compère
53. Chivreil rivé coté névième zalon, li oua compair Torti Chevreuil arriver côté neuvième jalon, lui voir compère Tortue
54. apé patchiou dan dolo. Li mété tou so laforce après *patchiou* ! dans de l'eau. Lui mettre toute sa la force
55. dihior pou aïen ; avan li rivé coté bite, li tendé dehors pour rien ; avant lui arriver côté but, lui entendre
56. tou monne apé hélé : " Houra ! houra ! pou compair Torti ! " tout monde après hélé : " Hourra ! hourra ! pour compère Tortue ! "
57. Tan li rivé, li oua compair Torti on la garlie apé Temps lui arriver, lui voir compère Tortue en la galerie après
58. brassé Mamzel Calinda. Ça fé li si tan mal, li embrasser Mlle. Calinda. Cela faire lui si tant mal, lui
59. sapé dan boi. Compair Torti maïé avé Mamzel Calinda s'échapper dans bois. Compère Tortue marier avec Mlle. Calinda
60. samedi apé vini, é tou monne manzé, boi, jika samedi après venir, et tout monde manger, boire jusqu'à
61. y tchiak.<sup>1</sup>  
eux griser.

J. A. HARRISON.

<sup>1</sup> *Tchiak* is the name given by the Creole negroes to the starling, which, Dr. Mercier tells me, is applied adjectively to express various states of spirituous exhilaration.

### III.—ON THE ENGLISH PERFECT PARTICIPLE USED INFINITIVALLY.

"As in olde felde cornes freshe and grene grewe,  
So of olde bookes commeth our cunninge newe."

JOHN HARDYNG.

"At this time," writes Dr. Thomas Fuller, "*began* the troubles in the Low Countreys, about matters of religion, *heightned* between two opposite parties, Remonstrants and Contra-remonstrants,"<sup>1</sup> etc. Quoting these words, Dr. Peter Heylin objects: "Not at this time, viz., 1618, which our author speaks of, but some years before. They were now come unto their height,"<sup>2</sup> etc. Fuller thereto replies: "A causlesse cavil.<sup>3</sup> I said not, absolutely, they now *began*, but now they *began heightned*.<sup>4</sup> The animadverto

<sup>1</sup> *The Church-History of Britain* (1655), Book X, p. 77.

<sup>2</sup> *Examen Historicum* (1659), Part I, p. 187.

<sup>3</sup> Not at all so; Heylin's stricture being on an historical statement only, and not on Fuller's way of putting it. Fuller has it that the "troubles" were nearing their acme in 1618; Heylin, that they had then reached their acme. While encountering an objection which had not been raised, Fuller says not a word about his extraordinary disjunction of "*began*" and "*heightned*."

<sup>4</sup> In the English of literature, despite Dr. Henry More, Milton, and others, even *gin*, governing, as it generally did, another verb without the intervention of *to*, had become antiquated some time before Fuller's day; and *begin*, similarly constructed, seems to have fallen into desuetude earlier still, by a considerable interval. How far Fuller may have been borne out by the colloquial usage of his contemporaries, in omitting *to* after his "*began*," is a point which it is impossible to determine.

To those who wrote, for instance, "he began *rear* a house" and "do not suffer him *rob* me," the passive constructions "the house began *reared*" and "they suffer me *robbed* by him" cannot have appeared violent. Yet such constructions, from their omitting "be," are not strictly consequential, as is, from "he *is digging* the grave," "the grave *is being dug* by him," in which expressions we simply have, in turn, "is" prefixed to the imperfect participle active and to the imperfect participle passive.

But passive constructions in which only "to" is left out before the perfect participle are not unknown.

"And yit a nother sawe of behoves *be spoken*." Robert Mannyng (1327-1338), in *Hearne's Peter Langtoft's Chronicle* (ed. 1810), p. 172.

knows full well that such participles equivaie infinitives.<sup>5</sup> . . . The troubles in the Low Countries *began heightened*, that is, to<sup>6</sup> *heightened*. The distemper was bred some years before, which now came to the paroxism thereof, viz., anno 1618."<sup>7</sup>

That Fuller is not seen to have appealed to preceding writers, as warranting his "*began heightened*," is significant. The fact is,

"He suffred his owne bodye *be woundid* for the." Anon., *Early English Versions of the Gesta Romanorum* (fourteenth century), p. 44 (ed. 1879). "Cordell, his doughter, did hym *be beried* at Leycetur." *Ibid.*, p. 52. "Thow shalt make *be callid* to the al the lordes and cheveteynis of the empire." *Ibid.*, p. 251. See also *ibid.*, pp. 203, 311.

"It oughte *be seid*"; "alle the religiouns . . . forbeden thilk religioun *be doon and usid*." Bp. Reginald Pecock, *Repressor*, etc. (about 1456), pp. 256, 478, 479. See also pp. 331, 453. "*Be undirnome*," "*be blamed*," and "*be had*" are found at pp. 435, 456, 463, after "*worthi*."

"Saluste saieith that there ought great glorie *be gyven* to theym that have done veraie hygh and great actes." Lord Berners, *The Golden Boke*, etc. (1534), sig. B 5 r (ed. 1546).

"Ought that *be granted* to force, which was denied to love?" "Hee caused the enemies spoiles *bee erected*." Henry Carey, Earl of Monmouth, *Romulus and Tarquin* (1637), pp. 71, 88. See also pp. 93, 125, 159, etc.

"Though poets . . . made a prison *be despised*," etc. *Id.*, *Man Become Guilty* (1650), p. 384. See also pp. 27, 28, 32 (*quinquies*), etc.

"To make that *be better understood* which we said before," etc. Sir Richard Baker, *Discourses upon Cornelius Tacitus* (1642), p. 363. See also pp. 24, 62, etc.

"He employed the rest of that day in making the inclinations of the inhabitants *be sounded*," etc. Sir Aston Cockain (?), *Cassandra* (1652), p. 219.

<sup>5</sup> From St. Matthew's Gospel and Vergil, respectively, Fuller here adds, as affording expressions parallel to his "*began heightened*," "*εἰσέθῃ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα*, *pro ἔχειν*," and "sensit medios delapsus in hostes, *pro delapsus se esse*." With these passages compare, as approximate, "they were seen *running away*," and "he felt *injured*." It is observable, however, that Fuller's "*pro ἔχειν*" is gratuitous, and that—differently from "it continues *running*," the alternative of "it continues *to run*,"—"seen *running away*" is not necessarily the same as "seen *to run away*."

<sup>6</sup> Mr. James Nichols, who makes as if editing very critically the work here quoted, silently prints "to be." See *The History of the University of Cambridge*, etc. (1840), p. 544.

<sup>7</sup> *The Appeal of Injured Innocence* (1659), Part II, p. 98.

<sup>8</sup> Fuller's use, as above, of the perfect participle suggests such locutions—common in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but seemingly traceable somewhat before,—as John of Trevisa's "is *to menyng*," instead of "is *to mean*"; locutions which by no means "died out about the end of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century," as the Rev. Dr. Richard Morris asserts. Udall, in his *Roister Doister*, written after the middle of the sixteenth century, has "taught *to kissing and licking*" and "he hath somewhat *to dooing*." Striking,



that his was an age when it was the rule for every one to rest mainly on his own authority for the way in which he handled English, and when an author, on finding his language impeached, was

however, is John Evelyn's: "He first begins with commanding them to *hungering* and *thirsting* after righteousness." *History of Religion* (1657-1683), Vol. II, p. 137 (1850).

Though, in the aforesaid phrases, we have, to the eye and ear, the substitution of the present participle for the present infinitive, the supposition, which has been made by grammarians, that those who early employed them, whether in speech or on paper, merely corrupted the old infinitival termination, is one that does not lack plausibility.

In one and the same page are to be found, besides "in tyme *comyng*," the forms "in tyme to *comyn*" and "in any tyme to *comyng*." Anon., *Chronicle*, etc. (about 1469?), p. 131 (Camden Society, 1876). A little later occurs: "And they founde this one squyre to *herynge* his masse besyde Saynt Edwardes shryne; and there they slewe hym, the whiche was called Hawell." Anon., *Cronycle of Englonde* (about 1483), sig. Z 1 r. (ed. 1510). But the original edition of this work has "hering" instead of the later "to herynge." Both Wynkyn de Worde and Julyan Notary insert "to" in this place. See note 20 at p. 304, *infra*.

The terminations *-en* and *-ing* have freely been confounded. A familiar instance is seen in *beholding*, "indebted," for *beholden*, used in 1469 and about 1471, by Sir Thomas Malory and Sir John Fortescue, respectively, and by scores of authors thence onward till after 1700. The nature of this corruption is, presumably, phonetic. A book published in the time of the Commonwealth gives, to illustrate "such words as are altogether alike in sound," the sentence: "For the *beholding* of it I am *beholden* to him." Richard Hodges, *The Plainest Directions for the True Writing of English*, etc. (1649), p. 5.

*Owing*, as in "gold *owing* him,"—a use current ever since 1455, or earlier,—is hastily asserted, by Bp. Lowth, to be changed from *owen*, perfect participle of *owe*. Such a participle I find twice in the *Paston Letters*; but it is, pretty certainly, to be accounted a provincialism. In the old "gold *owen* him," *owen* is the uncontracted form of the adjective *own*, "proper," "appertaining," and governs a dative. Hence, in "gold *owing* him," we have, it seems, together with the mistake of one word for another, *-en* altered, by slovenliness of utterance, to *-ing*.

In the Wyclifite Gospels, "hym sittynge," "us slepinge," "him herd," "him forsakun," etc., afford samples of the case absolute. Add "hym unwyttyng" (*Select English Works of John Wyclif* (1869-1871), Vol. III, p. 281), to signify "be being unaware"; and compare "she wold do it, *unwitting* you or any of her freinds" (Godfrey Green, 1464, in the *Plumpton Correspondence*, p. 11). Through noteworthy ignorance, Thomas Denyes (1454) and John Paston (1470) wrote "myn unwetyng" and "my onwetyng" (*Paston Letters*, ed. 1872-1875, Vol. I, p. 287, and Vol. II, p. 412). Sir John Paston's "his unwarys" and "your onknowleche," in the same work, Vol. II, pp. 328 and 393, also deserve passing mention.

Of *unwitting*, as a corruption of *unwitten*,—which corruption might, but for explanation, be surmised in "hym *unwyttnge*," quoted just above,—I know of

generally wont, if he offered any defence at all, to content himself with a reference to Latin or Greek, often more or less inapposite or fallacious.

but one instance: "In the meane season, Kyng Henry, . . . *unwitting* to Edward, gat Duresme," etc. Richard Grafton, Continuation of Hardyng's *Chronicle* (1543), fol. 3.

As to *unknowing*, there is nothing wrong, most probably, in "*unknowyng* the said peple wherfore it was" (Anon., *An English Chronicle*, before 1471, p. 62, ed. 1856); but *unknowing* indubitably holds, in divers passages, the place of *unknown*. "He thought that the provost, . . . whiche secretly, *unknowynge* to no man, bare and had on his flesshe the hayre," etc. *Knight of La Tour-Landry* (about 1372?), p. 189. "'*Unknowynge* to the,' quod the seconde broder, 'he gave me al that is in brede, length, and depnes of that sayd tree; and therefore I have as grete ryght in the tree as thou.'" Anon., *Early English Versions of the Gesta Romanorum* (fourteenth century), p. 432 (ed. 1879). "As it is not on *knowyng* to yow that I had," etc. John Paston, Jr. (1462), in the *Paston Letters* (*ut supra*), Vol. II, p. 119. "The kyng, . . . after that he perceaved they were sore punyshed and polled *unknowyng* to hym, restored to them their mony," etc. Richard Grafton (1543), Continuation, etc. (*ut supra*), fol. 142. "My commissioners, *unknowing* to me, when they were at the church, charged the dean," etc. Abp. Matthew Parker (1568), in *Correspondence*, etc., p. 312 (1853). "So that hee wilbe lesse offended with the hurt and losse of those things that hee hath lent, and were gently asked him, then with those which, *unknowing* to him, by force and against his will they have taken from him, yea, though they bring them afterwards hole and sound againe." Sir Thomas North, *Dial of Princes*, Books III, IV, fol. 115 v. (ed. 1568). See, also, Fabyan, as cited in Dr. Richardson's *Dictionary*.

*Seen* and *overseen*, in their discarded senses of "versed" and "in error," seem to be most easily explained as phonetic depravations of *seeing* and *overseeing*. "To have a sight in" once meant "to be conversant with." Add, probably, *mistaken*, as in "you are *mistaken* in supposing," etc.

Different, of course, from the corruptions here instanced is *lending*, for *lent*,—a style of substitution which here and there blemishes the English of Shakespeare,—in the passage subjoined:

"But, since that, in the world, all things are graunted, not during life, but as *lendyng*, whych ought to bee rendered the day following," etc. Sir Thomas North, *Dial*, etc. (*ut supra*, ed. 1568), Books III, IV, fol. 68 r.

We find *parischings*, for *parishens*,—(French *paroissiens*), now lengthened into *parishioners*,—in the *Apology for Lollard Doctrines*, a treatise of the age of Wyclif. Other works of about the same time likewise occasionally tack *g* to a final *n*, as in *basyng* and *gardyng*, seen in an early translation of the *Gesta Romanorum*; and Sir John Fortescue has *reysynges*, for *raisins*. *Hobgobling* and *kiching* competed, for ages, with the more etymological forms now established; and few readers of our oldish literature can be unacquainted with *buskings*, *chickings*, *cousing*, *culvering*, *flanning*, *javeling*, *frankling*, *mandaring*, etc. etc. Henry Carey, Earl of Monmouth, goes so far as to write of an *arch-flanning*. With respect to the obsolete *popeling*, "papist,"—instead of which Abp. Maxwell puts

It having been shown that the idiom under consideration has been explicitly recognized, the simplest form of it, or that in which the perfect participle, by itself, or annexed to an auxiliary, stands

*papeling* and *papling*,—it is hardly questionable that it is only- *papalin* (Italian *papalino*), Sir Richard Baker's *popeline*. *Housyng* or *housing*, long often a plural, I do not here add, being cautioned, by the Rev. Professor Skeat, against post-dating it to *housen*: and Mr. Thomas Arnold's departure from manuscript authority, and insertion, in his text, of *housen*, displacing *housyng*, may be a step too venturesome. See *Select English Works of John Wyclif*, Vol. III, p. 336.

Richard Hodges, already quoted in this note, instances, at pp. 27, 31, 34, as "nearly alike in sound," *coffin* and *coughing*, *cummin* and *coming*, *jerkin* and *jerking*, *pullen* and *pulling*.

On the other hand, Capgrave has *songin*, for *singing*; and *tarrying*, *touching*, *working*, etc., were now and then similarly maimed by writers of his century, as they are by some vulgar speakers still. In writing, no less than in speaking, ill-educated Irishmen often put *been* and *seen* for *being* and *seeing*.

*Stockens* was, for a long time, quite as customary as *stockings*, the correct word, a diminutive.

The by-point now dismissed having, though from no lack of materials, been treated succinctly, I would say a few words on another old idiom, alike strange and rare, in a way cognate thereto by opposition.

"A man, doynge a trespasse ayenst almighty God, and *lye* longe in it, offendeth more greuously than," etc. "Therefore, let every synner, . . . not spekyng one thyng, and *thynke* an other," etc. Bp. Fisher (1509), *English Works*, Part I (1876), pp. 203, 257. "*Lye*" and "*thynke*" are here for "*lying*" and "*thinking*"; the seeming infinitives being, really, present participles, less by their termination, which is to be resumed from "*doynge*" and "*spekyng*."

"Returning were as tedious as *go o'er*." Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, Act III, Scene IV. "*Go*" may, however, be for "*to go*."

And the present participle did not stand alone in being apocopated as above.

"Thou promisist and *assurid* me," etc. Anon., *An English Chronicle* (before 1471), p. 16 (in the *Camden Miscellany*, Vol. I).

"He extollet . . . and *diminish* the aid of the French king toward us," etc. Abp. Cranmer (1531), *Miscellaneous Writings and Letters* (1846), p. 231.

"Forsomuch as he . . . hath and *do sit* in place of judgment there," etc. Abp. Parker (1573), *Correspondence* (1853), p. 431.

"That man, therefore, that walloweth in idlenes lappe, and that *vouchsafe* not," etc. Sir Thomas North, *Dial of Princes*, fol. 362 (ed. 1582). In the edition of 1568, Books III, IV, fol. 106, the reading is *vouchsafeth*, on which, perhaps, the writer thought he improved, by substituting *vouchsafe*.

"Vulgar and too open speech abaseth them and *make* them vilified." Sir Richard Baker, *Discourses upon Cornelius Tacitus* (1642), p. 378.

In what follows, a substantival termination is to be inferred, not resumed, from a word preceding: "*Oportunitie* and *likely* [*i. e.*, *likelihood*] of spede putteth a manne in courage," etc. Richard Grafton (1543), *Continuation*, etc. (*ut supra*), fol. 37. The same reading is found in Grafton's other edition of 1543, fol. 38. In his *Chronicle* (1568), p. 759, appears "*likelihoode*."

for the present infinitive<sup>9</sup> active, in function or in form, shall first be exemplified:<sup>10</sup>

"He assigned Harald to Ingland, to *had* it in fee." Robert Mannyng (1327-1338), in Hearne's *Peter Langtoft's Chronicle* (ed. 1810), p. 51.

"Hym hade bene better, in good faye, *Hade*<sup>11</sup> spared oynntmente that daie." *Chester Plays* (about 1328?), Vol. II, p. 12.

"The Emperour hathe do *cried*<sup>12</sup> a grete feste generall to all." Anon.,

The sorts of ellipsis exemplified above were long very common with reference to one or more of several connected adjectives, also.

"This way semeth muche easier and *facile* then the other." William Cunningham, M. D., *The Cosmographical Glasse* (1559), p. 85.

"The wisest, *vertuous*, and most curteous princesse of Europa." William Painter, *The Palace of Pleasure* (1575), Vol. I, 244 (ed. 1813.)

"All the best and *famous* painters of our times." Richard Haydocke, Translation of Lomazzo (1598), Part I, p. 117.

The inflexion of adverbs was, likewise, freely omitted. Richard Grafton has "the sooner and *hastely*"; Shakespeare, "cheerfully and *smooth*," etc. etc.

Noticeably, by contrast, Shakespeare has "until her *husband* and my lord's return"; Milton, "your *high* and mightinesses"; Ben Jonson, "*soft* and sweetest"; Sir Thomas Hoby, "*full* and wholly"; Beaumont and Fletcher, "*poor* and busily."

"*Mercy* and chereful loke and countenance," a good enough Germanism, is attributed to Bp. Fisher, in his *English Works*, Part I (1876), p. 254. Two editions of his work on the *Psalms* came out in 1509; and one of them has what is, beyond dispute, the preferable word, "mery," a reading not noticed by Fisher's editor, the Rev. Prof. J. B. Mayor.

<sup>9</sup> It has not seemed necessary to distinguish, in this paper, between cases where the infinitive is integrated by the introductory *to* and those where it is not so integrated.

<sup>10</sup> Conversely, the present infinitive active is sometimes found used, by poetic licence, instead of the perfect participle. "Had not this humor their stout hearts *allure* To high attempts, their fame had been obscure." Rev. Robert Parsons, *Leycesters Ghost* (1584?), p. 11 (ed. 1641). This passage belongs to an age long posterior to that in which the perfect participle, not only of many strong verbs, but of most verbs derived from Latin supines, had the same form as the infinitive; an age followed by one in which the perfect participle of strong verbs largely came to wear—as it still often wears, though less commonly than some generations back,—the form of the preterite, as in "had *rose*, *smote*, *took*," and the like.

<sup>11</sup> The infinitival *to* was, of old, often omitted after *better*.

Alternatively to the construction assumed to be exhibited above, we may suppose an ellipsis, of a sort which was far from unexampled in former times, the suppliant whereof yields "*hade he* spared."

<sup>12</sup> Imprudently, the editor puts "*crie*" in the text, and relegates "*cried*," the reading of his MS., to a foot-note.

On the interpretation of "do *cried*," see note 16, *infra*.

*Early English Versions of the Gesta Romanorum* (fourteenth century), p. 15 (ed. 1879). "And, as this waccheman yede from him, he purposid to sitte down and *esid* him selve." *Ibid.*, p. 96. "And therefore he hadde no power but to take him oute of presoun and *presentid* him to his fadir." <sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 134.

"I have herd *told* it somtyme, quod I." Chaucer, *Boethius*, p. 27.

"Lord, sith Poule presumed not to *founded*<sup>14</sup> soche sectis, why schulde foles and ydiotes take this upon hom?" *Select English Works of John Wyclif* (1869-1871), Vol. III, p. 419.

"Yif thai had kept Cristis comaundment, Thai schuld never be schamyd ne chent, Ne *lost* here lyfe, ne lond, ne rent, Nouthur hongud<sup>15</sup> ne draw." Rev. John Audelay (1426), *Poems*, p. 1 (Percy Society, 1844).

"He wyl say lyche as he hath herd her *seyd*." Margaret Paston (1448), in the *Paston Letters* (ed. 1872-1875), Vol. I, p. 70. Various persons, whose letters, etc., dated from 1452 to 1469, are given in the same work, write: "He . . . wold have do the sheryff *delyverid* hym owt of prison." "I have . . . don hem *enquered* in dyverse placs." "Jenney had do *warned*<sup>16</sup> the corte there to be the same Friday." "My Lorde desired you to come and *spoken* with hym." "He hathe . . . takyn suche a direccion, that they may *graunted* it ne man but hym." "She hathe *seyd*, syn he departyd hens, but she myght have hym, she wold never *maryd*: hyr hert ys sor set on hym." "He shall Cristis ours [curse?] and mine clene *tryed*." "You nowther shuld vex, lette, nor *trobilled* the seid endiferent men." "Ther shuld non of my Lords concell, well avysed, *mevyd* to the contrary." Vol. I, pp. 244, 247; Vol. II, pp. 55 (two passages), 104, 142, 237, 362, 368.<sup>17</sup>

"But he were presoned, Or els so seke that he myght not *journeid*," etc. John Hardyng, *Chronicle* (fifteenth century), p. 133 (ed. 1812).

"Who that will mete an hardy knyght, lete hym go to hym; for, whom that he smote, *died*<sup>18</sup> hym behoved." <sup>19</sup> Anon., *Merlin* (1450-1460?), p. 654.

<sup>13</sup> Correcting the editor's punctuation, I have struck out his comma after "down," and again after "presoun." In so doing, I am justified by the Latin original. "And *esid* him selve" represents "ad purgandum ventrem"; and, in like manner, "presentid" does not render a Latin preterite.

<sup>14</sup> Mr. Thomas Arnold, the editor of the work quoted, gives this as the reading of his single MS., and changes it, perhaps unadvisedly, into "founde."

<sup>15</sup> The perfect participle here does duty for the present infinitive passive; a point considered in the sequel.

<sup>16</sup> In old verse, "had do *warned*" would ordinarily denote "had caused to be *warned*," not "had caused [a person, or persons] to *warn*"; and one cannot say positively which sense is here intended. But see note 36, p. 309, *infra*.

The ambiguity which this passage offers is not the only one of its kind that perplexes me in the present assemblage of quotations.

<sup>17</sup> In Vol. III, p. 116, Sir John Paston (1474) has: "Neverthelesse, I assayed hym iff he wolde, iff nede hadde ben, *gyvyn* me," etc. "Gyvyn" is here, almost certainly, the old infinitive.

<sup>18</sup> Here, and often below, the succedaneous participle belongs to an intransitive verb.

<sup>19</sup> The sense is, "it needs befell him to die," "he inevitably died." *Merlin*, though in prose, abounds with verbal transpositions.

"He ordeyned that there schuld no nunne *handeled* the corporas, ne cast none encense in the cherch." Rev. John Capgrave, *Chronicle of England* (about 1464), p. 67.

"There was brought unto him worde that Robert Wellez . . . had doo *made* proclamacions in all the churchez of that shire," etc. Anon., *Chronicle of the Rebellion in Lincolnshire* (1470), p. 6 (in the *Camden Miscellany*, Vol. I).

"The peple . . . demed that it sholde *betokened* sum harm sone aftirward." Anon., *An English Chronicle* (before 1471), p. 63 (Camden Society, 1856).

"What yf ye had herde this my cruell enemy Domesthenes [*sic*] *spoken* these wordes hymselfe," etc. Bp. Fisher (1509), *English Works*, Part I (1876), p. 140.

"Yet shall there never woman *excused*<sup>30</sup> her by Lucres." Anon., *Cronycle of Englonde* (about 1483), sig. D 2 v. (ed. 1510). "He assygned so wyse a man as Traian was to *governed* the peple after hym." "He commaunded anone sharply all his men for to *assaylled* the castell." "And the clergie put it of, and wolde not *graunted* it unto Ester next comynge." *Id.*, *ibid.*, sig. F 2 r., O 4 v., Y 3 r.<sup>31</sup>

"Suffiseth it thee not to have wyllid to *betrayed* mi good mother, without wylling to betraye mortally her sonne?" Robert Copland, *Helyas* (1512), p. 72 (ed. 1827).

"For neyther is a g eat army of men nor habundance of treasours the chese socoures or defence of a kyngdome, but, moche rather, trusty and faythefull frendes, whome a man can neyther *compelled*<sup>32</sup> by force of armes, nor yet bye

<sup>30</sup> On consulting the original edition, which is conjectured to have been printed about the year mentioned in its Prologue, 1483, I find, instead of "excused," "excuse," and, in the passages following in the body of this page, the infinitives "governe," "assail" and "graunte." The change of them into participles probably lies at the door of the republisher.

The verbal deviations of the edition of 1510 from that of the previous century are almost countless. A few more of them I note, as will be seen, on other occasions.

The edition of 1510 was issued by Pynson. In Wynkyn de Worde's prior reprint, and in Julian Notary's subsequent, dated 1497 and 1515, respectively, the infinitives "excuse," etc., spoken of above, are retained unaltered.

<sup>31</sup> Under sig. C 3 r. occurs "he wyste not what to *done*." But "done" is not necessarily a perfect participle there.

<sup>32</sup> This reading is followed in fol. 6 of Thomas Paynell's "corrected" edition of Barclay's translation published in 1557. But, in Barclay's first edition, which is supposed to have appeared between 1519 and 1524, the word is "compell." Whether we have, in "compelled," a veritable alteration of Barclay's, by way of improvement, is matter of conjecture. At all events, Paynell saw nothing in it worth seriously objecting to.

A similar alteration, almost certainly made in Barclay's age, may here be mentioned. In Caxton's first edition (1477) of Earl Rivers's *Dictes*, etc., occurs: "Whan a man speketh, he ought to considere what he wil *seye*; for better it is he considere than another shold." In Wynkyn de Worde's reprint, dated 1528, we have, instead (sig. E 7 r.): "Whan a man speketh, he ought to consydere afore what he wyll *said*; for better it is consydere than an other sholde." Note also the insertion of "afore," the omission of "he," etc.

with golde nor sylver, to parsever in stedfast amyte." Rev. Alexander Barclay, *Sallust*, fol. 9 r. (in the second, undated, edition).

"But it fortunéd yvell for the companyons, who abode and loked ever for their money, trusting to have had it to *arayed* and *aparelled* them lyke men of warr." Lord Berners, *Froissart* (1523-1525), Vol. I, p. 323 (ed. 1812).

"And they stak long, and wold not promyse hym that; but, at the last, they promysed hym, to the intent that they wold have had hym *goyn*: and so the Lordes byleved that he wold have departed." Sir William Bulmer (1524), in *State Papers*, etc., Vol. IV (1836), p. 77.

"He shold not have neded to *forbore*<sup>22</sup> to have done theym," etc. Sir Thomas More (1523?), in Sir Henry Ellis's *Original Letters*, etc., First Series (ed. 1825), Vol I, p. 204.

"I have wyst her tell many marvyulouse thyngys ere now." "Why," quod the lordis, 'what have you herd her *tolde*?' " *Id.*, *A Dyaloge*, etc., fol. xci r. (ed. 1529).

"What, then, saith my lord of Canterbury to a priest that would have had the New Testament *gone* forth in English?" Rev. William Tyndale, *The Obedience of a Christian Man* (1528), in *Doctrinal Treatises*, etc. (1848), p. 234.

"Kinge Rewtheres, havinge evel succes at home, in his troubles with the Brittons, didde once *avyoyded* his contrie, and fledde into Irelande." Anon., Translation of Polydore Vergil's *Historia Anglica* (temp. Hen. VIII), p. 106 (Camden Society, 1846).

"One Marcellinus, . . . one of the noumbre of those persones whom Pompeius was thought to *had* set on loft, had chaunged his mynde," etc. Rev. Nicholas Udall, *Apophthegmes* (1542), fol. 287 v. "Pompeius wished to *had* been borne<sup>24</sup> a poore mannes childe." "He affermed . . . his first advise and counsaill to *had* been muche better." "Menyng hymself never to *had* trusted," etc. "And Drusus, because he loved drynkyng, was, for that, by the commen voice of the people, saied to *had* regenerate his father, Tiberius, and made hym alive again." *Id.*, *ibid.*, fol. 290 v., 297 v., 313 r., 323 v.

"Was it mete for a precher such slander to *beblown*?" George Cavendish (1558), in Mr. Singer's edition of *The Life of Cardinal Wolsey*, etc., Vol. II, p. III.

"Julius Cesar . . . never let *slypt* one day but that hee read or wrote some thing." Sir Thomas North, *Dial of Princes*, Books III, IV, fol. 104 r. (ed. 1568).

"It is like, if you had seene her as the other did, you would have made Mother Ducke *gone* double-ringed thither." Anon., *Questions of Profitable and Pleasant Concernings* (1594), fol. 29 v.

"We would have had you *heard*<sup>25</sup> The traitor speak." Shakespeare, *King Richard III*, Act III, Scene V.

<sup>22</sup> An old form, in place of "forborne."

<sup>24</sup> This is in the margin. The body of the page has, "for me to *have* been born," etc.

<sup>25</sup> The Rev. Dr. E. A. Abbott, in his *Shakespearian Grammar*, p. 250 (ed. 1871), endeavours to make good English here, by inserting "to have" before "heard." The result is altogether irrational.

Even Dr. Abbott, it is to be presumed, would disapprove of the grammar of the ensuing passage, scores like which are easily producible: "And, where

"David . . . sent presently for her husband, to have had him *lien* with her," etc. Rev. William Watson, *A Decacordon of Ten Quodlibeticall Questions*, etc. p. 219 (ed. 1602).

"Argus his eies doe faile To keep a woman, when she list *misdone*." <sup>25</sup> Nicholas Breton (?), *Cornucopie* (1612), p. 96 (ed. 1819).

"She would have had him *gone*" <sup>27</sup> in with her." Rev. Robert Burton (died 1640), *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Vol. II, p. 330 (ed. 1806).

"He had let me *seene* the misery I went to engage me in." Anon., *Ariana* (1636), p. 30.

"I would have had him to *shewed* me their cloyster-gallerie," etc. John Grenhalgh (1662), in Sir Henry Ellis's *Original Letters*, etc., Third Series (1846), Vol. IV, p. 280.

"I went to his chamber the Friday night I first came; and there he made me stay and sup with him, and would have had me *laid*" <sup>28</sup> with him that night, and was extraordinary kind to me." Rev. John Strype (1662), in *Original Letters of Eminent Literary Men*, etc., p. 179 (Camden Society, 1843).

"And mighty kind she is to me, and would fain have had me *gone*, for company, with her to Hinchingbroke." Samuel Pepys (1665), *Diary*, etc. (ed. 1876), Vol. III, p. 208.

"The light of nature would not have let me *gone*" <sup>29</sup> so far astray." Dryden, *An Evening's Love* (about 1668), Act I, Scene I.

"I would rather have had it *been* on St. Thomas's day." John Aubrey (about 1680), in Dr. P. Bliss's *Letters of Eminent Persons*, etc., Vol. II, p. 486.

"He . . . would have had him *kept both*." "Dr. D'Avenant would have had me *gone* and drink a bottle of wine at his house hard by," etc. Dean Swift <sup>30</sup> (1710), *Works*, Vol. IV 433; Vol. XIII, p. 134 (ed. 1778). "He would have had me *dined* with him." *Id.* (1711), *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 287.

Your Grace, . . . trusting that he wold have been contente *too have suffred* you to have *passed* thorowe his contre," etc. Earl of Surrey (1523), in *State Papers*, etc., Vol. IV (1836), p. 10.

See, further, the note after the next.

<sup>25</sup> Quite possibly, however, this is an archaism for "misdo."

<sup>27</sup> Not at all improbably, Burton would have expanded this into "to have gone," at variance with the logic of language; and a similar remark applies to a good number of passages cited in this paper. The present—or, as it is less frequently, but much more exactly, termed, the indefinite—infinite, "go," expresses what Burton intended.

So far as I know, the perfect infinitive is all but undeviatingly misemployed in the lawless idiom containing "had like," so common in old writers. In "I had like to have come," as the sense is "there was a likelihood of my coming," "to have come" is a vicious prolepsis.

<sup>28</sup> For "lain," of course.

<sup>29</sup> Sir Walter Scott silently changes this to "go." Just as objectionably, editing De Foe, he seems to impute to him the word "starvation."

<sup>30</sup> In his *Gulliver's Travels*, Part IV, Chap. I, he also writes: "I had several men *died*, in my ship, of calentures." This style of phrase is very common among English farmers, with reference to sheep and the like.



"I . . . was in hopes you would . . . have let us *heard* from you." Erasmus Lewis (1717), in Swift's *Works* (*ut supra*), Vol. XV, p. 202.

"My men would fain have had me *given* them leave to fall upon them at once in the dark," etc. Daniel De Foe, *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), Vol. I, pp. 318, 319 (ed. 1840).

"He would very submissively have had me *shown* myself as captain." *Id.*, *A New Voyage*, etc. (1725), p. 79 (ed. 1840). "My men would fain have had me *gone* ashore again, and *trafficked* with the people for more gold." "They ought to have let us *known* who they were first." *Id.*, *ibid.*, pp. 145, 215.

"The apparition . . . would have had Taverner *rode* back his way with him." *Id.*, *The Secrets of the Invisible World Disclosed* (1727), p. 275 (ed. 1840).

"He would have had us *taken* a road which was full of those people we were so much afraid of." Dr. Johnson, *A Voyage to Abyssinia*, p. 41 (ed. 1735).

"The girl said, if her master would but have let her *had* money to have sent for proper advice," etc. George Villiers, Vol. II, p. 90.<sup>31</sup>

The next group of quotations exhibits the perfect participle, generally as a constituent of a tense, but sometimes alone, instead of the perfect infinitive active :

"And it had ben wel gouverned, [it] might many a yeere *susteyned* youre werres," etc. Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester (1440), in *Wars of the English in France*, Vol. II (1864), p. 450.

"He myght *rewolyd* al Walsynham as he had lyst, as it ys seyde." Margaret Paston (1461), in the *Paston Letters* (*ut supra*), Vol. II, p. 29. "I wutte wele, yf I had soo doon, ye wuld nat *assymyd* me . . . that I schuld resseyve," etc. *Id.* (1477), *ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 201.

"For the lordys wolde fayne *hadde* hyr unto Lunden; for they knewe welle that alle the workyngys that were done growe by hyr." Anon., *Chronicle*, etc. (about 1469?), p. 209 (Camden Society, 1876).

"That, I kno well, the kyngis grace hade lever *hade*<sup>32</sup> be done," etc., John Flamank (1503?), in *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III and Henry VII*, Vol. I, p. 232.

"But who that wolde hym *drawen* out of that hyll Had ben a fole." Rev. Alexander Barclay, *Shyp of Folyes* (1509), Vol. I, p. 227 (ed. 1874).

"A man on his cloke shoulde not *aspyed*<sup>33</sup> a here." *Id.*, *Fyfte Eglog* (about 1520), p. 1 (Percy Society's ed., 1847).

<sup>31</sup> This extract I take from Dr. Priestley's *Rudiments of English Grammar*, etc., p. 127 (ed. 1768). Of George Villiers, which I suppose to be a novel, I have found no other trace.

As it appears from his comment on the extract, Dr. Priestley did not perceive that its "had" should be corrected into the infinitive "have."

<sup>32</sup> We have not a case in point here, if "that" is to be understood before his word.

<sup>33</sup> "Aspy," for "espy," is so common, in our older literature, as to render improbable the supposition that "aspyed" is here an error for "a spyed," that is to say, "have spied."

"If the Duke of Lancastre, his cosyn, had nat counsayled hym to have peace, he would nat *agreed*<sup>34</sup> therunto." Lord Berners, *Froissart (ut supra)*, Vol. I, p. 255. "Ther myght well *assembled* togyder an eyght thousande men." "Men supposed that he wolde therby *anexed* the countie of Flaunders," etc. "He might wel *escaped*, if he had wolde." "If they coude *amended* it." *Id., ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 646, 700; Vol. II, pp. 402, 738.

"If he had discryed their names, thei would, undoubtedly, by and by *addressed* themselves to a manifeste sedicion, for veraye feare of punyshement." Rev. Nicholas Udall, *Apophthegmes* (1542), fol. 285 r.

"I ought most rather to *obeyed*." George Cavendish (about 1560), in *The Life of Cardinal Wolsey*, etc., Vol. I, p. 210 (Singer's ed.).

"And they that should *assisted*, I wote not how they were brysted." Anon., *Godly Quene Hester* (1561), p. 23 (ed. 1873).

"I wolde gladlye *byne* unsupped, soo you had your fyll." Anon., *Jacke Jugeler* (about 1563 ?), p. 78 (ed. 1873).

"Then should not thus my silly soule *Bene* wrapt in irkesome woe, Nor it have felt the carefull thrall That now is forste to shewe." John Norden, *A Sinfull Mans Solace* (1585), fol. 25 v.

"But, by this meanes, in Fraunce we dayly felt such smarte, As might with pitie *perst* an adamantine harte." Rev. John Higin (1587), in *The Mirrour for Magistrates* (ed. 1815), Vol. II, p. 431.

"For no man doubts but the blood shed . . . might, if God had so beene pleased, *bin* able to have driven the heathen monarch," etc. Henry Chettle, *Englandes Mourning Garment* (1603), in *Shakespeare Allusion Books*, Part I, p. 88.

"Romanus . . . gave order . . . that unto him . . . they should acknowledge *received* the greatest part of the wages," etc. Philemon Holland, *Ammianus Marcellinus* (1609), p. 347.

"As a theefe, when he is pardoned, lookes backe to the gallowes, or to the halter that had like to *hangd*<sup>35</sup> him, so lookes shee on her son." Rev. Dr. Robert Wilkinson, *A Paire of Sermons*, etc. (1614), p. 11.

"If hee had would, hee might easily, and according to the manner of men, *occupied* the monarchy and domination, for his children and their posterity, upon all the people of Israel." Rev. Dr. John Donne, *The Auncient History of the Septuagint*, p. 216 (ed. 1633).

"He . . . began . . . to say that he was unworthy of martirdom, which, by his proceedings, he might *seemed* to run upon." Thomas Hayne, *The Life and Death of Dr. Martin Luther* (1641), p. 69.

"Might not a cursory meal *been allowed* them in a running march, a snatch and away?" Rev. Dr. Thomas Fuller, *A Pisgah-sight of Palestine*, etc., Books I-III, p. 255 (ed. 1650). "The soules of these children are charitably conceived, by the primitive Church, all *marched* to Heaven, as the infantry of the noble army of martyrs." *Id., ibid.*, p. 301.

<sup>34</sup> Some might be disposed to venture the conjecture that we should read "a greed," meaning "have agreed"; but most of the succeeding passages from Lord Berners go to show that such a conjecture is hardly colourable.

<sup>35</sup> The writer of this would, I think, have been to seek for a precedent, if he had offered to explain it otherwise than, however illegitimately, by "have hangd." See the end of note 27 at p. 306, *supra*.

"He is a true prophet, which preacheth the Messiah already *come*, in the person of Jesus; and he a false one, that denyeth him *come*," etc. Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (ed. 1651), p. 233.

"This aversion, heighten'd by a vast ambition, . . . had like to *broke* out in the reign of Antoninus Pius." Rev. Jeremy Collier, *The Emperor Marcus Antoninus his Conversation with Himself*, etc. (1701), p. lxxxix.

As in Fuller's "began *heightned*," adduced at the beginning of this paper, the perfect participle has largely been put, by ellipsis, for the present infinitive passive. Extracts in substantiation of this statement here follow:

"Often I haf herd *told*<sup>36</sup> of this Duke Roberd, So gode knyght no so bold was non in alle the world." Robert Mannyng (1327-1338), *ut supra*, p. 101.

"Hath Theseus doon *wrought*." Chaucer, *Knights Tale*, l. 1055. "These marchaunts had doon *fraught*." *Id.*, *Man of Lawes Tale*, l. 171. "God, of his mercy, . . . Hath doon yow *kept*." *Id.*, *Clerkes Tale*, *ad fin.*<sup>37</sup>

"I have herd *told* of Busirides, that was wont," etc. *Id.*, *Boethius*, p. 53.

"For what cause shulde meve the Pope to make him *clepid*<sup>38</sup> moost blessid fadir, sith nether truthe ne leve of God moveth that he is ought blessid?" *Select English Works of John Wyclif (ut supra)*, Vol. I, p. 228.

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<sup>36</sup> We should now say "heard *it told*"; but the full phrase, next after the venerable "heard *tell*," was "heard *to be told*."

Not quite impossibly, however, "herd *told*" is instead of "heard *tell*," that is to say, "heard *men tell*." See the quotation from Chaucer at p. 300, *supra* and notes 12, 16, *ibid*.

"Such persones as the [said Sir Ni]cholas shalle do *name* and *apointe*," etc. Sir Nicholas Vaux (1513?) in *The Chronicle of Calais*, p. 204 (*Camden Society*, 1846). "Do [*i. e.*, cause] *name*," as here used, does not match with "heard *tell*" or "heard *say*"; the infinitive active in the expression clearly usurping the place of the infinitive passive. This passage is adduced in preference to others, as affording a late instance of an idiom very common in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

As "say" was never a participle, there is bad idiom in what follows: "Since his coming, as I *hear say* by such persons as," etc. Abp. Thomas Cranmer (1538), *Miscellaneous Writings*, etc. (1846), p. 373. The context shows that the sense is not, "as I hear, from such persons, etc., that people say."

<sup>37</sup> In 1874, the Rev. Professor Skeat, on my consulting him as to Chaucer's using, or not using, the perfect participle in lieu of the present infinitive passive,—a most remarkable idiom," as he has since called it,—was so good as to direct me to the last of the passages quoted above; and I have to thank him for a recent communication regarding the rest of them.

In Chaucer, pp. 122, 123 (1877, Clarendon Press Series), Professor Skeat has a note on the subject in hand, and quotes all the aforesaid passages, together with three parallel ones from Barbour's *Bruce*.

<sup>38</sup> While the modern equivalent of this, "make him *called*," is now an obsolete expression, and "make him *to be called*" is obsolescent, we sometimes say "I wish him *rewarded*," "I ordered a boat *built*"; almost without an option,

"Serys, alle these materys I have herd sayd." Anon., *Ludus Coventriae* (fifteenth century?), p. 304.

"Sir John Paston, ut asserit, hath optyned me *condempnyd*," etc. William Paston (1425), in the *Paston Letters* (*ut supra*), Vol. I, p. 21. "I have . . . doon dewely *examyned* the instrument by," etc. *Id.* (1426), *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 24.

"The Dolphyn, that so horribly made *sleen*<sup>39</sup> . . . Johan, Duc of Burgoyne," etc. Lydgate (1426), in *Political Poems and Songs* (1859-1861), Vol. II, pp. 133, 134.

"He made theim *wryten*, for long rememory." John Hardyng, *Chronicle* (fifteenth century), p. 42 (ed. 1812). "He in no wise wolde suffre no childe *slayn*." *Id.*, *ibid.*, p. 100.

"Also the kyngye grauntyde, the same tyme, that the lyberteys and franchises of the cytte shulde not, astyr that tyme, for noo cause *takyn*<sup>40</sup> away into the kyngys honde." Anon., *Chronicle*, etc. (about 1469?), p. 77 (Camden Society, 1876).

"My lord hath do *brokyn*<sup>41</sup> all the passages excep Newham bryge." Edmund Bedyngfeld (1477), in the *Paston Letters* (*ut supra*), Vol. III, p. 203.

"He became wonder wrothe ayenst Syr Edwarde, and anone lete hym *arestyd*," etc. Anon., *Cronycle of Englonde* (*ut supra*), sig. V 2 v. "Kyngye Rycharde . . . brought her in to Englonde, and let her *crowned*<sup>42</sup> quene," etc. *Id.*, *ibid.*, sig. Z 5 r.

"Wherfore we beseke your good maystirshyp . . . to make our exkuse to hym, and to do hyse lordshyp *presentyd* with a porpeyse, whiche we send yow be the brynger of thys." Anon. (1491), in the *Paston Letters* (*ut supra*), Vol. III, pp. 370, 371.

"He is onely to *byleved*, and hys onely sonne, of whom him self commaunded." Sir Thomas More, *A Dyaloge*, etc., fol. xli, r. (ed. 1529).

"He gave them the rainbow to be a sign of the promise, for to make it the

"he will see it *done*," "they would have it *sent*"; and invariably, "get this *mended*," etc. etc. In a good number of the instances bracketed with that to which this note is attached, the strangeness, to us, results from there being something archaic in the contextual employment of the governing verbs.

Most of these verbs are from among those after which, in regimen, the infinitive "to" was once, or is still, at times dispensed with. A list of them is given in Vol. II, p. 294, note 34.

<sup>39</sup> But it is doubtful whether this is not an infinitive.

<sup>40</sup> This seems the less singular, when it is borne in mind that "ought *take*" was long good idiom, and that, of old, much more generally than now obtains, "should" implied obligation. See the end of the note before the last.

<sup>41</sup> See note 16 at p. 303, *supra*.

<sup>42</sup> In the original edition of the work quoted, the readings instead of the words italicized above are "be arested" and "be crowned." Wynkyn de Worde and Julyan Notary omit "to" before "arestyd," but allow it to remain before "crowned." See note 20 at p. 304, *supra*.

better *believed*,<sup>43</sup> and to keep it in mind for ever." Rev. William Tyndale (date uncertain), in *Doctrinal Treatises*, etc. (1848), p. 348.

"Ye woll cause this good and honeste marchaunt, being my Lordis true, faithfull, and loving subjecte, *restored* to his pristine fredome," etc. Anne Boleyn (about 1533?), in Sir Henry Ellis's *Original Letters*, etc., First Series (ed. 1825), Vol. II, p. 46.

"Finally, all my seducers and false teachers, and all other besides whom I shall hereafter know *suspected* of heresy or errors," etc. Bp. John Bale (1544), *Select Works* (1849), p. 48. "How the priests that time fared, blasphemed, and cursed, requiring the people not to pray for him, but to judge him *damned* in hell," etc. *Id.*, *ibid.*, p. 52. "We have, in abundance, the verity of God's word and promise, to prove them both *saved* and *glorified* in Christ." *Id.* (1547), *ibid.*, pp. 245, 246. "How can ye suffer such mischiefs *uncorrected*?" *Id.* (no date), *ibid.*, p. 54.

"If your harte saye that I am a feyned friende, then I take my selfe *condempned*." Sir Thomas North, *Dial of Princes*, Books III, IV, fol. 34 (ed. 1568).

"It is their religion that I desire *reformed*, and their Romish practises *detested* and *abhorred*." Rev. Dr. Meredith Hanmer, *The Jesuites Banner* (1581), *The Epistle Dedicatorie*.

"Whose father he caus'd *murder'd* in those wars." Rev. Robert Greene (died 1592), *Dramatic Works*, etc. (ed. Dyce), Vol. II, p. 204.

"That they will suffer these abominations . . . By our strong arms from forth her fair streets *chas'd*." Shakespeare, *Lucrece* (1594), l. 1634.

"But, if it operate against his will, it might seeme to turne to the scandall of the omnipotent Creator to suffer his servants, so arrogant in rebellion, *unpunished*."<sup>44</sup> Richard Dolman, *The French Academie*, Vol. III (1601), p. 707 of the entire work, ed. 1618.

<sup>43</sup> Instead of the substantive "make-believe," used by Coleridge, Southey, and Charles Lamb, and familiar to everybody, Cardinal Newman has, more than once, "make-belief"; a form of which there is as little rhematic justification as there is of "hear-saying," for "hearsay."

<sup>44</sup> Inasmuch as "unpunished" is here only a quasi-participle, this extract, critically, has its appropriate place, with reference to the omission of "to be," in company with miscellaneous passages like those subjoined:

"For, where good ghests may take a cottage gratefull, There such as thou do make a pallace hatefull." Sir John Harington (died 1612), *Epigrams*, Book IV, No. 62.

"As one, therefore, that, in worthy examples, holds imitation better than invention," etc. Bp. Joseph Hall (1608), p. 151 (*ut supra*).

"Gehazi, happily there present, attests her the woman whose son was *restored* to life." Rev. Dr. Thomas Fuller, *A Pisgah-sight*, etc. (*ut supra*), Books I-III, p. 162. In that work, various non-rhematic parts of speech, as the substantive, the adjective, and the preposition, without the copula "to be," or "to have been," are likewise found after the verbs *allow*, *approve*, *avouch*, *conceive*, *conclude*, *deny*, *intend*, *object*, *presume*, *pretend*, *record*, *resolve*.

"It is ceremonial, because it is *inferred* a legal impurity." Bp. Jeremy Taylor, *Ductor Dubitantium* (1660), p. 218 (ed. 1671).

"What meanes your Grace to suffer me *abus'd* thus?" Dr. George Chapman, *Monsieur D'Olive* (1606), Act II.

"The mind that desires them for their owne sakes, and suffers it selfe *taken* up with their sweetnesse as his maine end, is already drunken." Bp. Joseph Hall (1608), *Works*, p. 308<sup>e</sup> (ed. 1648). "Which, yet, he desires secretly *borne*." *Id.* (1608), *ibid.*, p. 177.

"But I, . . . Knowing his death would cause the Muses *slaine*, . . . Doe give," etc. Christopher Brooke, *A Funerall Elegie on the Prince* (1613), sig. B 2 v.

"When Leo desired Peter to amend his epistle, hee meant more then to desire him to procure it *amended* of God by his prayers." E. W., *More Worke for a Masse-priest* (1621), p. 35.

"The nobility of Japan, being full of children, do usually take a course to procure these sonnes of theirs *entered* into the order of the Bontii." Rev. William Freake, *The Doctrines and Practises of the Societie of Jesuites* (1630), p. 23.

"Seldome was known more bloud *spilt*, and a battel sooner *won* by fewer men and with so little losse." Sir Robert Stapylton, *Strada* (1650), Books VIII, IX, p. 52.

"Such towns . . . are not to be presum'd *placed* according to exactness," etc. Rev. Dr. Thomas Fuller, *A Pisgah-sight*, etc. (*ut supra*), Books I-III, p. 46. Also *ibid.*, Books I-III, pp. 35, 199, 253, 345; Books IV, V, pp. 97, 155, 158, 187.

"Of late the fennes nigh Cambridge have been adjudicated *drained*, and so are probable to continue." *Id.*, *History of the University of Cambridge*, p. 72 (ed. 1655).

"What his design was, by torturing so many texts of Scripture, to make it *believed* that," etc. Lord Clarendon, *A Brief View and Survey of the . . . Leviathan* (1676), p. 205.

"We must, doubtless, confess the most skilful of our masters much *excelled* by the address of the Dutch teachers, or the abilities of our greatest scholars *far surpassed* by those of Burman." Dr. Johnson (1742), *Works* (ed. 1816), Vol. XII, p. 162. "In the presence of those whom she knows *condemned* to stay at home," etc. *Id.*, *The Idler* (1759), No. 80.

Of very rare occurrence, at least comparatively, is the omission of "to have been," to the effect of burdening the perfect participle, as below, with the function of the perfect infinitive passive:

"One whom they acknowledge their deliverer," etc. Milton (1670), *Prose Works* (ed. 1868), Vol. V, p. 227. A list of Milton's verbs, matching Fuller's, just given, includes *affirm, decipher, fable, record, report, suppose*, etc., etc.

"First, I am far from granting the number of writers a nuisance to our nation, having strenuously maintained the contrary in several parts of the following discourse." Dean Swift, *A Tale of a Tub*, Preface.

"The Pope, Clement the Twelfth, was commonly supposed her lover," etc. Lady M. W. Montagu (1741), *Letters and Works*, Vol. II, p. 335 (ed. 1837).

<sup>46</sup> Except, to the best of my information, in the pages of Dr. Thomas Fuller and Milton,—both of them studious affectors of conciseness,—my references to whom, in the latter half of this monograph, might, by the by, have been much more abundant than they are.

‘Wel, sayd Arthur, thow hast said thy message, the which is the most vylaynous and lewdest message that ever man herd *sent* unto a kynge.” Sir Thomas Malory, *La Mort Darthur* (1469), Vol. I, p. 42 (ed. Southey).

“And a strange noveltie it was thought, to have a privat person joynd to the Emperour in that place of dignitie; a thing that no man could remember *done*“ since Dioclesian and Aristobulus time.” Philemon Holland, *Ammianus Marcellinus* (1609), p. 217.

“Yea, we may charitably believe Davids consorts *impoverisht*, not by their own carelessness, but their creditors cruelty.” Rev. Dr. Thomas Fuller, *A Pisgah-sight*, etc. (*ut supra*), Books I–III, p. 278. Also *ibid.*, Books I–III, pp. 17, 141, 201, 366, 373 (*bis*), 392, 424; Books IV, V, pp. 12, 130, 165 (*bis*), 175, 176, 183, 188.

“Huntingdon and Mat. Westm. relate it *done* at Oxford by the son of Edric.” Milton (1670), *Prose Works* (ed. 1868), Vol. V, p. 363. And see, in the same volume, pp. 228, 298, 314, 334.

In connexion with the outworn “make him *clepid*,” it has already been noted that sundry locutions kindred to it are still current.<sup>17</sup> These excepted, however, the idioms with which this paper

<sup>16</sup> Optionally, we may here take “done” for “to have been done,” or for “as having been done,” but without much difference on the score of harshness of ellipsis.

<sup>17</sup> Among elliptical constructions of the perfect participle, going beyond those on which I have been descanting, are such as offer in the passages ensuing:

“The first corde is to bynde me hande and foote, so longe and so strongly, unto the bloode [be] *gone* out on every parte.” Anon., *Early English Versions of the Gesta Romanorum* (fourteenth century), p. 142 (ed. 1879).

“Except he [shall have] *done* some dede so great of fame, That all the world may wonder at the same.” Rev. Alexander Barclay, *Egloges* (about 1520), sig. A 4 r. (ed. 1570).

“Whether he ranne awaie, after the deede [had been] *doen*, or had any blood about hym, or trembled, or stakerde,” etc. Sir Thomas Wilson, *The Arte of Rhetorique* (1553), fol. 47 r. (ed. 1567).

“When, after long solicitation at Athens, and no good [had been] *done*, the fleet was sent away,” etc. Thomas Hobbes, Translation of Thucydides (1629), Vol. I, p. 63 (ed. 1843).

“That check, regret, and disgust which it oft gives to our selves . . . after the sin [has been] *done*,” etc. Anon., *A Discourse of Artificial Beauty* (1656), p. 43 (ed. 1662).

“Yet I hope the king’s service [will be] well *done*, for all this.” Samuel Pepys (1663), *Diary*, etc. (ed. 1876), Vol. II, p. 159.

Again, the auxiliary required by the perfect participle in order to complete a tense is found left unexpressed, as if it were sufficiently determined by the tense of a verb occurring in the previous context of the sentence, or, now and then, by that context as a whole.

“Nevertheles, he dradde moche of the forseid word, and gretly [was] *dullid* therwith.” Anon., *Early English Versions of the Gesta Romanorum* (fourteenth century), p. 68 (ed. 1879). “He saw neither the herte ne the houndes; and

is concerned are no longer recognized as of good repute, although,

so he [was] *beleft* alone; for all his servauntes folowed the herte." *Ibid.*, p. 327. It may be questioned, however, as against the aptness of this quotation, whether the old *beleave* was always transitive. Witness this passage: "As I was a yonge mayden in my faders chambre, and other of grete lygnage were in my company, that oftentymes went to playe and solace, I *belefte* [*i. e.*, stayed?] alone in my chambre, and wolde not go forthe, for brenynge of the sonne." Anon., *Cronyck of Englonde* (about 1483), sig. G 6 v. (ed. 1510).

"The firste wanhope cometh of that he demyth that he synned so highly and so ofte, and [hath] so longe *layn* in synne, that he schal not be saved." Chaucer, *The Persones Tale, De Tertia Parte Poenitentiae*.

"The quene Isabell . . . Sone after dyed and [was] *buried*," etc. John Hardyng, *Chronicle* (fifteenth century), p. 330 (ed. 1812). "Some fled, some died, some [were] *maimed* there for ever." *Id.*, *ibid.*, p. 359.

"Johan, kynge of Fraunce, that afore laye here in hostage, wente home ayen in to his owne londe, to treat of tho thynges and other that longed and [were] *fallen* to the governaunce of his realme." Anon., *Cronyck of Englonde* (about 1483), sig. X 6 v. (ed. 1510). But the original edition has "fellen," not "fallen." Wynkyn de Worde and Julyan Notary have "fallen," not "fellen." See note 20 at p. 304, *supra*.

"The Frenchmen kept their grounde a whyle, and many feates of armes [were] there *done* on both partes." Lord Berners, *Froissart (ut supra)*, Vol. I, p. 180. "The hour of supper came, and tables [were] *covered*," etc. *Id.*, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 181. "He dyd so moche with assaut, that the same nyght he wanne the castell agayne, and all thenglysshmen [were] *taken and slayne*." *Id.*, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 186. "There was a feerse skyrmysshe, and endured long; and many knyghtes and squyers [were] *beaten* doune on both partes." *Id.*, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 191. "For, if myne enemyes knewe it, they wolde rejoyse, and our frendes [agayne be] *discomforted*." *Id.*, *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 399.

"But this story semyth more mervelouse than trew; and, though it hath contynued here in Englonde, and [is] *takyn* for a trewth among us Englyshmen, yet other pepull do therfore laugh us to skorne." John Rastell, *The Pastyme of People* (1529), p. 4 (ed. 1811).

"And, forasmuch as the book is dedicated unto the king's grace, and also great pains and labour [have been] *taken* in setting forth of the same," etc. Abp. Thomas Cranmer (1537), *Miscellaneous Writings*, etc. (1846), p. 344.

"No man hath hindered the matter so much as this prior, nor no superstition [been] more *maintained* than by this prior." *Id.* (1538), *ibid.*, p. 376.

"His corps . . . ther lay all that daye, and, on the morow folowing, [was] *conveyed*," etc. Richard Grafton (1543), *Continuation*, etc. (*ut supra*), fol. 24. "So that the Englishe ambassadours returned again to their countree, and nothyng [was] *dooven or agreed* upon in their matter." *Id.*, *ibid.*, fol. 121.

"And farther hath it gone by books written than by words spoken; and much more people [been] *converted*." Bp. John Bale (1550?), *Select Works* (1849), p. 332.

"And, returning unto Britanny, he sent forthwith Laurence, priest, and Peter, monke, unto Rome, which should make relation unto Saint Gregory, how that



what with ignorance and slovenry, not all of them are yet disused.

the Englishmen had received the faith, and he [been] *made* their bishop." Rev. Dr. Thomas Stapleton, *The History of the Church of Englande* (1565), fol. 32, 33.

"For there are, in prynces courts, many tymes, certeyn sytes that have a good and better end then [was] *looked* for." Sir Thomas North, *Dial of Princes*, Books III, IV, fol. 154 (ed. 1568). "The self same night the kyng, with al his concubines, dyed sodenly, and his realme [was] *taken* from him, and put into the hands of his enemyes." *Id., ibid.*, fol. 163. "The mylner, before the bankes [are] *broken*, repareth the dammes." *Id., ibid.*, sig. †iiii. r.

"The princes returned home, and due order [was] *taken* for the safety of the city." Anon., *Second Report of Dr. Faustus* (1594), p. 105 (ed. 1828).

"For, in respect of the age of this siege, that of Troy was but a child; it lasting seven and twenty yeares, and, at last, [was] not *taken*, but yielded up," etc. Rev. Dr. Thomas Fuller, *Historie of the Holy Warre* (1639), p. 208 (ed. 1647).

"They had, by order from David, their hands and feet cut off; and they [were] *hanged* up over the pool in Hebron." "So that the tribe of Judah alone had more cities then all the island of Crete, which had but just an hundred, and therefore [was] *called* Hecatompolis." *Id., A Pisgah-sight*, etc. (*ut supra*), Books I-III, pp. 275, 284. "Barnabas sinks here in silence, and his name [is] *mentioned* no more in the history of the Scripture." "They abstained from it, as a colour sacred and mysterious, then which none [was] more *used* about the Tabernacle." "Her Hebrew name signifieth 'flocks,' either because [she was] *worshipped* in the form of a sheep," etc. *Ibid.*, Books IV, V, pp. 13, 98, 129.

"It began on Saturday night last, but [was] not *discovered* till Soday morning." Col. Anthony Byerley (1666), in *The Correspondence of John Cosin, D. D.*, Part II (1872), p. 155.

"He, . . . to save his head, poorly turns priest; but, that not availing him, [he is] *carried* into Italy, and there put to death." Milton (1670), *Prose Works* (ed. 1863), Vol. V, p. 234. See also *ibid.*, Vol. V, pp. 179, 181, 193, 349, 355.

Our perfect participle and preterite being very intimately related, it is not wholly out of place to exemplify here a superannuated use of the latter of them, instead of the indefinite infinitive active. With regard to all except two of the passages given below, it is to be remembered that *but* was long in establishing itself in its eventual frequency as a preposition; it being-refused recognition, as such, by stylists so late as King James's revisers of the Bible.

"What dude she but *lefte* that childe," etc. Anon., *Early English Versions of the Gesta Romanorum* (*ut supra*), p. 237. And see pp. 141, 159.

"We hadde none other remedy but *strake* downe our boote and *mannyd* her with ores." Anon., *The Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Gwyllforde* (1511), p. 68 (ed. Camden Society).

"But they found but vi. children, to whome they did nothing but *tooke* away theyr chaines," etc. Robert Copland, *Helyas* (1512), p. 76 (ed. 1827).

"These felowes . . . That with the Gospell melles, And wyll do nothyng e elles But trathynge tales *telles*," etc. Anon., *A Pore Helpe* (temp. Hen. VIII), in Mr. W. C. Hazlitt's *Remains*, etc., Vol. III, p. 253.

"They have done nothyng els but *lyved* in warre this thre or soure yere." Lord Berners, *Froissart* (*ut supra*), Vol. I, p. 755. See also Vol. I, pp. 707, 735.

Witness a leash of specimens, to add to which is certainly unnecessary:

"You should have shown yourself a respectable man, and have let him *been* sent to prison." Mr. Douglas Jerrold, *Mrs. Caudle's Curtain Lectures*, Lecture IV.

"Well, you see you were in the wrong, and had better let me *gone* my way." Anon., *No Church* (1861), Vol. I, p. 272.

"Time was lacking to me to make all the use of it I should *liked* to have done." Major R. D. Osborn, *Islam under the Arabs* (1876), Preface, p. xi.

#### FITZEDWARD HALL.

"All that season thou hast dooen nothyng but *receaved* gyftes." *Id.*, *The Golden Boke*, etc. (1534), sig. Y 8 v. (ed. 1546).

"He dyd noughte but *made* his kyn ryche of the goodys of the church." John Rastell, *The Pastyme of People* (1529), p. 52 (ed. 1811).

"Nothing have they done less than *brought* unto Christ their glory." Bp. John Bale (1550), *Select Works* (1849), p. 613.

"And now, lest thou mayest justly complain, and say that I have, in opening of this matter, done nothing else but *digged* a pit," etc. Bp. Nicholas Ridley (1555), *Works* (1843), p. 14.

"It appeareth they did rather allude to the names used in the Old Testament, than *acknowledged* a sacrificing priesthood," etc. Rev. Dr. William Fulke, *A Defense*, etc. (1583), p. 262 (ed. 1843).

"What have they done but *conspired* against us, . . . and *joined* with our bitterest enemies to destroy us?" Thomas Hobbes, Translation of Thucydides (1629), Vol. I, p. 303 (ed. 1843).

"However, they would rather have died than *refused*." Madame D'Arblay (1788), *Diary and Letters* (ed. 1842, etc.), Vol. IV, p. 342.

At p. 30 of Dr. Johnson's translation of Father Lobo's *Voyage to Abyssinia*, as reprinted in 1789, we read "had done nothing but *told* us lies." The Scotch editor, Mr. George Gleig, is pleased to hope that the "English dress" of the work, as smartened by himself, "will be found free from many of the faults by which it was formerly disgraced." From p. 7 of the original edition, published in 1735,—a great rarity, of which I possess a copy,—it appears that Dr. Johnson wrote, as might have been expected, "had done nothing but *tell* us lies."

#### IV.—THE ATHENIAN NAVAL ARSENAL OF PHILON.

On the 10th—22d of last April was found beside the ruins of some ancient foundations near the inner extremity of the south-eastern harbor of the Peiraic peninsula, a slab of Hymettic marble of good workmanship, 1.16 X 0.54 X 0.10 metre in size, bearing an inscription of ninety-seven lines, in excellent preservation, engraved in small letters, στοιχιδόν. Only 37 letters of the inscription are defaced, and of these all but eight can be made out with ease.<sup>1</sup> This inscription contains the specifications for the construction of the famous Athenian naval arsenal known by the name of its architect, Philon, and mentioned incidentally by several ancient writers.<sup>2</sup> It contains much new information regarding Athenian architecture in the middle of the fourth century before our era, and will afford material for careful study.

The text of the inscription has been published already by its owner, Mr. Alexander Meletopoulos, in the *Σφαίρα* of the Peiraieus of 28—9 June, and in a special publication<sup>3</sup> containing, besides, a commentary, topographical plans, and an excellent photograph of the original slab. It has been reproduced by M. Paul Foucart in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* for July, 1882, with a commentary and notes which have been of great assistance to me in revising my translation, and upon which I have drawn freely. The text of the inscription has appeared, also, in the farewell number of the *Ἀθήναιον*,—that for March and April, 1882.

The text and the translation follow.

#### TEXT.

Θ ] ε ο [ ι.

Σ]υνγραφαὶ τῆς σκευοθήκης τῆς λιθίνης τοῖς κρεμαστοῖς σκεύεσιν,  
Εὐθύδωμου Δημητρίου Μελετίως, Φίλωνος Ἐξηκεστίδου Ἐλευσινίου  
σκευοθήκην οἰκοδομήσαι τοῖς κρεμαστοῖς σκεύεσιν ἐν Ζεαῖαι ἀρχά-

<sup>1</sup> Meletopoulos: *Ἀνέκδοτος ἐπιγραφή*, etc., p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, IX, p. 395; Vitruvius, *Praef.* VII 8; Pliny, VII 38, 1; Plutarch, *Sylla*, 14. Εἶχε δὲ καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ μετ' οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον ὁ Σύλλας, καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα κατέκαυσεν· ὡν ἦν καὶ ἡ Φίλωνος ὀπλοθήκη, θαυμαζόμενον ἔργον. Cf. Appian, *Bell. Mithrid.* 41 (Foucart).

<sup>3</sup> Ἀνέκδοτος ἐπιγραφή. Ἡ σκευοθήκη τοῦ Φίλωνος, ὑπὸ Α. Μελετοπούλου. Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1882. 4to., pp. 15. With 2 plates and a photograph.

- 5 μενον ἀπὸ τοῦ προφυλαίου τοῦ ἐξ ἀγορᾶς προσιόντι ἐκ τοῦ ὅπισθεν τῶν νεωσοίκων τῶν ὁμοτεγῶν, μῆκος τεττάρων πλέθρων, πλάτος πεντήκοντα ποδῶν καὶ πέντε σὺν τοῖς τοίχοις, κατατεμὼν τοῦ χωρίου βάθος ἀπὸ τοῦ μετεωροτάτου τρεῖς πόδας, τὸ ἄλλο ἀνακαθαράμενος, ἐπὶ τὸ στέμφυλον στρωματιεὶ καὶ ἀναλήψεται ἴσον κατὰ κεφαλὴν ἅπαν ὄρθον πρὸς τὸν διὰβρίτην, στρωματιεὶ δὲ καὶ τοῖς κίοσιν ἀπολείπων ἀπὸ τοῦ τοίχου ἐκατέρου πέντε κ[αὶ δέκα] πόδας σὺν τῷ πάχει τοῦ κίονος. Ἀριθμὸς τῶν κίωνων ἐκατέρου τοῦ στοίχου πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα, διαλείπων δι-  
 10 [ί]οδον τῷ δήμῳ διαμέσως τῆς σκευοθήκης. Πλάτος τὸ μεταξὺ τῶν κίωνων εἰκοσι ποδῶν, πάχος ἐπιθήσει τὸ στῶμα τετράπουν τιθεὶς τοὺς  
 15 λίθους ἐναλλάξ. ορ. . . ο. καὶ παρὰ μῆκος. Οἰκοδομήσει δὲ τοὺς τοίχους τῆς σκευοθήκης καὶ [τ]οὺς κίονας ἀκτίτου λίθου, θεὶς εὐθυνητρίαν τοῖς τοίχοις, πλάτος τριῶν ποδῶν, πάχος τριῶν ἡμιποδίων, μῆκος τετραποδῶν τῶν [λίθ]ων, ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς γωνίαις τετραποδῶν καὶ τριῶν παλαιαστῶν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς εὐθυνητρίας ἐπιθήσει ὀρθοστάτας περὶ μέσῃ τῇ  
 20 εὐθυνητρίαι, μῆκος τετράποδας, πάχος πενθημιποδίων καὶ δακτύλου, ὕψος τρίποδας, τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς γωνίαις μῆκος ἐκ τοῦ μέτρου τῶν τριγλῦφων, διαλείπων θυραίας κατὰ τὸ πλάτος τῆς σκευοθήκης, δύο ἐκ[α]-τέρωθεν, πλάτος ἐννέα ποδῶν. Καὶ οἰκοδομήσει μέτωπον ἐκατέρωθε[ν] ἐν τῷ μετ[αξὺ] τῶν θυρῶν πλάτος δίπουν, εἰς δὲ τὸ εἶσω δεκάπουν, καὶ πε-  
 25 ρεκάμψει τὸν τοῖχον μέχρι τῶν πρώτων κίωνων πρὸς ὃν ἀνοίγεται ἡ θύρα ἐκάτερα. Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ὀρθοστάτου πλινθίσιν οἰκοδομήσει τοὺς τοίχους, μῆκος τετράποσιν, πλάτος πέντε ἡμιποδίων. Ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς γωνίαις μῆκος ἐκ τοῦ μέτρου τῶν τριγλῦφων, πάχος τριημιποδίοις. Ὑψος δὲ ποιήσει τῶν τοίχων ἀπὸ τῆς εὐθυνητρίας ἐπτὰ καὶ εἰκοσι ποδῶν σὺν  
 30 τῇ τριγλῦφῳ ὑπὸ τὸ γείσον. Τὰς δὲ θυραίας ὕψος πέντε καὶ δέκα ποδῶν καὶ ἡμιποδίου. Καὶ ἐπιθήσει ὑπερτόνια λίθου πεντεληκικοῦ, μῆκος δώδεκα ποδῶν, πλάτος ἴσα τοῖς τοίχοις, ὕψος δίστοιχα, παραστάδας στήσας λίθου πεντεληκικοῦ ἢ ὑμηττίου, ὁδοὺς ὑποθεὶς ὑμηττίους καὶ γείσον ἐπιθήσει ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπερτοναίων, ὑπερέχον τρία ἡμιποδία.  
 35 Καὶ ποιήσει θυρίδας κύκλῳ ἐν ἅσασιν τοῖς τοίχοις καθ' ἕκαστον τὸ μετακίονιον· ἐν δὲ τῷ πλάτει τρεῖς ἐκατέρωθεν, ὕψος τριῶν ποδῶν, πλάτος δυοῖν ποδῶν. Καὶ ἐναρμόσαι εἰς ἐκάστην τὴν θυρίδα χαλκᾶς θυρίδας ἀρμοττούσας. Καὶ ἐπιθήσει ἐπὶ τοὺς τοίχους γείσα κύκλῳ, καὶ τοὺς αἰετοὺς οἰκοδομήσει καὶ γείσα ἐπιθήσει καταύτια καὶ σ-  
 40 ἥσει τοὺς κίονας, ὑποθεὶς στυλοβάτην κατὰ κεφαλὴν ἴσον τῇ εὐθυνητρίαι, πάχος τριῶν ἡμιποδίων, πλάτος δὲ τριῶν ποδῶν καὶ παλαστής, μῆκος τεττάρων ποδῶν· πάχος τῶν κίωνων κάτωθεν δυοῖν ποδῶν καὶ τριῶν παλαιαστῶν, μῆκος σὺν τῷ ἐπικράνῳ τριάκοντα ποδῶν, σφονδύλων ἕκαστον ἐπτὰ, μῆκος τετραποδῶν, τοῦ δὲ πρώτου πεντέποδος. Τὰ δὲ ἐπ-  
 45 ἱκрана ἐπιθήσει ἐπὶ τοὺς κίονας λίθου πεντεληκικοῦ. Καὶ ἐπιθήσει

- ἐπιστύλια ξύλινα, ἐπὶ τοὺς κίονας κολλήσας, πλάτος πέντε ἡμποδίων, ὕψος ἐννέα παλαστῶν ἐκ τοῦ ὑψηλοτέρου, ἀριθμὸς δεκαοκτὼ ἐφ' ἐκάτερον τὸν τόνον. Καὶ μεσόμνας ἐπιθήσει ἐπὶ τοὺς κίονας ὑπὲρ τῆς διόδου, πλάτος καὶ ὕψος ἴσα τοῖς ἐπιστυλίοις. Καὶ ἐπιθήσει κορυφαῖα
- 50 πλάτος ἐπτὰ παλαστῶν, ὕψος δὲ πέντε παλαστῶν καὶ δυοῖν δακτύλοιον ἄνευ τῆς καταφορᾶς, ὑποθεῖς ὑπόθημα ἐπὶ τῆς μεσόμνης, μῆκος τριῶν ποδῶν, πλάτος τριῶν ἡμποδίων. Καὶ διαρμόσει τὰ κορυφαῖα κερκίσιν ἐπὶ τῶν μεσομνῶν. Καὶ ἐπιθήσει σφηκίσκους πάχος δέκα δακτύλων, πλάτος τριῶν παλαστῶν καὶ τριῶν δακτύλων, διαλείποντας ἀπ' ἀλλήλων
- 55 πέντε παλαστάς. Καὶ ἐπιθεῖς ἱμάντας πλάτος ἡμποδίου, πάχος διοῖν δακτύλοιον, διαλείποντας ἀπ' ἀλλήλων τέτταρας δακτύλους. Καὶ ἐπιθεῖς καλύμματα, πάχος δακτύλου, πλάτος ἐξ δακτύλων, καθηλώσας ἡλίοις σιδηροῖς, δορώσας κεραμῶσει κορινθίωι κεράμωι ἀρμόττοντι πρὸς ἄλληλον. Καὶ ἐπιθή[σ]ει ὑπὲρ τῶν θυρῶν ἐπὶ τὰ μέτωπα ἐκ τοῦ ἐντὸς
- 60 ὀροφὴν λιθινὴν λίθου ἡμπτίου. Καὶ θύρας ἐπιθήσει τῇ σκευοθήκῃ ἀρμωτούσας εἰς τὰς θυραίας χαλκᾶς ξέωθεν ποιήσας. Καὶ συνστρώσει τὸ ἔδαφος λίθοις τὸ ἐντὸς ἅπαν συναρμόττουσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ ἐπεργάσεται ὀρθὸν καὶ ὁμαλὲς ἄνωθεν. Καὶ διαφράξει τὸ μεταστυλίον ἕκαστον ὀρθοστάταις δυοῖν λιθίνοις, ὕψος τριῶν ποδῶν. Καὶ ἐν
- 65 τῷ μεταξὺ κινκλίδα ἐπιθήσει[ε] κλειομένην. Ποιήσει δὲ καὶ τὰς ὀροφὰς τὰς διαμέσου, ἐφ' ὧν τὰ σκεύη κείσεται, τὸ ἐντὸς τῶν κίωνων ἐκατέρωθεν μέχρι τοῦ τοίχου διαρμόσας καθ' ἕκαστον τὸν κίονα καὶ παρὰ τὸν τοίχον ἐκατέρωθεν διερείσματι, πλάτος πέντε παλαστῶν, ὕψος ποδῶν ἐπιβάλλοντι ἐπὶ μὲν τὸν τοίχον τρεῖς παλαστάς. Παρὰ δὲ τὸν κ
- 70 ῖονα παρὰστυλία στήσει λίθινα. Καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν διερείσμάτων ἐπιθήσει σφηκίσκους ἐπτὰ ἐφ' ἐκάστην τὴν χώραν, συμπληρῶν μέχρι τῶν κίωνων, πλάτος τριῶν παλαστῶν, πάχος ἡμποδίου. Καὶ συνστρώσει πίναξιν ἅπαν τὸ χωρίον, συμβαλὼν καὶ κολλήσας, πλάτος τρίποδας, πάχος δυοῖν δακτύλοιον. Ποιήσει δ[ε] κ[αὶ] μεσόμνας, ἐφ' ὧν κείσεται τὰ ὑποζώματα καὶ
- 75 τὰ ἄλλα σκεύη παρ' ἐκάτερον τὴν τοίχον, διπλᾶς τὸ ὕψος, καὶ ἐπικάμψει παρὰ τοὺς πλ[α]γίους τοίχους, καὶ κατὰ τοὺς κίονας ἐπικάμψει καθ' ἐκάστην τὴν χώραν. Ὑψος δὲ ποιήσει ἀπὸ τῆς ὀροφῆς τεττάρων ποδῶν, τὴν δὲ ἐπάνω μεσόμνην ἀπὸ τῆς ἐτέρας ἀπέχουσιν πέντε πόδας. Ἰκριατῆρα στήσας ἀπὸ τῆς κάτω ὀροφῆς μέχρι τῆς ἄνω ὀροφῆς πλάτος ἡμποδίου,
- 80 πάχος ἐξ δακτύλων, διερείσας διερείσματα εἰς τοὺς ἰκριατῆρας τὸ αὐτὸ πάχος, θράνους ἐπιθήσει διανεκείς ἕνα ἐκατέρωθεν, πάχος ἐξ δακτύλων πανταχῇ, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων ἐπιθήσει πίνακας συνκολλήσας, μῆκος τετράποδας, πλάτος τρίποδας, πάχος δυοῖν δακτύλοιον, καὶ [κ]-αθολώσει συναρμόττοντας ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς θράνοις. Καὶ κλίμακας ποιήσει
- 85 ξύλινας ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὰς μεσόμνας. Ποιήσει δὲ καὶ κιβωτοὺς τοῖς ἰστίοις καὶ τοῖς παραρρήμασιν τοῖς λευκοῖς ἀριθμὸν ἑκατὸν

- τριακόνα τέτταρας, πρὸς τὸ παράδειγμα ποιήσας, καὶ θήσει κατὰ τὴν κίονα ἕκαστον καὶ μίαν εἰς τὸ καταπ[ικρὺ]<sup>1</sup> χωρίον. Καὶ ποιήσει ἀνοικνυμένας τῶν μὲν πρὸς τῷ τοίχῳ κειμένων τὸν πρόσθιον τῶν, τ-  
 90 ὧν δὲ κατὰ τοὺς κίονας κειμένων ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς πλαγίους τοίχους, ὅπως ἂν ἡ ὁρᾶν ἅπαντα τὰ σκευὴ διεξιούσιν, ὅσος ἂν ἡ ἐν τῇ σκευοθήκῃ· ὅπως δ' ἂν καὶ ψῦχος ἡ ἐν τῇ σκευοθήκῃ, ὅταν οἰκοδομῇ τοὺς τοίχους τῆς σκευοθήκης, διαλείψει τῶν πλινθίδων ἐν τοῖς ἄρμοις ἡ-  
 95 ἂν κελεύῃ ὁ ἀρχιτέκτων. Ταῦτα ἅπαντα ἐξεργάσονται οἱ μισθωσάμενοι κατὰ τὰς συγγραφὰς καὶ πρὸς τὰ μέτρα καὶ πρὸς τὸ παράδειγμα ὃ ἂν φράζῃ ὁ ἀρχιτέκτων, καὶ ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις ἀποδώσουσιν, οἷς ἂν μισθώσονται ἕκαστα τῶν ἔργων.

## TRANSLATION.

- 1 (In the presence of) the Gods.  
 Specifications for (the construction of) the stone arsenal for naval tackle and rigging<sup>2</sup> of Euthydomos, son of Demetrios of Melite, and Philon, son of Exekestides of Eleusis.  
 5 An arsenal shall be built in Zeia for naval tackle beginning near the propylaion which leads from the agora as one approaches from behind the ship houses which are roofed in together. The length (of this arsenal shall be) four plethra; its breadth shall be fifty feet, or fifty-five including the walls. The ground of the site must be cut down three feet where it is highest, and leveled in the other parts, and the foundations must be laid upon the firm ground, which must everywhere be made smooth, and brought to a true plane by (the use of) the  
 10 level.<sup>3</sup> The foundations for the columns must be laid at a distance from the walls of fifteen feet, including the diameter of the columns. The number of the columns of each row shall be 35; (and the rows shall be so arranged as) to leave a passage for the people through the middle of the arsenal. The width (of this aisle) between the (two rows of) columns shall be twenty feet. The thickness of the foundation shall be four feet, and  
 15 the stones shall be placed crosswise . . . and lengthwise.<sup>4</sup>  
 The walls and the columns of the arsenal shall be built of the

<sup>1</sup> The stone-cutter has engraved here, by mistake, ΚΑΤΑΝΤΡΟΚΥ, for ΚΑΤΑΝΤΙΚΡΥ. (Foucart.)

<sup>2</sup> See Cartault: *La Trière Athénienne*. Paris, 1881. Page 170.

<sup>3</sup> See Liddell and Scott; ὁ διαβήτης.

<sup>4</sup> Three or four letters of the inscription are effaced, here. The sense, however, appears complete. Reference is doubtless made to the position of the blocks in any row of the foundation with their greatest length alternately in the direction of the row and across it, in order to secure the greatest solidity.

stone of Akte.<sup>1</sup> A directing-course shall be laid for the walls, 3 feet broad, and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  thick, and (each) stone (of this course) shall be 4 feet long, and at the angles  $4\frac{1}{4}$  feet. Upon this directing course shall be laid an upright course over the middle of the directing course. The length of the blocks of the upright course shall be 4 feet; their thickness,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet and 1 finger breadth; and their height, 3 feet. The length of the blocks at the angles shall be made to correspond with the measure of the triglyphs.<sup>2</sup>

Two doorways shall be left open at either end of the arsenal, each 9 feet wide. A pillar\* shall be built at either end between the (two) doors; it shall be 2 feet wide and shall extend inward ten feet,\* and the wall against which each door opens shall (also) be carried in as far as the first columns.\*

Above the upright course, the walls shall be built of blocks 4 feet long and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  thick. At the angles, the length of the blocks shall be made to correspond with the proportions of the triglyphs;<sup>3</sup> and the height of the blocks shall be  $1\frac{1}{2}$  foot. The height of the walls above the upright course shall be 27 feet, including the triglyph (frieze) beneath the cornice.

The height of the doorways shall be  $15\frac{1}{2}$  feet. The lintels shall be of Pentelic marble, twelve feet long, two courses in height,\* and of the same thickness as the walls. The doorposts shall be of Pentelic or Hymettic marble, and the sills of Hymettic marble. Over the lintels there shall be a cornice projecting  $1\frac{1}{2}$  foot.

There shall be windows all around (the building), in all its walls, opposite each intercolumniation, and at either end three; they shall be 3 feet high and 2 feet wide. Each window shall be fitted with a shutter, of bronze, fitting closely.

Upon the walls shall be placed a cornice all around; and there shall be built a pediment (upon each front), and a pedi-

<sup>1</sup> Peiraic limestone. <sup>1</sup> *Ἀκτὴ* was the smaller promontory forming the southern extremity of the Peiraic peninsula.

<sup>2</sup> *I. e.* (probably) in every alternate course, at least, the angle block (*Läufer*) extended from the angle to the middle line of the second triglyph of the frieze. In the other courses, the ends of the angle-blocks (*Binder*) would appear upon the wall in question, and their greatest length would occupy a corresponding position to that of the blocks first alluded to, upon the side of the building at right angles to the first.

\* I have marked with an asterisk the points in the translation upon which I have received aid from M. Foucart's Commentary.

40 ment-cornice over the pediments. The columns, also, shall be placed in position, upon a stylobate on the same level as the directing-course (of the walls); the thickness of this stylobate shall be  $1\frac{1}{2}$  foot, its width  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet, and the length of each block 4 feet. The lower diameter of the columns shall be  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet, and their height, including the capitals, 30 feet. Each column shall have seven drums, four feet high except the first, which shall  
 45 be five feet.<sup>1</sup> The capitals of the columns shall be of Pentelic marble. The epistyle shall be of wood, and shall be fastened upon the columns; it shall be  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet wide, and not more than<sup>2</sup>  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet high, and the number of the (epistyle) beams on either side shall be 18. And cross beams shall be placed upon the columns, extending over the middle passage; these shall be of the same thickness and height as the epistyle beams. And  
 50 roof beams\* shall be set up,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  foot broad and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  foot and 2 finger-breadths high, not including *τῆς καταφορᾶς*.<sup>3</sup> Under (each pair of roof beams) shall be placed upon the cross beams a king-post\* 3 feet long and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  foot thick. The roof beams shall be braced to the cross beams with ties. Upon (the roof beams) shall be placed long timbers 10 finger-breadths thick,  
 55 3 palms and 3 finger-breadths wide, and distant from each other  $1\frac{1}{2}$  foot. Upon these shall be placed (crosswise\*) covering planks  $\frac{1}{2}$  foot wide, 2 finger-breadths thick, and distant from each other 4 finger-breadths. Upon these (planks) shall be placed strips (to support the tiles\*), 1 finger-breadth thick and 6 broad; these shall be fastened down with iron nails. (This roof frame) shall be covered with a (preservative) coating,\* and shall then be tiled with Korinthian tiles, fitted closely to each other. Above the doors in the fronts on the inside shall be  
 60 constructed a stone ceiling of Hymettic marble. Doors shall be placed upon the arsenal, fitted to the doorways, and plated with bronze upon the outside. The whole interior floor (of the building) shall be paved with blocks of stone fitted closely to each other. (This pavement) shall be worked smooth and level upon its upper surface. And each intercolumniation shall be divided off (from the middle aisle) by two upright stone  
 65 blocks, 3 feet high, between which shall be placed a latticed gate (which can be) closed.<sup>4</sup> The floors\* must be constructed,

<sup>1</sup> This left one foot for the height of the capital.

<sup>2</sup> ? ἐκ τοῦ ὑψηλοτέρου.

<sup>3</sup> ἀνευ τῆς καταφορᾶς. See the Commentary, upon line 51.

<sup>4</sup> Or "locked."



also, for the spaces between (the rows of columns and the walls), on which the naval fittings are to lie;<sup>1</sup> (across) these spaces on each side floor-beams must be placed extending from each column to the (side) wall. The width of these beams shall be 1½ foot, and their height 1 foot; and they shall extend 3 palms  
70 into the wall. Against each column shall be placed a propping block\* of stone (to support the beams). Upon these beams shall be placed seven long timbers over each space, (distributed in such a manner) as to fill it out as far as the columns. The breadth of these timbers shall be ¾ foot, and their thickness ½ foot. The whole space shall (then) be covered in with planks, fitted and fastened together. These planks shall be 3 feet wide and 2 finger-breadths thick. There shall also be cross beams along each (side) wall (of the arsenal), upon which will lie the  
75 undergirding straps<sup>2</sup> and other tackle; there shall be two tiers of them, and they shall be fastened<sup>3</sup> to the side walls and to the columns at each interval. The distance (of the lower tier of these cross beams) from the (upper) flooring<sup>4</sup> shall be four feet, and the upper (tier of) beams shall be distant five feet from the others. Vertical supports shall be placed (extending) from the  
80 lower flooring to the upper, ½ foot wide, and 6 finger-breadths thick; and upon these supports shall be placed flooring beams of the same thickness. (Upon these beams) shall be placed timbers, one at either side (of the platform), extending continuously (along its entire length), and 6 finger-breadths wide and thick. Upon these (timbers) shall be laid planks fitted closely together, 4 feet long, 3 feet wide, and 2 finger-breadths thick,  
85 fitted evenly to the timbers, and nailed down. And wooden ladders shall be made to give access to the (supporting) cross beams for the tackle. Chests shall be made also, for the sails and for the white side curtains<sup>5</sup> (of the ships), in number 134. They shall be made in accordance with the pattern, and shall be placed (one) against each column, and one in the space opposite. The chests placed against the wall shall be made to  
90 open in front, and those against the columns, to open at each side,\* in such a way that it may be possible for those passing through (the arsenal) to see all the tackle that is in the arsenal.

<sup>1</sup> Or "to be stored."

<sup>2</sup> τὰ ὑποζώματα. See Cartault: *La Trière Athénienne*, p. 56.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπικάμπτω.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. platform, or shelf.

<sup>5</sup> τοὶς παραρτήμασιν τοῖς λευκοῖς. See Cartault, work cited, page 62.

That there may be ventilation in the arsenal, when the courses of the walls are laid, (spaces) shall be left open at the joints of the blocks wherever the architect shall direct. All these things  
 95 shall be carried out by the contractors\* in accordance with the specifications, following both the measurements and the plans which the architect shall indicate; and they shall deliver each detail of the work within the time to which they shall have agreed in the contract.\*

## COMMENTARY.

V. 2. As we know by the Athenian naval inscriptions, the fittings of the ships were divided into two classes: *ξύλινα* (oars, masts, rudder, etc.), and *κρεμαστά* (sails, ropes, etc.), all of which are catalogued in Böckh's *Attische Seewesen*, and in Cartault's *La Trière Athénienne*. (Foucart.)

V. 3. *Εὐθύδομον* and *Φίλωνος*. In the inscription relating to the walls of Athens (C. I. A. II 167), we find at the end of line 35, which is incomplete, proper names in the genitive. Dr. Köhler is of opinion that they are those of the overseers of the work, and of the architect. It is probably the same in this instance (Foucart). In any case, there can be but little doubt that Philon was the chief architect, as most of the ancient authorities mention the arsenal under his name.

*Εὐθύδομος Δημητρίου Μελιτεὺς* appears as one of a committee of ten chosen to dedicate a statue to Aphrodite, in an inscription which is shown by the use of *ο* for *ον*, as well as by other evidence, to be prior to 350 B. C.—*Φίλων Ἐξηγεστίδου Ἐλευσίνιος*. We learn for the first time by this inscription the names of the deme and of the father of the architect Philon, whom some authorities had been inclined to identify with Philon of Byzantion. (Foucart.)

The following is M. Foucart's table of the measures used in the inscription:

δάκτυλος, finger-breadth,	=	19.3 millimetres.
παλαιστή, palm,	= 4 δάκτυλοι	= 77.1      “
πούς, foot,	= 4 παλαισταί	= 308.3      “

V. 16. *Εὐθυνητρίαν*, and v. 19, *ὀρθοστάτας*. The *εὐθυνητρία* was the base of the wall—the connecting member between the wall and the foundation. The course of *ὀρθοστάται* rested upon this base and was higher than the regular courses of the wall above—hence its

name. This arrangement was usual in the wall construction of the best period of Greek architecture. (See Durm: *Die Baukunst der Griechen*, p. 56.)

V. 23. *Μέτωπον* means properly "the space between the eyes" (Liddell and Scott). Here it is applied to the narrow but deep pillar between the doors of the arsenal.

V. 26. *Πλινθίων*. Cf. C. I. G. t. I, p. 273, where *πλίνθοι* is used in the same sense of blocks of about the same size for the walls of the Erechtheion. (Foucart.)

V. 48. *Μεσόμνας*. Cross beams extending from column to column over the middle aisle. (Akin to *μεσόδμη*—Foucart.)

V. 49. *Κορυφαῖα*. The main roof beams (*arbalétriers*), extending from the ridge of the roof to the cornice on either side, over each pair of columns. At the ridge, the *κορυφαῖα* were supported by *ὑποθήματα* (v. 51) resting upon the *μεσόμναι* beams, and they were braced by ties, *κερκίδες* (v. 52) extending to the *μεσόμναι*. (Foucart.)

V. 51. *Ἄνευ τῆς καταφορᾶς*. I cannot interpret this expression satisfactorily in connection with the *κορυφαῖα*. It may refer to a dowel-joint at either end of the *κορυφαῖον*, to fix it upon the *ὑπόθημα* or to the bedding timber (?) over the cornice.<sup>1</sup>

V. 53. *Σφηκίσκους*. Longitudinal beams of the roof frame, resting upon the *κορυφαῖα*. Fr. *pannes*. (Foucart.)

V. 55. *Ἰμάντας*. Covering planks crossing the *σφηκίσκους* in the same direction as the *κορυφαῖα*. For the superimposed transverse position of the *σφηκίσκοι* and the *ἰμάντες*, see C. I. G. I, p. 281 and p. 269, fig. 15 (Foucart).

V. 57. *Καλύμματα*. Strips (*lattes*) to support the tiles (Foucart).

V. 58. *Δορώσας*. This word is not given in Liddell and Scott. Its sense appears clearly, however, from C. I. A. II 167, l. 68 and 73, *δορώσει πῆλη ἡχυρωμένῃ πάχος τριδακτύλῃ*. (Foucart.) Here it refers, probably, to some application in the nature of pitch or tar, intended to preserve the frame of the roof from decay.<sup>2</sup>

V. 65. *Τὰς ὁροφάς*. This word can hardly be taken in any other sense here and below than "flooring" or "platform."

<sup>1</sup> In some of the Sicilian temples, at least, and at Aigina, the lower ends of the roof-beams appear to have rested directly upon the cornice-blocks, in which a continuous groove (or perhaps a socket for each beam-end) was cut to receive them. See *Programm zum Winkelmannsfeste*, 1881, Tafel II, and Durm's *Baukunst der Griechen*, plate opposite p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Gildersleeve kindly calls to my attention that *δορώω* according to its formation would seem to mean "to furnish with a *δορά* or skin—to sheathe."

V. 79. Ἀπὸ τῆς κάτω ὁροφῆς μέχρι τῆς ἄνω ὁροφῆς. The lower flooring of the side aisles covered the whole space from the barriers between the columns to the exterior walls. It was raised about two feet above the level of the pavement of the middle aisle (v. 72-74). I should propose for ἡ ἄνω ὁροφή the following arrangement. At the necessary intervals in each intercolumniation were placed upright wooden supports, *ικριωτήρες*, four feet from the wall, and sufficiently high to admit of convenient passage beneath the flooring beams, *διερείσματα*, which extended from their extremities to the side walls. Upon the flooring beams were placed timbers, *θράνοι*, extending the whole length of the building, one next the wall, and the other over the *ικριωτήρες*. Finally, planks four feet long and three feet wide were fitted carefully upon the *θράνοι*, and nailed down, forming a broad shelf along the long sides of the arsenal. Four feet above this shelf was a tier of cross beams, *μεσόμναι* (v. 77), extending from the columns to the side walls, and designed as supports for storing the *υποζώματα* of the ships, and similar tackle. Five feet above this tier of cross beams was a second tier provided for the same purpose. The windows (v. 35) were probably above the second tier of supports, and about twenty feet above the ground.

V. 85. *Κιβωτοὺς*. The chests were probably placed one against the wall in each space between two columns, and one against each column except the end columns of each row, which, as we have seen (v. 25), were more properly pilasters than columns, as the wall of each front was carried in to meet them.

V. 93. This provision for the ventilation of the arsenal by leaving openings at the joints of the wall blocks would form an interesting parallel to the similar openings existing in the lower courses of the Erechtheion. These are, however, pronounced modern by the latest authorities. (See R. Borrmann in the *Mittheilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Institutes in Athen* for 1881, Viertes Heft.)

From a careful view of the evidence direct and indirect bearing upon the question, M. Foucart concludes that this inscription containing the specifications for the construction of the Arsenal of Philon, was engraved in 346 B. C., and that work was begun upon it during that same year, and continued until the administration of Euboulos, in 339. After an interruption of considerable length, building was resumed under the administration of Lykourgos, and the great arsenal was finished in 329 or 328. Philon lived to see

the completion of the work; for, according to Vitruvius,<sup>1</sup> he was still alive in the time of Demetrios Phalereus, who employed him to add a colonnade to the temple of Demeter at Eleusis.<sup>2</sup>

A question of great interest in connection with this inscription upon which I have not yet touched, is that of topography. The Arsenal of Philon stood "in Zeia" (v. 4); and the inscription was found among some ruins near the shore of the harbor which has been identified as the ancient Zea by prominent German scholars. Mr. Meletopoulos considers,<sup>3</sup> therefore, that the discovery of the inscription confirms this identification of the harbor, and the proposed position of the Hippodameian Agora, and throws light upon other dependent questions relating to Peiraic topography. Mr. Meletopoulos, however, says nothing to prove that the inscription was found upon the site where it was set up originally, and that it may not have been brought from elsewhere in subsequent times.<sup>4</sup> He says that near the finding place of the inscription have been dug up at various times fragments of unfluted columns, *capitals of Peiraic limestone*, and a piece of wall running parallel to the shore line, and built of blocks of Peiraic limestone. It is noticeable that according to the inscription the capitals of the columns of the arsenal were to be, not of limestone, but of Pentelic marble (v. 45). If, therefore, the specifications were carried out strictly, the capitals found cannot have belonged to the arsenal. The remains of the wall do not, taken alone, add much weight to the identification of the site, as by far the largest proportion of the ancient walls of the Peiraieus were built of Peiraic limestone. Further excavation and a careful investigation must therefore be made, before we can be sure that the ruins referred to are those of the arsenal. The question ought not to be difficult to settle, in view of the minute details

<sup>1</sup> Vitruvius, VII, *Praef.*, 11.

<sup>2</sup> Paul Foucart, in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* for July, 1882, p. 555.

<sup>3</sup> *Ἀνέκδοτος ἐπιγραφή*, etc., p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> I give the following extract from a letter from a friend in Athens, dated August 27, 1882:

"Nothing decisive can be said of the position in which the inscription in question was found. All that I can gather is, that the usual professional searchers for antiquities—mostly men of very questionable character, who go to work secretly excavating tombs and anything that promises to reward their pains—dug up the tablet, as they say, from the neighborhood of the harbor known in literary circles as Zea, and offered it for sale to its present owner, Mr. Meletopoulos."

and measurements given by the inscription of many architectural members of the building. If these ruins can be proved to be those of the arsenal, or if the inscription can be shown to have been found in or near its original position, the neighboring harbor will be identified without doubt as the ancient Zea; but until this is shown, there are, in my opinion, with all deference to the high German authorities to whom I have alluded, strong reasons for identifying the harbor in question with the ancient harbor of Mounychia. Not the least weighty of these reasons is the strong presumption that the 'Ακτὴ and the Μουνυχία of the ancients were merely different names for the same promontory;<sup>1</sup> while the southern extremity of the Peiraic peninsula is identified certainly as 'Ακτὴ, and traces of the ancient quarries exist still there.

THOMAS W. LUDLOW.

<sup>1</sup> For texts tending to show this, see Curt von Wachsmuth: *Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum*, p. 316, and p. 317 and note 6. Cf. Pausanias, I 1, 4; Herodotus, VIII 76, and Wachsmuth, p. 307, note 6.

## V.—ETYMOLOGICAL STUDIES.

### I.

*Mulciber, mulcere, marcus, marcere, μαλαχός. Murcea, murcus, murceus, murcidus, μύμαρχος.*<sup>1</sup>

The name of Vulcan which stands first among the words that head this article seems to have roused the curiosity of the Romans themselves. In an inscription<sup>2</sup> "Volcano *miti* sive *Mulcibero* L. Vettius," it is taken to be a euphemistic or propitiatory way of deprecating the fierce ravages of fire: compare *Εὐμενίδες*. *Festus* s. v. says '*Mulciber* Volcanus a *molliendo* ferro dictus,' and he is followed by Corssen,<sup>3</sup> who connects it with *mulceo* in the same sense of 'softening' the iron, translating it 'schmelzbringer' and comparing the Sanskrit *mṛiṣ* touch.

On the first of these derivations we must remark that we shall find 'soothing, treating gently' to be a late meaning of *mulceo*, whereas *Mulciber* has every appearance of being a very old word (cf. *infra*). On the second, that this meaning of 'melting' does not seem to be established for the root.

It cannot be denied, however, that there is a connexion between *Mulciber* and *mulcere*, so that we must examine what primitive notion that verb points us to.

Now, very fortunately, we have enough passages left us to determine the original meaning of *mulcere*, one very different from its later one, yet allied to it. I shall arrange the illustrations in order, beginning with the latest. Thus we have in<sup>4</sup>

*Ovid* Fasti 1, 259 *mulcere* barbam = *stroke* his beard.

*Ovid* Fast. 5, 161 *frigidus* Argestes *summas mulcebit* aristas = *brush* the ears.

*Cic.* Arat. 88 *mulcens* tremebundis aera pinnis = *whisking* the air.

<sup>1</sup> In this paper, I have for the sake of convenience given the roots in the old Schleicherian forms.

<sup>2</sup> Orelli, 1382.

<sup>3</sup> Ausspr. I<sup>2</sup> 166.

<sup>4</sup> I ought to state that in some of the passages there are various readings, due no doubt to the unusual meaning of the word, but I see that the readings which I have given for the *Lucr.* and the *Cic.* have the weight of Mr. Munro's authority (note on *Lucr. l. c.*)

*Lucr.* 4, 138 *nubes condescere in alto cernimus et mundi speciem violare sereni, aera mulcentes motu* = *tossing* the air (*violare* suggests more force than in the last example); and finally

*Ennius ap. Priscian* 9, 870 (*Vahlen* 257) *mulserat huc navem compulsam fluctibu'* *pontus* = had *beaten, struck* the ship.<sup>1</sup>

Thus we see that originally *mulcere* meant the same as *mulcare* to beat, or strike. We may compare for the change of meaning the German *streichen*, to 'strike,' or 'stroke,' and 'strike' and 'stroke' themselves.

Now we might at once derive *Mulciber* from *mulcere* or *mulcare* in the sense of 'blow-causing,' 'striker,' 'hammerer'. And the derivation would be quite unexceptionable; for *-ber*<sup>2</sup> can be used for 'causing,' as in *lugu-bri-s* 'causing grief.' But I think we can go back further still. The analogy of *fulcio* and *farcio*<sup>3</sup> suggests that the root *mulc* is weakened from an earlier and stronger form *marc*<sup>4</sup> with the same meaning as *mulc*; and *Corssen* has seen that this is the case in proposing to connect it with the Sanskrit *març* which is referred by *Curtius*<sup>5</sup> with more probability to other words.

An intermediate step *malc* is seen in the Greek μάλη, the Parian name for "a chopping block," *Hesych.*; for the meaning we may compare *marc-ulu-s*, which shows the active side of 'striking.' *Marculus* a 'hammer' is a diminutive from *marcus* for which we have the evidence of *Isidore* *Origin.* 19, 7, 2 "malleus vocatur quia dum quid calet et molle est caedit et producit: *marcus malleus maior* et dictus quod maior sit ad caedendum (!): *marcellus* mediocris:<sup>6</sup> *marculus* malleus pusillus"; and also of *Festus* s. v. *marculus*, "*Marculus* diminutivum a *marco*." For an account of these various hammers see *Rich*, *Dictionary of Antiquities* s. vv. and the drawings there. The following are the definitions he gives of them: *Malleus* (3) "a large mallet used by

<sup>1</sup> The idea that *mulserat* is from *mulgeo* here is absurd.

<sup>2</sup> See *Corssen l. c.*

<sup>3</sup> The connexion of these words has been established in an appendix to my edition of select elegies of *Propertius*.

<sup>4</sup> This root *mark* is an expansion by *k* of the root *MAR* which *Max Müller* has discussed so fully (*Science of L.* II 314 foll.)

<sup>5</sup> *Curt. Grundz.* 463 (II 61, Eng. tr.).

<sup>6</sup> I have little doubt that a *marculus* has been omitted between *mediocris* and *marculus*, so that we should read '*marcellus* mediocris (marculus): *marculus* malleus pusillus.' For it seems impossible to suppose that the *marcellus* was larger than the *marculus*.



smiths at the anvil, the head of which was either formed entirely of iron or of wood bound with iron." *Marculus* "a smith's hammer; and, as the word is a diminutive, it will represent one of the smaller kinds used with one hand." *Marcus* "a large iron-headed hammer used by smiths such as we call a sledge hammer." This word *marcus* meant originally the 'striker'; and so the 'hammerer' or 'hammer.' In the general sense of 'hammer' it was, however, early replaced by its diminutive *marc-ulu-s*—a very common occurrence in language, and especially common in the case of names of tools, vessels, etc., e. g. in *anulus*, *circulus*, *trulla* and others—and it was itself confined to the meaning of large hammer or sledge hammer, in fact to the hammer par excellence. Thus the *marcus* became especially distinctive of the smith, and in particular of the smith of smiths, the fire-god *Vulcan*. *Mulci-ber* then, his attribute, represents him as the 'hammer-bearer,' and is best illustrated by an ancient gem<sup>1</sup> called *Vulcanus taediger* where the god appears with a large hammer in his right hand and a torch in his left. It may perhaps be advanced against this connexion that in other compounds the suffix *-ber* means rather 'causing' than 'carrying' or 'holding.' But we must remember that the original signification was 'carrying, bearing,' not 'causing,' and that so it would be rather matter of surprise if the original meaning were preserved in *no* word, than that it is preserved only in *one*, and further that the neuter words *vela-bru-m*, *candela-bru-m*, etc., do give this meaning of 'bearing, holding,' in the shorter form *-bro*. Again the antiquity of the name, to which I have already adverted, must not be disregarded in discussing this question. The form *-ber* carries us back to the period before BH had become *b* in the middle and *f* at the beginning of words, when the root BHAR, bear, still retained its aspirate. Subsequently, when the BH split into initial *f* and medial *b*, the *bh* in *bhar* became *b* even in compounds, if the consciousness of the composite character of the word had been obscured. And this was the case with *Mulciber*. For it was a proper name, and, as such, followed the law of language, the existence of which Max Müller<sup>2</sup> has established, that proper names soon lose their connotation and merely indicate or denote persons, etc., without reference to their qualities. Men ceased to think of the word *Mulciber* as a compound indicating an attribute of Vulcan,

<sup>1</sup> Mus. Florent. Gemm. III, xl. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Science of Language II ix. and following.

and treated it accordingly as a simple word which simply denoted him. Contrast with this name *Mulciber* the epithet *caducifer*, which was formed at a much later time, to denote a foreign attribute of a god. To return to *marcus* the striker. It suggests at once the praenomen *Marcus* and tempts us to explain it as the striker, the smith.<sup>1</sup> But it is perhaps safer to explain it with Zehetmayr, Wörterb. s. v. as a 'weakling.' Compare *Flaccus* and see below. The English *smooth*, which originally meant *soft* = Germ. *geschmeidig*, shows an analogy to a word derived from our root. This is *μαλακός*,<sup>2</sup> the original form of which is *μαλακ-ός*, preserved in the gloss of Hesychius *μαλακόν, μαλακόν*. The *a* is epenthetic as Curtius rightly observes. So that *μαλακός* and *smooth* both meant originally 'beaten' or 'forged soft.'

*Marceo*, too, may be put here. Its fundamental meaning is not so much to 'begin to die' or to 'decay' as to 'become soft, flabby, squashy, to begin to rot,' which is the sign of decay. Thence in a metaphorical sense to become *feeble, languid*. A few examples are *marcentes* uvae, grapes on the turn, *marcentes* silvae, *marcentia* guttura, of the *flabby* throat of an aged ram, Ov. Met. 7, 314; *marcens* stomachus, a languid appetite, *marcere* luxuria (compare *ἀβρός, μαλακός, mollis*), to languish in luxury, *marcens* animus conjoined with corpus *torpens*.

Other words which show the root are

*Murcus* 'a coward,' (cf. *mollis* from the simple root MAR).

*Murcei* *ῥοθεῖς* gloss.

*Murcidus* 'slothful,' *Plautus* Epidicus III 1, 12, all of which show *u* for *a*, as is also seen in *Murcia*, an old name of Venus, Varro Ling. Lat. 5, 154, Fest. p. 148 Müller, etc.; representing her as 'breaking' or subduing and enervating the minds of men. The spelling *Murtea* is probably due to a popular etymology from *myrtus* (*murtus*).

Finally, one word shows the root *reduplicated*, viz.

*Mi-μαρκ-ος* a dish of hashed hare.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I do not wish to raise the question of a connexion between *smith* and *smile*. See Skeat, Eng. Etym. Dict. s. vv.

<sup>2</sup> Curt. Grundz.<sup>5</sup> 327 (No. 457) treats it somewhat differently.

<sup>3</sup> Düntzner (Kuhn's Zeitschrift 14, 196) also connects *mulcare* with *mollis* and *mulier*.

Σιβυλλα.<sup>1</sup>

The ancients explained this word to be Διὸς βουλῇ. A modification of this derivation, removing some of the difficulties that attend it, is adopted by Pott<sup>2</sup> and C. Alexandre.<sup>3</sup> They take it to be a compound of σιός (θεός) and βόλλα (βουλῇ). To say nothing of the improbability that a syllable and that an accented one (σιό-βόλλα) should have been lost, or of the very artificial meaning—'will of God'—which is quite unsuitable to so old a word, the derivation must be summarily set aside for assuming it to be a compound of words belonging to two different dialects, σιός being *Laconian* and βόλλα *Aeolic*.

The termination -υλλα in Σιβυλλα may be compared with that of Ἡρ-υλλα, Θράσ-υλλο-ς, Δέρκ-υλλα. It is probably for υλγα by progressive assimilation, so that Σιβ-υλ-λα<sup>4</sup> is from a stem σιβ-υλο (cf. κείρ-υλο-ς, etc.) + fem. suffix γα.

The root would appear to be σιβ, for which we shall expect to find in Greek the alternative form ιβ, as the initial spirant is usually lost, though sometimes retained. This form ιβ is found in Hesychius ιβ η νοί· νοεροί in which the same suffix appears as in ἀ-μεν-ηρό-ς, σκαλ-ηρό-ς. The root σιβ (σιβ ιβ) may be traced in Latin too in the old words *sibus* Fest. 16 (Müller, p. 148), 'callidus sive acutus, *persibus* Fest. s. v., and Plaut. and Naev. quoted by him there, *persibe* perite Varro L. L. 6, 6.

This root σιβ may be further connected with the root SAP to be wise, found in *sap-ίω* σοφ-ό-ς, etc., the A being weakened to i and the P to b.

Σιβ-υλ-λα then will mean the 'wise woman,' or perhaps the 'little wise woman,' the suffix -υλο being used, as is not unfrequent, in a diminutive sense. And the Sibyl will be so named because she knows the sacred secrets of destiny. The transition of meaning

<sup>1</sup> This article, which, like the rest of this paper, I have had in MS. since 1877-8, was written in ignorance of Max Müller's discussion of the word (Lectures I 95) and the remarks of Böttger thereon (cited by Vaniček, Wörterb. s. v.). I have however left it as it stands, as besides being an independent treatment, it adds some fresh particulars to the discussion. Max Müller's *sapius sabius* does not suit the conditions nearly as well as *sibus*, Osc. *sipus*.

<sup>2</sup> Zeitschrift VI 133 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Alexandre, Excursus in Sibyllina, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Max Müller (l. c. infr.) thinks that *Sibylla* was an Italian word originally. This is certainly possible; but there are the two following objections. *Sibulla* is not, I believe, found in any Italian dialect, the Roman writers borrowing it from the Greek, and the υ in Σιβυλλα is a genuine Greek weakening.

may be compared with that in *wilch* and *wizard* by Anglo-Saxon *witan* to know, and the Latin *sāga* compared with *prae-sag-us*, *praesag-io*.

Some other proper names probably come from the same root, *Σιβ-ύρ-τα-s*, *Σιβ-ύρ-το-s* and *Σιβύ-τι-os*.

### *Flagitare.*

This word is derived by Corssen<sup>1</sup> from a root BHRAG to shine or burn, seen in *flag-rare*, etc., so that it means to 'desire hotly.' This does not suit the uses of *flagitare* which express the forcing of one's desire upon others rather than the feeling of it oneself. The word means 'to demand earnestly, to be clamorous for a thing,' rather than 'to be hot for it.' It seems better then to look for other words that may be related. Such we find in *flag-rum*, *flag-ellu-m*; *flig-o*, *pro-flig-are*, Gothic *bliggvan*, beat. The root is BHLAG and its meaning to 'beat.'

*Flag-ita-re* then is a frequentative meaning to 'beat frequently,' press, importune: compare *obtundo* and Virg. Aen. IV 447 *haud secus adsiduis hinc atque vocibus heros tunditur*, i. e. by Anna's importunate prayers.

For this, the original meaning of the word, inter cutem *flagitatus* Festus p. 82 (Müller 4, note), compared with the equivalent intra cutem *caesus* Tertull. Pall. 4 is decisive.

### *Formido*, *φόρη*, *er χήρ*, *χαρδασω*, etc.

Corssen<sup>2</sup> derives *formido* from a root DHAR to make fast, and explains it as "die festhaltende unbewegliche Macht der Furcht," quoting in support of his view the definition of *formido* as *metus permanens* Cic. Tusc. IV 8, 19. He forgets however that the *permanence* of the fear is expressed in the suffix *-ido* (which, as in *cupido libido*, denotes a state of feeling); and he gives no instance of root DHAR being used in this meaning.

Before offering another connexion, I must notice one or two slight clues that some uses of *formido* supply. It is used with *horribilis* Cic. Fin. 1, 19, 63 *horribiles formidines*; Virgil Georg. 4, 468 has *caligantem nigra formidine lucum*, which points to shuddering awe; and its use as a 'scarecrow' may perhaps be partly determined by the fluttering of the feathers of the scarecrow as well as by the purpose it was intended to serve. Is it too meta-

<sup>1</sup>Ausspr. I<sup>2</sup> 398.

<sup>2</sup>Ausspr. I<sup>1</sup> 48.

physical to suppose that the *tremulus horror* of the branches Ov. Met. 9, 345 is also included in the expression? Probably it was the observation of these and similar passages that led Freund<sup>1</sup> to his conjecture that *formido* was connected with *horreo*. I shall try to show that this conjecture is on grounds of sound and of sense unexceptionable.

*Horreo* is for *hors-e-o*, and its root is GHARS which is seen in Sanskr. *hrish* (for *harsh*)<sup>2</sup> to *bristle*, become erect (of hair), cf. *harsha* bristling of the hair, but generally joy. GHARS is probably expanded by *s* from a simpler root GHAR, for which see below.

Now *f* may represent original GH in Latin; indeed both *f* and *h* are frequently found together in the same word as representatives of the original aspirate. Examples are *†aetus*, *†ariolus*, *†ordeum*, *†ostis*, *†olus*, etc., so that there is no improbability in supposing *horreo* and *formido* to come from the same root GHARS. Lastly an *s* may have fallen out between the *r* and *m* in *formido*; though it is also possible that the word may have been formed from the unexpanded root GHAR.

The original meaning of *horrere* was plainly to 'bristle' or to 'stand on end.' If there was ever a verb *\*formire*, as Corssen thinks, it meant 'to be bristling or have one's hair standing on end'; and so *formido* would mean *fear*, the mental state which induces these corporeal manifestations.<sup>3</sup>

In the case of this root, as also in that of *asper* (for *aster*), Lith. *asztrus*, Ch. Sl. *ostrü* sharp, we have the notions of 'pricking, prickly, rough' passing into each other. The shortest form in which it appears is GHAR, with the meanings to 'prick,' 'tear,' 'scratch' of sharp things.<sup>4</sup>

We find it in the following words:

*Χαράσσω* (for *χαρ-ακ-γω*), in which the root is expanded by *-ακ*, to make pointed or sharp, to tear or scratch.

<sup>1</sup> Lat. Wörterb. s. v.

<sup>2</sup> Generally meaning to rejoice. The double signification runs through the derivatives.

<sup>3</sup> The erection of the hair, if we are to trust the evidence of language, and there is no reason why it should lie, seems to be by no means confined to states of terror, but to be characteristic of excitement generally. Mr. Verrall reminds me of the curious word *ὀρσολοπεῖω* (-έω) apparently from *ὀρσός*, *λοπός* (cf. *ὀρσθρις*). The Skt. *hrish* shows it for joy, and Darwin's *Expression of Emotions*, p. 24, mentions it in anger.

<sup>4</sup> This root is treated, though inadequately, by Vaniček, Wörterb. 253.

Χάραξ, from the same stem χαρακ- (compare φύλαξ by φυλάσσω) in the sense of 'anything with a point, anything that can tear,' a stake, etc. Cf. Hesychius χάρακες τάφρος καὶ ἀκανθώδη φυτὰ καὶ οἱ κάλαμοι.

Χαρία (χαρ-ί-α) βουνός Hesych. Compare ἄκ-ρα from root AK, to be sharp.<sup>1</sup>

Χαράδρα (χαρ-άδ-ρα) a ravine or *rent* in a hill.

Χάρυβδις (χάρ-υβ-δ-ι-ς) is similarly a yawning gulf. It comes from a stem χαρυβ- with parasitic δ, compare χαλ-υβ-δ-ικέ-ς from χαλ-υβ-, μόλ-υβ-δο-ς by the side of μόλ-υβ-ος and Curtius Grundz.<sup>2</sup> 654 (II 299, Eng. tr).

Χάλυψ (χάλ-υβ-ς) 'steel'<sup>3</sup> itself is from the same stem χαρ-υβ-, but the ρ is weakened to λ.

Χαρτός (χαρ-τό-ς) βακτηρία, Hesych. For the meaning we may compare Aristoph. σιζόμενος βακτηρία.

Χάρτης (χάρ-τη-ς) may be compared also with some probability in the sense of the 'torn off sheets of the papyrus.'

Χηραμός (χηρ-αμό-ς) a 'hole scratched in the ground,' shows the vowel as η. Hesychius gives also χάραμος ἡ τῆς γῆς διάστασις οἷον χηραμός.

In the following words the same root is to be observed reduplicated:

Κάρχαρος<sup>4</sup> (κάρ-χαρ-ο-ς) 'sharp, pointed, jagged,' Alcman, etc.: derivatives of which are καρχαρίας, a kind of *shark*; καρχαρόδους, 'sharp-fanged.'

Κερχαλέος (καρ-χυλ-έο-ς) shows also the ρ weakened to λ and resembles in its meanings the Latin *asper*, both in that of 'rough with thirst' = Virg. siti asper, and metaphorically in that of 'roughness of temper,' 'fierceness.'<sup>5</sup> The same word appears with a slightly different meaning in

Κερχαλέος 'rough, hoarse,' which connects closely with some words that show the reduplication in a mutilated form κερχ,<sup>5</sup> such as:

<sup>1</sup> Χοιράς a *sharp* reef for χορ-γ-αδ-ς also may be compared. For the epenthesis cf. χοῖρος below.

<sup>2</sup> Χαλκός (χαλ-κο-ς) and χάλυψ are more naturally referred to this root than to GHAR, shine, from which Vaniček derives them (p. 244).

<sup>3</sup> So already Benfey, W. I 203.

<sup>4</sup> I cannot share Fritzsche's doubts, Curt. Stud. 6, 293.

<sup>5</sup> See the instances referred to by Curtius, Index, under head 'Broken Reduplication'; gurg-es, root GAR, is one of them.

Κέρχρος (κέρχ-ρος) 'roughness,' -ός 'rough'; κέρχω 'be rough,' etc.

There is one word containing the simple form of the root which must be examined more minutely.

Χάρμη is a case where two distinct words from different roots have been confused. Χάρμη from root GHAR, to rejoice, has been confused with χάρμη from root GHAR, prick or tear.

Χάρμη (A) in the first sense is undoubtedly found in Pind. Ol. 9, 129. A confusion with χάρμη (B) or an attempt to make one sound combine two meanings is found in Il. 13, 82, χάρμη γηθόσυνοι where χάρμη is chiefly *martial spirit*.

Χάρμη (B) from root GHAR 'to prick, tear' means properly 'pricker': so (1) a *spear-point*, Stesich. 92 (89), Ibyc. 58 (53). (2) *battle, fight*, as tearing flesh and shields. Cf. Hom. χροά ῥήξαντες—δηούρες βοέας. Then, chiefly through the influence of phrases like χάρμης λελάθοντο, μύησαντο, (3) *desire for fight*—spirit of battle, as in Il. l. c. and Il. 13, 104 ἀνάλκιδες οὐδ' ἐπὶ χάρμη, the concrete being put for the abstract. Compare our English expression 'he has no fight left in him,' and the Latin *certamen*.<sup>1</sup>

The other derivations do not satisfy the meanings of the word. Curtius connects it with root GHAR, 'glow,' in the sense of the 'heat of the struggle'; this does not account for B(1). Liddell and Scott's derivation of it from χαίρω, 'the stern joy that warriors feel,' is quite unsuited to the Homeric combatants.

### *Incohare, cohūm.*

The shifting of the *h* in *incohare* from the end to the beginning of the syllable is probably due in part to the influence of the absurd derivation from *chaos*, and in part to the tendency to aspirate mutes followed immediately by a vowel, which was an affection of the later Latin speech. The order of the forms is *incohare, incoare, inchoare*.<sup>2</sup> We have the same order in *cohors, coors, cors, chors*. We must start then with the form *incohare* and cast about for some word connected with it. *Cohūm* is one which at once suggests itself.

Now there are two old words which both appear in *Festus* s. v. (Müller, p. 31) as *cohūm*. The glosses are:

(A) *cohūm* poetae *caelum* dixerunt a chao ex quo putabant *caelum* esse formatum.

<sup>1</sup> *Tantum certamen* animorum imbibant, Livy 2, 58, 6. The use is characteristic of simple thought and the picturesque style.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Döderlein, Syn. III 158 n.

(B) *cohūm lorum quo temo buris cum iugo colligatur*, a cohibendo dictum.

In (A) the *h* is probably due to the derivation from *chaos* or to confusion with (B). An older form which is found in Ennius is *cōum*. *Cōum* has lost a *v* and is connected, as Dacier<sup>1</sup> has seen, with *caelum* (for *cavilum*) and *cavus*, so that *cōum caeli* (Enn.) means the hollow vault of the sky.<sup>2</sup>

In *cohūm* (B) there is no trace of an earlier form. Thus, so far as the form goes, it may be connected with *incohare*. We must next examine the meaning.

*Incohare* does not mean nearly so much as *incipere*. It is rather 'to set about' a thing than 'to take it in hand' (*incipere*); it is opposed to *perficere*, while *incipere* is the opposite of *desinere*. This rudimentary beginning, this bare promise of completion is well expressed by the metaphor, 'to put the *cohūm* or yoke-strap on the plough.' The plough is not in the furrow, the cattle even are not in the yoke, and the only sign of the ploughing to come is the pole with its yoke-strap attached. Metaphors from ploughing are not unfrequent among the agricultural Romans: compare *exarare*, *delirare*, *cussiliris*.

Our next endeavor will be to find words in other languages with which *cohūm* is connected. The *h* points to an aspirate and a root KAGH or KAKH, a parallel form to KAK. *Cohūm* coincides strikingly in meaning with the Sanskrit *kakshas*, which means amongst other things 'a girdle, an elephant's girth.' So *kakshā* is 'the end of the lower garment tucked into the waistband.' The first meaning of KAK seems to be to 'bind' as Fick (I<sup>3</sup> 36) gives it. Then it means to 'bend.' So the Eng. 'bind' and 'bend' themselves. Of the meanings given for *kaksha* m. and n. and *kakshā* by the P. W. that of 'girdle' comes from its being a 'band'; by an easy transference we get that of 'wall, enclosure,' and metaphorically that of border, bound, or 'orbit.' Then it is used of a 'bend' in the body, the 'armpit.' Perhaps its use for the 'side' is a special development of this as the P. W. takes it; but probably it has also been colored by the meaning of 'bound.' In the moral region 'bendings' mean 'twistings,' pretexts, *strophæ* or 'sin'; compare *kaṅkara* wicked, *kaṅcāra* the same. The uses 'like-

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Müller on Festus, l. c.

<sup>2</sup> Curtius, No. 79. Fick II<sup>3</sup> 62.

<sup>3</sup> The meanings of the Skt. *kak* are, according to the P. W. 'schwanken, unbeständig sein, übermüthig sein, dürsten.'



ness' and 'emulation' seem metaphors from yoking. We are told *iungere pares*. From 'bend' we get to 'hiding place,' bends, curves and holes affording concealment. Hence *kakshas* R. V. 10, 28, 4 is a 'hiding place,' and *kakshyds*, *id.* 5, 44, 11, probably 'secret.' Compare the P. W. s. v. *kakshya*, *kakshy* *i*, f. (a) girdle, (b) upper garment, border of a garment, (c) surrounding wall, enclosure, (e) similarity, (f) anstrengung, *kakshya*, n. (a) wagschale, (b) a part of a carriage (wagon).

The same root, see Fick (*l. c.*) and Diefenbach Gloss. H. 4, p. 494, is very fertile in words denoting parts of the body, amongst which we may mention *κοχ-ώνη*,<sup>1</sup> where there is no reason to suppose a previous form *κοξ-ώνη*. It comes straight from the root, whether in the form KAK or KAGH I shall not determine. Both forms will suit it and both have authority. KAK gives Goth. *hahan*, KAGH O. H. G. etc. *hangen*, Eng. *hang*, Lat. *cingo*, O. H. G. *hag*, horse. *Cohum* then means 'yokeband,' and the *h* is for medial GH, as in *traho*, *veho*, etc.

J. P. POSTGATE.

<sup>1</sup> Ar. Equ. 424 is a curious instance of τῶ κοχῶνα being a hiding place.

## REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

The Medea of Euripides. With an Introduction and Commentary by A. W. Verrall, M. A. London. Macmillan & Co. 1881.

To say that this book deserves a hearty welcome may seem too much to the captious critic—possibly too little to the generous critic. It has good qualities which render it conspicuous among the products of recent scholarship, especially of Anglo-American scholarship. The book shows conscientious and systematic industry, real knowledge of critical method, very uncommon ingenuity. The reader who examines a couple of pages taken at random will find his expectations raised very high. But he will reluctantly find these expectations in some measure disappointed upon careful study of the whole. For although the tools are those of the scientific workman, they sometimes slip strangely as from lack of practice; the very fertility of critical resource sometimes appears as overwrought cleverness missing a plain point; and there is sometimes a certain haziness of feeling about the way things may and may not be said in Greek. But the fulness of examination which I shall try to give the book may be taken as evidence that I do not fail to appreciate its merits.

The Introduction (dated May, 1881) begins with a list of editions chiefly used. The names of Kirchhoff, Weil and Schöne are conspicuous by their absence. Whether the *Analecta Euripidea* of Wilamowitz have been studied at first hand is not quite clear. It is matter of real regret that V. published too early to have seen Leo's remarks (*Hermes*, XV 306. See *Amer. Jour. of Philol.* I 487), to which I shall repeatedly refer. Next follows an attempt to provide a sort of royal road for those who cannot or will not learn by close study what manner of thing a Greek manuscript is. V. gives a bit of *Comus*, full of imaginary corruptions found in imaginary manuscripts, and then goes through the process of correcting it according to art. The idea is a clever one; but it may be doubted whether such a device can do more than to raise a conceit of knowledge in the indolent. A good photographic facsimile of twenty well chosen lines from the Codex Laurentianus would have been worth far more to real students.

The discussion of the two classes of MSS of Euripides which follows is more important. V. is right out of all question in supporting the high authority of the Laurentianus and Palatinus; but I cannot think he (or anybody else as yet) has fully solved the problem of the relation of these MSS to the Vaticanus. My own provisional view is that the MSS of the "second class" (Laur. and Pal.) are more genuine, though more corrupted by slips and errors; while the Vaticanus has been more corrected out of shape by grammarians. And so far as this statement goes, I understand it to state Verrall's view. But this view will not support the load of inferences which he puts upon it. There is nothing in it to diminish the probability, in any given case of divergence,

that the Vaticanus may have the genuine reading, provided the divergence can be best explained on that theory. Let us look for a moment at one of the passages which V. discusses in this connection. In 668 he thinks *ἐσάλης* a gloss, *ἰκάνεις* a corruption, and writes *ἰζάνεις*. To begin with, *ἐσάλης* is a perfect reading on its own merits. Then V.'s argument, "*ἐσάλης* is familiar and easy, *ἰκάνεις* poetical and archaic," and again, "whatever else may be said of *ἰκάνεις*, no one will take it for an explanation or correction of *ἐσάλης*," is all wrong. The scholion to this very passage proves that *ἐσάλην* was *not* familiar to Byzantine readers; and *ἰκάνω* was well known to every Byzantine school-boy as a part of the antique poetical vocabulary—an admirable word for a gloss. This a man really practised in such matters would know by a sort of instinct; but no doubtful matter could be easier of investigation. For example, it is not hard to examine the other passages of Euripides in which the passive of *στέλλω* occurs. The first upon which the writer stumbles is Androm. 251. That line, with its variants and *glossemata*, tells the whole story with curious neatness. Other flaws in the argument of this essay must be passed over. The remaining portions of the Introduction deal with the Story of Medea, the "Two Versions," the Medea of Neophron, the Scenery and Distribution of the Parts.

I shall now ask the reader to accompany me in an examination of most of the passages in which V. prints emendations of his own. In 30 he proposes, 'under reserve,' *πλὴν εἰ ποτε* for *ἦν μὴ ποτε*. Here as elsewhere in the play recourse is had to capital letters to show how easily the corruption could have crept in. But in fact the correction is, as a matter of palaeography, very improbable, even with the help of capital letters. And most scholars familiar with the manuscripts of Euripides will probably agree with the reviewer that later forms of Byzantine writing are generally of higher importance in accounting for corruptions. In the present case *πλὴν εἰ ποτε* does not at all give the needed sense; it leaves the connection of thought as absurd as ever. What we want is *καὶ δὴ ποτε*; and there is strong reason, apart from the necessary sense, for supposing that Euripides wrote *καὶ δὴ ποτε*. The reading of the Laurentianus proves that the *δὴ* was extant in the archetype of L and P; while the uncertainty of the copyists about the breathing of *ἦν* points to an archetype which had *ἦν* without breathing. Now let the reader unfamiliar with manuscripts turn to Bücheler's edition of the Homeric Hymn to Demeter, the edition with the facsimile of the manuscript. There let him compare the *καὶ* of v. 90 with the last two letters of *θαλερὴν*, v. 79. In 39 V. objects to *ἐγὼδα τῆνδε* on the ground that *οἶδα* is the wrong verb and *τῆνδε* the wrong pronoun. This is obviously true. By the way, Wecklein's note on this passage is a beautiful specimen of the habit of supporting one construction by citing an example of some other: he cites Phoen. 716, *ἐγὼδα κείνους τοῖς λόγοις ὄντας θρασεῖς*. But V. urges his objection with strange modesty: ("I would speak with the greatest diffidence of difficulties which others have not found"). Dindorf and Prinz have declared the verse spurious; nor can the condemnation be removed by V.'s change of *τῆνδε* to *τῆδε*. In 123-4 he accepts Barthold's conjecture, *ἐπὶ μὴ μεγάλους*, but omits the *τε* of the next line. He says: "*ὄχυρως τ'* MSS, but the corruption of the previous word accounts readily for the insertion of the copula." But surely the *τε* is wholly inconsistent with, and in itself a proof of

the corruption of *εἰ μὴ μεγάλως*, while in the corrected text there is not the faintest objection to it. This is pointed out by Leo. In 157 *κοινὸν τόδε · μὴ χαράσσου* is a very simple and complete restoration.

In 182 the change *εἰ τόδ' αὐδὲ* can hardly be considered fortunate. The traditional reading is perfectly sound and has been well explained and sufficiently illustrated by Pflugk and Klotz: the *τάδε* is in antithesis to *τὰ ἑσω*.

234 Verrall prints in this form: *λαβεῖν · λαβεῖν γὰρ οὐ, τόδ' ἄλγιον κακόν*. Surely *λαβεῖν γὰρ οὐ* (= *τὸ γὰρ μὴ λαβεῖν*) gives the negative a prominence not easily explained. Prinz is right in rejecting the line, and V. wrong in saying there is nothing to account for an interpolation. The verse belongs to a recognized class of interpolations, of which we have here to perfection the usual characteristics, a *superfluous* word intended to fill out the sense of the preceding verse, and then five feet of halting nonsense (generally with variants enough to show that some ancient grammarians conscientiously tried to cure congenital defects) by way of padding out the rhythm.

303-5 is a very troublesome passage, and V. does "not pretend to certainty about it." He prints: *σοφὴ γὰρ οὔσα, τοῖς μὲν εἰμ' ἐπιφθονος, | τοῖς ἡσυχαιῶς, τοῖς δὲ θατέρῳ τῷ ὄντι | τοῖς δ' αὖ προσάντης εἰμὶ κοῦκ ἄγαν σοφή*. This involves considerable changes, and cannot, in spite of all explanation, give an acceptable sense. The real trouble is that the verses are not Euripidean. Many critics have recognized the fact of interpolation here (Pierson, Brunck, Musgrave Porson, Elmsley, Dindorf, Nauck, Kirchhoff, Hirzel, Prinz, Wecklein, Allen, and I know not how many more); but no one seems to me to have exercised a proper tact in defining its limits. V.'s objections to assuming an interpolation are of no weight as such, but they are decisive against any definition of the spurious matter hitherto proposed. The reviewer believes 302-305 (*ἐγὼ δὲ—σοφή*) to be spurious. The interpolator, in his overweening sapience, thought he might do dull-witted Jason a kindness by pointing out an application for the general principle of 300-301. But in fact the personal application has been already given in 292-3. On this view the reader will see the meaning of *δ' οὖν*, 306, and will not be tempted to follow V. in writing *αὐ* for *οὖν*. It may be remarked here that the manuscript evidence, on which some critics have relied in rejecting 304, really proves nothing whatever.

The treatment of 359-61 is very unsatisfactory. V. gives *προξενίαν* in 359 and omits (as others have done) *ἐξευρήσεις* of 361. But even if *προξενίαν* were the reading of the MSS, we should, on cutting out *ἐξευρήσεις*, be warranted in writing *πρὸς ξενίαν*. And the case is really far stronger than this: *προξενίαν* has no authority whatever beyond that of bare conjecture; the diplomatic facts make it certain that not only the Vaticanus, but also the common archetype of the Laurentianus and of the Palatinus, as well as some progenitor of the Parisinus 2713, had *πρὸς ξενίαν* and nothing else. The reviewer is satisfied that Leo is right in trying to cure the trouble by emendation of *ἐξευρήσεις*. His change to *ἐξευρήσουσ'* leaves nothing to be desired.

In 392 V. writes *ἀμήχανον* instead of *ἀμήχανος*. But there is no need of emendation, only of explanation, of a little consideration how *ἀμήχανος* comes to acquire its derived meaning of *irresistible*. Primarily a thing is *ἀμήχανος* when it carries no devices with it, when it leaves the person concerned without devices, whether for resistance to itself or for any other suggested purpose.

That is the sense required here: the ἀμήχανος συμφορὰ of which Medea is thinking is an exile without promise of any πύργος ἀσφαλῆς. To find examples of ἀμήχανος in its primary sense as applied to things is less difficult than V. supposes: such examples are numerous in Euripides. I will cite only Hec. 1123, for which Verrall's statement of the meaning of the adjective (*that against which devices are weak or powerless, hard, irresistible, not to be prevented*) is singularly inadequate.

434-7 V. writes as follows: πέτρας, ἐπὶ δὲ ξένῃ ναίεις χθονί· τὰς ἀνάνδρους κοίτας ὀλέσσασα λέκτρων, τάλαινα. To this I will only say that the traditional text, in which I can see no fault, seems to me far simpler, clearer, better both in sense and in grammar. The chorus tell the story of Medea's misfortunes in historical sequence and with something of the effect of rhetorical climax. In delusion of heart she left her father's house and braved the terrors of a frightful journey; she is now a dweller in a land of strangers, where 'she has lost the hope and comfort of her marriage; she is on the verge of exile even from her adopted land.

The reading of 494 is worth a moment's notice. The overwhelming weight of authority is for θέσμι' ἀνθρώποις. V. writes θέσμ' ἐν ἀνθρώποις, because "it is difficult to account for" the variant θέσμι' ἐν unless ἐν be a part of the original reading. But nothing is easier than to account for this variant, if one bears in mind the character of the old grammar-rules. The schoolboy who had to account for the case of ἀνθρώποις was expected to say: λείπει ἢ ἐν. Grammatical notes of this sort from the margins of the manuscripts are familiar to readers of scholia.

738-9 V. writes: ψιλὸς γένοι' ἂν κάπικηρυκείμενα | οὐκ ἀντιστοίχοι. This is too ingenious. Beside this Leo's ὀκνῶν πίθοιο in 739 seems a remedy as sound as it is simple.

835-45 are treated at length—and very interestingly treated—in an excursus. No passage could be better selected than this to exhibit the editor's great ingenuity. He writes: τοῦ καλλινάου τ' ἀπὸ Κηφισοῦ ῥοῆς, τὰν Κύπριν κληζοῦσιν ἀφυσσομένην χώραν καταπλεῦσαι μετρίους ἀνέμων ἡδυνήτους ὁάροις, αἰεὶ δ' ἐπιβαλλομένην χαίταισιν εὐώδη ῥοδέων πλόκον ἀνθέων τῇ σοφίᾳ παρέδροις πέμπειν ἔρωτας, παντοίας ἀρετᾶς ξυνεργούς. This is very clever; the translation and explanation given with it are very attractive; but any cautious critic must hesitate to find it all conclusive. I will offer only one remark: the adjective μετρίους becomes suspiciously prosaic when made to do duty for the ἀνέμων ὁάροις, nor is it possible here to meet the objection by saying that the adjective belongs in poetic effect with ἀνέμων, as it really does in the properly-constituted text. But the best criticism on V. here consists in quoting Leo, whose critical method in treating both the manuscripts and the poetical conception is far stricter. L. writes: τοῦ καλλινάου τ' ἐπὶ Κηφισοῦ ῥοαῖς τὰν Κύπριν κληζοῦσιν ἐφεξομένην χώραν κατὰ πνεῦσαι μετρίας ἀνέμων ἡδυνήτους ἄρας, αἰεὶ δ' ἐπιβαλλομένην χαίταισιν εὐώδη ῥοδέων πλόκον ἀνθέων τῇ Σοφίᾳ παρέδροις πέμπειν Ἐρωτας, παντοίας ἀρετᾶς ξυνεργούς. "Die am Kephisos sitzende Kypris, sich kränzend und Eröten entsendend, ist die Hauptfigur des Gemäldes; in ihrer Begleitung Sophia, mit Eröten zur Seite. Harmonia mit den Musen und die διὰ λυμποτάτον αἰθέρος wandelnden Athener gruppiren sich von selbst im Geiste des Hörers dazu. Die landschaftlichen Züge (der heilige Boden, die Reinheit der Luft, der Fluss, die lauen

Winde, der Blumenreichtum) geben den Hintergrund. Man entschlägt sich schwer des Gedankens, dass das Gemälde topographische Grundlage habe; auch Sophokles im Liede auf den Kolonos nennt Musen und Aphrodite im Kephisosgebiete (O. C. 685 ff.), worauf schon Elmsley aufmerksam machte." *This* does seem to the reviewer thoroughly convincing, with a single exception: the relation of the Ἑρωτες to the other figures is confused. It is very easy to assume a mistake in the termination of πατέδρου. I should write πάρεδρον: the Ἑρωτες go forth with a joint commission from Aphrodite and Sophia.

The treatment of 846-7 is an unfavorable specimen of V.'s skill. He writes: *λερῷ ποταμῷ ἢ φίλῳ ἢ πόλιν πόμπιμῶς σε χάρα.* Here V. fancies there must be some mystery behind the corrupt reading of the Vaticanus—*ἢ φίλων ἢ πόλιν*. But the corruption is of the most simple and usual sort—a transposition of words (helped by the repetition of *ἢ*) in the archetype of this and other MSS. The reading of Laur. and Pal. is not a "rough remedy to the metre," but the true reading, with a clear and obvious sense. But even if the soundness of this far-fetched method were conceded, we could not accept V.'s result. He regards φίλῳ as a "secondary predicate" with ποταμῷ "like the participle in *οὐ μοι βουλευμένῳ τούτῳ ποιήσεις.*" To this it is a sufficient objection to say that the position of *ἢ* is impossible. It is true enough that *ἢ* takes unusual positions sometimes, but it always heads a clause or precedes a word antithetical to some other word. In dealing with the word *πόμπιμος*, V. tries to show that it may be exactly covered by the English *hospitable*—a view not adequately supported by his citations. It cannot be denied, however, that the expression *φίλων πόμπιμος* calls for some explanation not yet given by the commentators. I conceive that the *φίλων* can only refer to the Corinthian state. The chorus allude (and only allude) to the certainty of a pursuit which the Athenians will be bound to speed and assist. And I find that Musgrave had at least a similar notion of the needs of the passage. He says: "*legendum putem πολινμος, ultrix, vindex amicorum.*" His new coinage was not necessary, but his idea was sound. It may be objected that the allusion suggested is too obscure; but the position of *σε* is such as to create an antithesis between *σε* and *φίλων*. The following *μετ' ἄλλων* is surely very suspicious, but it is hard to take V.'s suggestion of *μεταλλῷ* seriously. The palaeographic perfection of Elmsley's *μεθ' ὁγνῶν* is tempting, but misleading. An infinitive in place of these words would improve the passage; but nothing in the *ductus litterarum* guides me to such an infinitive. The paraphrases of the scholia point not indistinctly to a *δέχεσθαι*. This would be a perfect reading, and, supposing it genuine, it would be quite possible to account for the corruption; still I am afraid no such reading can ever be proved genuine. A simple and fairly satisfactory remedy would be to write *συνούσαν*, but I have little faith in it.

856-9 are thus presented: *πόθεν θράσος ἢ φρενὸς ἢ χειρὶ σέθεν τέχνην καρδίᾳ τε λήψει δεινὰν προσάγουσα τόλμαν.* Here, I think, the *τέχνην* must be accepted as a genuine restoration; but no explanation can make the pairing of *χειρὶ* with *καρδίᾳ* seem tolerable. Kayser's correction (*οὐ* for *τε* in 858) is as certain as a correction can be, and gives to the *προσάγουσα* τόλμαν its indispensable "remoter object."

In 887 V. writes *καὶ ξυννυμναεῖν καὶ παρεστάναι λέχει.* One would like to accept *ξυννυμναεῖν* with the reasoning offered in support of it, but it is impos-

sible. First let us hear V. "The MSS readings are alternative corrections of *ξυγγαμειν* where *ξυμμεναειν* is a corruption, *ξυγγαμειν* a gloss." . . . "It is utterly improbable that the subtle and significant *ξυγγαμειν* is the unprompted invention of a copyist." But the hard fact is, that *ξυγγαμειν* is the reading of the Laurentianus, *ξυμπεραμειν* of all the other manuscripts; and the agreement of the Palatinus with the Vaticanus practically proves the conclusion that *ξυγγαμειν* never had a place in any text older than the Laurentianus—that it is a corruption due solely to the copyist who wrote that manuscript. It is most likely that the archetype had the *ξυγγαμειν* in the form of a gloss; but the Palatinus proves conclusively that the regular reading of this same archetype was *ξυμπεραμειν*. But let us assume for the moment that *ξυγγαμειν* once existed as a gloss in the archetypes of all existing MSS. What word did it explain? It would be a very bad explanation, at least in its ancient sense, for *ξυνυμμεναειν*. Perhaps not very much better, but surely quite as good, for *ξυμπεραμειν*. Finally, *ξυνυμμεναειν* gives a rhythm which is hardly admissible for the *Medea*.

In 890 V. writes *χρη' ἑξομοιωθῆναι*, finding in this the common origin of all the readings of the MSS. I cannot agree with him. It is plain that the archetypal manuscripts of both classes gave *χρην*. The reading of the Vaticanus, *ἐχρην σ' ἑξομοιωθῆναι*, must have originated as a suprascript explanation in plain prose for the *χρην σ' ὁμοιωθῆναι* of the text. The much-vexed 910 appears in this form: *γάμους παρεμπολῶντι συλαίους πόσει*, with the translation: *For it is natural for the sex to show ill humor against a spouse when he traffics in contraband love*. But I think Prinz's statement, *nondum emendatus*, must still stand.

914-15 V. writes *ὑμῖν δέ, παῖδες, οὐκ ἀφρόντιστος πατήρ, | πολλὰ δ' ἐθ' ἤξει σὺν θεοῖς σωτηρία*. This must be greeted as a very beautiful restoration—methodical, precise, complete, convincing.

Again at 942 V.'s proceeding is highly satisfactory. Bettering a hint given by Prinz, he changes *πατρός* into *πάρος* without other change, omitting, of course, 943.

In 983-4 V. gives *πέπλον* and *στεφάνου*—a departure, I think, though a trifling one, from strict method.

The treatment of 1076-7—*οὐκέτ' εἰμι προσβλέπειν οἷα τ' ἐθ' ὑμᾶς*—is sober and sound, where previous editors have been content with seeing each some insufficient bit of the obvious and simple truth.

In 1087-8 V. prints *παῦρον δέ, τί υἱ, γένος*, a change which will probably find few friends. V. should not have cited Soph. Ai. 668 in support of his *τί μή*. The words stand there, but hardly in the sense of *τί γὰρ σὺ*. A very simple correction occurs to me, though I cannot find that any critic has suggested it: *παῦρον δ' ἐτι δὴ γένος*. To this there is an obvious, but I believe not a serious objection. The idea suggested seems on the whole natural and appropriate, and the corruptions of the MSS are of a character to compel consideration of this reading.

In 1174 we find again a masterly correction—*δμμάτων τ' ἄνω*. About this reading the reviewer has been at the pains to consult an experienced physician, who explains that upward rolling of the eyeballs is not at all a characteristic "symptom of fainting" (so V.), though a very marked symptom of *convulsion*.

But it is ungrateful to pick small flaws in the explanation of so fine an emendation.

1183-4 V. writes: ἡ δ' ἐξ ἀναγνῶν καὶ μύσαντος ὁμματος | δεινὸν στενάξας ἡ τάλαν' ἀνωμμάτων. This is not bad, in spite of possible objections. One cannot feel quite sure about ἀνωμμάτων, but it is at least sensible and possible. And there can be no question that V. is right in calling ἀπώλλυτο a corruption and ἡγείρετο a gloss (or a conjecture).

1194, ἐλάππετο for ἐλάμπετο does not commend itself.

1221, ποθεινὴ δὴ κλύουσι συμφορά, "a tale is it not, that one may yearn to hear" a reproachful allusion to Medea's eagerness for the recital." Upon this I withhold my comments.

1234 presents another case of over-subtlety—εἰς Αἰδὸν πέλας, a reading almost as difficult as it is ill-supported.

1242-3, τί μέλλομεν; | τί δεινὰ τὰναγκαῖα; μὴ πράσσειν κακόν, which may be accepted with very little reserve.

1268-70, ὁμογενὴ μύσματ', ἐτι τ' αἰὲν αὐτοφόνταισιν οἶδα θεόθεν πίτνοντ' ἐπὶ δόμοις ἀχῇ. The best criticism upon this is to place beside it Leo's restoration: ὁμογενὴ μύσματ' ἔπεται δ' ἅμ' αὐτοφόνταις ξυνῶδὰ θεόθεν πίτνοντ' ἐπὶ δόμοις ἀχῇ.

1346 V. writes τέχνην μαιφόνε and translates the line, *Go artist in villainy and murderess by trade*. He cites the analogy of λοχχοποιός, etc., to show that the termination -ποιός is characteristic of the names of trades, as a justification of αἰσχροποιός, "which but for this analogy would be miserably inadequate." He goes entirely too far in denying the possibility of such an expression as τέκνων μαιφόνε. The note upon the passage is very engagingly written; and there is little doubt that V.'s view will find favor in many quarters. For my part, I have no doubt the MSS give us the line in its original form, and still less doubt that Euripides never wrote nor heard of a word of it. The line is a ridiculous "gag" invented by an actor whose words were larger than he could manage. By the way, the scholion to this passage is worth notice. Dindorf prints it: *ὅτι δοκεῖ τὸν στίχον τοῦτον εἰπῶν Εὐριπίδης ἐκβεβλήσθαι· διὸ καὶ κεχάσται*. That is meaningless: read *ἐκβεβλήσθαι ἂν*. In 1369 κακὴ for κακά—a doubtful improvement. In 1380, ὥς μὴ τις αὐτοῦ πολεμίων καθυβρίσῃ. But the line calls for no emendation: a sound reading in one class of manuscripts and a slight slip in the other is no evidence of corruption.

Occasionally V. fails to notice an older correction which seems certain—κάμπυνον (Prinz), 334 is an example.

We may speak more briefly of V.'s treatment of interpolations. He brackets or prints at the foot of the page (in most cases following earlier critics) the following lines: 12, 40, 41, 42, 43, 246, 262, 466, 468, 470, 732, 778, 782, 913, 933, 943, 1006, 1062, 1063, 1225, 1226, 1227, 1284, 1285, 1288, 1289, 1359.

In regard to the spuriousness of most of these verses V. may be sure of the nearly unanimous assent of scholars who know Euripides. But it is difficult to see why he should be blind to the character of several other verses whose base origin has been shown by arguments as conclusive as have ever been adduced against any one of those he condemns. 1068 is as good an example as any. In this case he thinks it "difficult to account for" an interpolation. Whoever wrote that verse obviously intended to heighten the effect of the passage. But he did obviously alter and debase the effect. The motive might



have been active with Euripides himself or with an enterprising actor. But Euripides was a man of genius, who had elaborately created the scene, unlikely to be mistaken or uncertain about the real effect he sought. The line belongs to the well-recognized class of creations due to the theatrical companies. In regard to a number of other verses V. expresses doubts, often less definitely than might be wished. In regard to the repeated lines I cannot always accept his judgment. For example, he rejects 1062-3 and retains 1240-1. It is surely a slip when he says the children are present while 1060 ff. are spoken. In view of 1019-20 this cannot be. Occasionally the critical knife makes something less than a clean cut. This is notably the case with 12. The line is spurious, as has been repeatedly pointed out; but very little is gained by rejecting it alone. It cannot be too often repeated that in a piece known to be interpolated, if evidences of interpolation at any given place be detected, the presumptions in regard to the length of the insertion are very slight. There is no logic behind the rule, which many critics seem to regard, that an interpolation of one line must be thought twice as probable as one of two lines, and so on in the same ratio. The theatrical companies in their day foisted upon Euripides one whole play with a spare prologue.

Of the explanatory notes much good might be said. They are careful, in the main sympathetic, sometimes suggestive, and will be read with interest by scholars. But it can hardly be said that they add very much to our knowledge. Perhaps it would not be fair to expect this; but the commentator, when he comes, who really *explains* the construction of οὐ μὴ, 1151, will have an achievement to boast of. An example of over-refinement is the note on 32, where it is objected that Medea, on quitting her home, "arrived not at Corinth but at Iolkos." And there is an occasional vagueness, not to say inaccuracy in some of the statements and translations. So 35, *what virtue there is in cleaving to the fatherland*—the voice of ἀπολείπεισθαι is left unpleasantly in doubt. In 240, ὅτω ὡλίστα χρήσεται ξυνενότη, *wherewith she may best manage a husband*, seems to the reviewer a translation of an emended text. But V. says "the conjecture ὅπως for ὅτω is scarcely necessary, ὅτω being instrumental. Examples of so rare an instrumental would be welcome. It seems a Meineke did not know where to find one. In general V. seems a little too easily satisfied with expressions for which a name can be found in Kühner's Grammar, a little too easily disturbed when this name is lacking. An example of the latter sort is 1143, treated in an addendum. It is quite true, but not very strange, that στέγας has nothing, at least within the usage of tragic dialogue, to govern it. Some regard must be paid to the special style of the speaker. The ἄγγελοι, παιδαγωγοί, etc., regularly speak in a resonant and slightly confused way. Nothing more natural than for such a character to put the accusative πρὸς τὸ νοούμενον and then to vary slightly from his original intention in choosing a verb of motion. 1256, θεοῦ δ' αἵματι πίπτειν φόβος ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων—the blood of gods is in peril of being shed by man. To say nothing of αἵματι, nor of the absurdity involved in this rendering, was Euripides really so ignorant of his "Moods and Tenses"? The misunderstanding is not new (nor the correction of it); but φόβος πίπτειν and φόβος μὴ πίπτει are not interchangeable.

In minor details the book has received commendable care. Perhaps it would be well if editors could decide whether Euripides wrote ξὺν or σὺν; but I

believe all editors are alike indifferent to the matter. Some forms, like *ὁδὸς* and *οἱ μὲν* (87), now seem a trifle old-fashioned. The publishers for their part could hardly have done more than they have.

J. H. WHEELER.

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An Etymology of Latin and Greek. By CHARLES S. HALSEY, A. M. Boston: Ginn, Heath & Co. 1882.

The title-page of this little work should have read somewhat as follows: An Essay by Dr. Maurice Bloomfield, divided into two parts, between which parts are inserted most of the Etymologies given in Curtius' *Griechische Etymologie* (before it was revised for the 5th edition), preceded by the greater part of Dr. Maurice Bloomfield's review of Meyer's *Griechische Grammatik*; besides these, twenty pages of matter extracted from various text-books; *plus* a chapter of one page, a list of roots, and three long indices, the last by Charles S. Halsey, A. M. This we believe to be fairer than the present title. We do not mean to say that the author has surreptitiously borrowed from other authors; but no one who had not seen this Journal for September, 1880, could guess how much lies hidden under the remark, "I have given the statement of those chapters condensed mainly from his (Dr. Bloomfield's) paper on the Greek Ablaut"; and again, "The Preliminary Statement is condensed from his article," etc. What does Mr. Halsey mean by 'mainly,' what by 'condensed'? There is not an idea in these chapters that is not expressed in the very words used by Dr. Bloomfield in the Journal a year ago. 'Mainly' means here 'wholly'; 'condensed' means copied and bisected, with here and there an omission.

We have now to examine the plan of the work. The author intends this book to supply a "felt want," for in the chance etymologies of school lexica "no connected systematic or thorough knowledge of etymology is acquired" (Preface, p. iii). This is very true. Let us now see how the author undertakes to give the young student the first ideas of "systematic" etymology. We must bear in mind that the work is intended for beginners, for such indeed as have "no knowledge of the Greek language" (p. xv). In the first twenty pages the author runs over the main facts of relationship between the I. E. languages. We notice on p. 2 that Armenian is unhesitatingly classed as Eranian, that Sanskrit is regarded as derived from Vedic. Of Pali and dialects which may go back to Vedic, not as derivatives but as parallel growths, no mention is made. Every root is monosyllabic (p. 6). The principle which underlies the greater part of phonetic change is the tendency to ease of utterance (p. 16). These points are merely stated, not discussed, doubtless because in a work "for school use" it is undesirable to present conflicting views (p. xiv). Why then do we have the "principles of the new school" set forth in the language of a scholar, and with such technical form that no schoolboy in America could follow the ideas given for two pages together? Why are twenty pages of general remarks followed by a learned essay on the Greek ablaut which can be of no possible interest to "such as have no knowledge of Greek," to such as those for whom the book is intended? This tacking together of disparate material shows itself in many details. So what Dr. Bloomfield calls *guna* is changed by

Mr. Halsey, sensibly enough for schoolboy use, into 'vowel increase,' and yet comes up without any notice with the incorrect spelling *guna* on p. 23.

The fact is we have no introduction here at all, no system, no arrangement. No scholar would use the book, for the material is either old or mutilated; no schoolboy could use it, for he would be lost in the first two pages of the "views of the new school." Theoretically the author stands as an advocate neither of the new nor of the old school. He presents both with the remark that in general the later views are more likely to prove correct, a simple end of all controversy. Practically the bulk of the book follows the old school, as most of the etymologies are quoted directly in the order in which Curtius has them (gutturals, liquids, sibilants, etc.), in "Regular Substitution," followed by the "Irregular Substitution." These etymologies can hardly be taken from the latest (5th, 1879) edition, for although that edition is mentioned (by Dr. Bloomfield, p. 21), we cannot conceive how this list can have been made with the 5th edition before the author, unless he voluntarily intended to bring up the ancient sins of the old school and chose to forget the recantation. For if Curtius is the exponent of the old school, are we to understand that Mr. Halsey is unwilling to admit recent investigations, or makes the old school still responsible for connecting No. 159 (*herus*) *erus* with *χελρ*? Curtius in the 5th edition says this *erus* on account of fem. *esa* is to be dismissed, thus recanting his former views. By what right too is (No. 27) Sk. *kalamas* connected with *κάλαμος*? This is a derivation repudiated in 5th edition "on account of the Slavic form." Why in explaining the views of the old school should *nav* and *mu* (Nos. 379, 380) still remain under separate heads (*ἀμείβω moveo*, but *ἀμύνω munio*) when Curtius in his 5th edition takes especial pains to unite the groups, referring moreover *murus* (which Mr. Halsey refers to root *mu*) to *mi*, build? If Fick or others support the rejected derivation, should it not be noted by an author who quotes Curtius as the especial master of the old school and is content to show us his results without explaining his methods?

A word is to be said as to the arrangement of this etymology. Though cognate languages are generally omitted, yet the forms are sometimes admitted; but one is at a loss to know on what principle this is done. Why is *catam* brought forward in No. 15 and *vipati* omitted in No. 13; and in No. 17 why is *ζυαζυρα* given (and spelled *ζυαζυρα* ?) while in No. 44 the Sanskrit form that so well illustrates *civis* is entirely omitted, although no explanation is given of the mental process by which *civis* is developed out of the idea of 'lie' or 'keep quiet'?

This brings us to another great defect in this manual—the almost entire absence of that help which a student studying etymology most needs—help in aiding him to understand the process by which the idea is evolved. Once in a while this is done, as in *carina* (No. 42), *credo* (No. 256), *flamen* (No. 140), but in general the student is left to his own resources. For instance, in the first derivation given we have the root *ak- ank- anc-*; under this are placed, pell-mell, "*ancilla*, a maid-servant," "*angulus*, a corner," "*uncus*, a hook." What idea does the schoolboy receive from this as to the connection between 'maid,' 'corner' and 'hook'? *Civis* (No. 44) we have already mentioned: would it not aid "a systematic etymology" to mention the Oscan *keus* and to have said that the root was, at best, only a guess? Should we not be told (No. 60) what connection exists between *causa* and *cura*: are 'cause' and 'care' related ideas in

the mind of the schoolboy? Should not at least an explanation accompany the doubtful statement that while *abdo*, to put away, and *condo* put together (No. 256), contain root *dha*, to place or make, *perdo*, meaning to put through (No. 225) comes from a different root? And again, why is *famulus* a slave? Would it not be well to have noted the fact that the Oscan *fama* means 'a house,' and *famulus* does not come directly from the root *dha*, to make, but means 'he who belongs to the house'? Even Curtius, who writes for scholars and not for schoolboys, notes that he connects *avus* with *av* from the supposed pleasant and tender relationship between the old man and his children; but here we have this *avus* alongside of *obediens* on the one side and *aveo* on the other, without explanation of the mental process which produced the word.

There are many etymologies stated as certain which are certainly not so. There are others which are really no derivation at all; for instance, "No. 26, Greek root *κακ*, *κακός*, *bad*." Where is the derivation? In No. 32 we have some remarkable Sanskrit. To explain *kanóssu* and *cano* the root *kan* is assumed in Sk. (i. e. *kan*), and with this is given Sk. "*kankahi* (sic), bell." Now changing this to *kanhāni*, as it should be written, we still have no word for *bell*, but a word for a *ring* which had bells on it; moreover, the original masc. form *kankana* contains in classical Sk. no idea of sound, but that of rotundity. The other fem. *kinhāni* means a bell.

In No. 30 A. S. *hal*, German and Gothic forms are given. Why here and in so few such examples? To the Latin words as they stand in Curtius have been added a mass of English words derivable from them. It is here that the schoolboy at length has something worthy of him. Here he can learn that from *tendo* come *tension*, *tent*, *attend*, *contend*, *distend* and all the other *tendr*, full lists of which are given. Every Latin root is carried out in all its ramifications in English. This is the other end of the scale—the schoolboy has his turn.

Had this work been done well it would have supplied a "felt want" indeed. Our disappointment as we close it makes us feel the want more deeply than before. We still want a simple introduction that shall teach youth how to see connection of ideas, shall give him firm ground to go upon, shall lay down the laws of philology in simple language fitted to his understanding. This book does not answer such a purpose. Dr. Bloomfield's learned article was admirable where it first appeared, but it was never meant to teach the theories of the new school to those who do not know Greek or who have not already studied the subject. The new school is explained, but too profoundly; the old school is illustrated, but not *explained* at all.

E. W. H.

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Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America. Classical Series, I. Report on the investigations at Assos, 1881, by JOSEPH THACHER CLARKE, with an Appendix<sup>1</sup> containing Inscriptions from Assos and Lesbos, and papers, by W. C. LAWTON and J. S. DILLER. Printed at the cost of the Harvard Art Club and the Harvard Philological Society. Boston: Published by A. Williams & Co. London: N. Trübner & Co. 1882.

Mr. Clarke's report to the Archaeological Institute of America on the investigations at Assos, made in 1881, has been before that society for some months.

<sup>1</sup> Lack of space prevents a discussion of the Appendix.

The rare practical sense and energy which guided his excavations and measurements, and the untiring eagerness for work which seconded his theoretical knowledge of archaeological facts and *half-facts*, have made this record most valuable. Thanks to him and to his indefatigable companions, this first American expedition, undertaken in the interests of classical archaeology, is one of which his countrymen may well be proud. Americans, however, are characterized by a willingness to be proud of many things from further connection with which they are debarred by an almost too jealous disinclination to be bored. But in this present case the promptings of such an impulse may profitably be disregarded, for Mr. Clarke tells his story clearly and modestly. Indeed, taken solely as a truthful account, in connection with a small piece of work, well and bravely accomplished, of the irresponsibility and the protean trickery of Ottoman officialism, this book is memorable. Lord Dufferin would hardly be able more effectively to arraign the Turkish manner of dealing with the infidel than Mr. Clarke has done. The following are some of the "eastern questions" which were successfully coped with by the American expedition.

(1) Turkish law collects duties on merchandise transhipped from one Turkish port to another. Accordingly when the goods of the expedition had entered Smyrna duty free, they had to secure an order for free admission to Mitylene. The officials at Mitylene determined to resist so ungenerous a proceeding by finding that this order was not worded according to precedent. Pending a correction by communication with Smyrna, the goods and their owners were allowed to proceed to Assos (Behrá) after the filing of a bond for the full 8% *ad valorem* duty. No sooner were they gone than the Mitylenean authorities pounced upon the bondsman and demanded immediate payment without any reference to news from Smyrna. Only the timely accident of Mr. Clarke's presence in Smyrna and his vigorous use of the telegraph foiled this bold demand.

(2) When the members of the party arrived in the Troad, ready to begin work, they were forced to wait 'months' before the necessary 'earadeh' (irade) was forthcoming from Constantinople. Fortunately they were able to use most of this time in making an accurate survey of the site.<sup>1</sup> This delay could not have been obviated by the exercise of human forethought on the part of the explorers, for the 'earadeh' had been officially promised 'as early as the autumn of 1880,' and, before the expedition left America, "a further assurance that the document setting forth the right of excavation was at the immediate disposition of the agents, had been required and received." And yet it was not forthcoming. The Turkish government had, it appears, discovered to its sorrow that (Assos) Behrá was in the province of the governor of the Vilayet of Broussa, a man whose uncontrollable and savage aversion to excavations they were powerless to deal with. Further search and reflection, however, brought them relief, for they gradually became aware that Behrá was not in the territory of this archaeological ogre, but in direct dependence upon Constantinople. What must have been the joy of the Leader of the Faithful when, with the aid of the American Legation and after a sharply worded note from the American Secre-

<sup>1</sup> See the first plate "Plan of Assos, surveyed by F. H. Bacon and M. Wrigley, 1881."

tary of State, he awoke to a fuller consciousness of the extent of his own domain! When the 'caradeh' at last arrived, Mehmet Effendi was appointed commissioner to oversee the work, which meant that he was paid by the Americans for not molesting them in their excavations. To his credit be it said that he did not molest them.

(3) The most irritating thing which occurred, after work was under way, was the appearance, 'about two weeks before we proposed to close the excavations,' of a commissioner whose competency would seem to have been on his own showing in *partibus infidelium*. He demanded exorbitant payment for his travelling expenses, "and maintained that his salary—in amount three times the generous sum before paid (*i. e.* to Mehmet Effendi)—was to be continued throughout the winter, whether the work were carried on or not." He appealed to Mehmet Effendi's superior, who cheerfully acknowledged that the newcomer, who had no credentials or commission, partook of the sanctity which hedged the Pasha of the Dardanelles. Before this office-seeker could be routed an appeal to Constantinople had to be made.

The inventions of the Turk for the molestation of the infidel having thus been enumerated, it is interesting to see how successfully Mr. Clarke dealt with the other serious impediments to his work. The same irrepressible piety which has so grievously defaced the Elgin marbles led the Mohammedan population to amuse themselves by flinging stones and dirt at the unearthed sculptures, which had accordingly to be housed at the bottom of the steep hill as soon as possible. The surveying pegs were also viewed with great suspicion and constantly destroyed. In dealing with his workmen Mr. Clarke was very successful, and does not seem to have been so much at the mercy of church holidays as was the first Austrian expedition to Samothrace. The effect of the dust upon the workmen's eyes was counteracted by gauze spectacles, and an effort was made to prevent the men from secreting coins which might be dug up, by the offer of the intrinsic value of anything delivered to the director. No means, however, was found to deal with the fever from which the workmen and all the members of the expedition seriously suffered.

The many difficulties thus encountered by these courageous Americans and the general scope of their undertaking suggest the mention, largely by way of contrast, of the second Austrian expedition to Samothrace. This expedition, liberally fitted out by the Austrian government, spent about two months on the island of Samothrace, in the autumn of 1875, under the direction of Alexander Conze. Their report<sup>1</sup>—a continuation of the first one published in 1875—appeared in 1880.

Although the golden hue lent by official courtesy to Dr. Conze's report undoubtedly transfigures much that a confidential narrative would represent as anything but pleasant, in these words there lurks a bitter meaning: "Here," in the Dardanelles, "our number was increased by the addition of the Turkish Commissioner Achmed-Effendi, with his negro body-servant, who was soon after reinforced by a white man. His Excellency the Pacha of the Archipelago refused to entertain any proposition which might have deprived him of the privilege of bestowing this gentleman upon us to superintend and succor us in

<sup>1</sup> *Archaeologische Untersuchungen auf Samothrake. Band II. Wien, 1880.*

our arduous undertaking." The servants of this precious commissioner proved a great nuisance afterwards, and the negro was particularly active in demoralizing the men at their work. Mr. Clarke, therefore, may be congratulated that his 'Effendi' brought no servants.

Turning to the results obtained for archaeology by these two expeditions, we may certainly be well satisfied with what the comparatively ill-provided American expedition accomplished, in a somewhat longer time to be sure, but with not half so many workmen,<sup>1</sup> and with more than twice as much to contend with from climate and remoteness of situation.

In Samothrace, after a truly heroic excavation in search of the ancient temple of the Cabiri, a very long and very unremunerative Stoa was discovered. The Ptolemaeon was unearthed and hypothetically restored, and at the last moment various bas-reliefs, similar to some already in the Louvre, were found, and near them the ancient temple of the Cabiri, which was partially uncovered. This discovery came so late that the ground plan of the temple could not be determined. The Doric temple, uncovered by the expedition of 1873, was further investigated, and the Great Gate of the old wall was cleared. For some reason which does not clearly appear, the excavation of the Street of Tombs was given up, though Dr. Conze seems to think that much might be uncovered there.

The Americans at Assos corrected the glaring blunders of Texier, whose account of the Doric temple on that site proved surprisingly, though perhaps not unexpectedly, untrustworthy. Mr. Clarke, in fact, has the right to claim that the labors of his expedition have restored to our knowledge a memorable monument, which was worse than lost to us as long as we trusted the account of Texier. Further, the explorers examined the old walls<sup>2</sup> and cleared a most perfectly preserved gate.<sup>3</sup> Then proceeding beyond the walls they came upon the ruins of an ancient bridge<sup>4</sup> over the Satnioeis (Touzla), and were able to analyze the details of its construction. Finally, and this is one of the most welcome of their contributions to the data of archaeology, they made systematic excavations along the Street of Tombs with surprisingly fruitful results. They discovered two Exedrae<sup>5</sup> and a number of Sarcophagi,<sup>6</sup> and were able to make an approximately faithful plan of the way in which the hill was terraced for the reception of the funeral monuments.<sup>7</sup>

This notice would not be complete without some examination of Mr. Clarke's scholarly and painstaking account of the Doric temple at Assos, and at least a mention of the Metopes and other sculptures<sup>8</sup> which were unearthed. Especially interesting are the two blocks, on each of which are two Sphinxes face to face, with something like a pillar to separate them. These bas-reliefs are strikingly like the well-known lions of Mycenae, and appear to have been at the centre of a continuous relief, the greater part of which is in the Louvre, attached to the Epistyle. Texier placed the reliefs on the epistyle, but had not proved this somewhat startling fact as Mr. Clarke's careful investigation now has done beyond the possibility of any doubt.

<sup>1</sup> The average number of workmen employed at Assos was 30, while the Austrians brought 12 workmen with them from Pola, and employed on the average 85 men from the island.

<sup>2</sup> Plates 26 and 28.

<sup>3</sup> Plate 27.

<sup>4</sup> Plate 35.

<sup>5</sup> Plate 30.

<sup>6</sup> Plates 30-34.

<sup>7</sup> See Mr. Bacon's very pleasing outline drawing, Plate 29.

<sup>8</sup> Plates 16, 19, 20 and 21.

Mr. Clarke sums up Texier's sins of omission and commission in dealing with the temple as follows: "The remains now unearthed show the orientation of the temple to have varied considerably from the east to the south; Texier places it thirty degrees to the north of its true direction. The two steps are increased to three upon the French elevation, to four upon the fronts of the plan. The disposition of the plan given in the fine steel engraving with its double dipteral ranges of columns upon the east and the epinaos in antis on the west, must have been conceived by the ingenious author upon his return to Paris. The width of the building is given on the plan as 23, on the elevation as 13 metres. The excessive, sack-like entasis of the shafts, which has given rise to many wild theories, did not exist. The striking arrangement of the channel arrises in the axes was overlooked, while important members which never existed were added to the entablature, these being, with unparalleled effrontery, scaled to the millimetre as if accurately measured! The projecting mouldings, inserted between frieze and corona, are wholly at variance with the character of the style."<sup>1</sup>

On one point Mr. Clarke's account, to him who reads only the report with its accompanying plans, seems not to justify itself. How is it possible to be certain that there was no western epinaos? Mr. Clarke says: "The position of the foundation stones and the engraved lines upon them display an exceptional feature of the plan; the cella was wholly without an epinaos, the plain wall of its rear being carried across the west at the same distance from the steps as at the sides."<sup>2</sup> An examination of the "Floor of the Temple"<sup>3</sup> suggests that foundation stones, where the epinaos columns may have stood, have entirely disappeared, and a question arises whether it is safe to depend solely upon the traces of the engraved line for the proof of so important a constructive feature. To be sure the fact that Texier put an epinaos upon the temple makes us ready to believe that there was none, but still Mr. Clarke does not help us to absolute certainty. It may be remarked by the way that the columns in antis of the pronaos, called for by Plates 7 and 8, seem not provided for in the elevation (Plate 14).

Finally Mr. Clarke argues that this temple was built shortly after the battle of Mycale and the expulsion of the Persians; but here again more light is desirable. The idea that provincial art lags in conception and execution behind the contemporary art of great centres can be pressed too far. Can the clumsiness of execution and the rudeness of conception which characterize the interesting sculptures of Assos, be nearer in date to the Aeginetan Marbles than to the Metopes of Selinus? For in spite of Mr. Clarke's eulogium these sculptures—unless very unfairly represented by the plates—must be pronounced clumsy and rude. It may be that Mr. Clarke's date for the building of the temple must be accepted, but as to the sculptures it seems almost impossible not to date them further back. Let us hope that at no distant day Mr. Clarke will elaborate his account of those details of architectural composition and execution which evidently have led him to assign so recent a date. And when he does this we can wish him no better friends to superintend the publication of his results than those who have done so much for this report.

LOUIS DYER.

<sup>1</sup> Page 99.

<sup>2</sup> Page 84.

<sup>3</sup> Plate 7.



Englische Metrik, in historischer und systematischer Entwicklung dargestellt, von Dr. J. SCHIPPER. I Theil: Altenglische Metrik. Bonn: Emil Strauss. 1882.

This work forms the first part of what bids fair to be a very complete and thorough treatise on English metre, and it supplies a long-felt want. We have had no historical treatment of the subject since Dr. Guest's *History of English Rhythms*, London, 1838, which Schipper pronounces as "gänzlich veraltet und unbrauchbar," and he refers to an adverse criticism of it by Prof. J. B. Mayor in the *Transactions of the Philological Society for 1873-74*. Schipper's work comprises four Sections: I, General Observations. Fundamental Principles; II, The Anglo-Saxon Period; III, The Norman Period; IV, Forms of the later Transition Period, closing with the reign of Henry VIII. The first section is introductory and explanatory, and of this chapters 4, on Word-accentuation in Germanic, Romanic, and English, and 5 on Rime, deserve special notice. It may be observed in passing that *spēctator, dictātor* (p. 19), is now the more usual accentuation. Schipper's views as to the origin of rime agree with Meyer and Grimm as against Wackernagel, and he instances the tenth century A.-S. Rhyming Poem of the *Codex Exoniensis* as a case in point.

Section II on the Anglo-Saxon Period consists of three chapters: 1. The alliterative long-line during the flourishing period of A.-S. poetry; 2. During its decline; 3. Transition-forms; rime and alliteration combined. Schipper bases his discussion in chapter 1 on Rieger's work, *Die Alt- und Angelsächsische Verskunst* (Halle, 1870), and is a decided opponent of the *Vierhebungs-theorie*, which may now be considered as demolished so far as Anglo-Saxon poetry is concerned, and Heyne has done well to excise the metrical portion in his 4th edition of "*Beowulf*." The structure of the verse is considered with respect to word-accent,—which in simple words must be on the stem-syllable, and in compounds on the first word (which specializes the meaning), though compounds with particles often form exceptions,—forms and laws of alliteration, its relation to the parts of speech and their position, caesura and close of the verse, and finally *arsis* (*Hebung*) and *thesis* (*Senkung*), to use these terms in their old signification and not *umgekehrt*, as nowadays. Chapter 2 discusses Aelfric's verse, showing his variations from the strict laws of older A.-S. alliterative verse; and chapter 3, poems of the 10th and 11th centuries, as the Rhyming Poem, *Byrhtnoth's Death*, *Be dōmes dæge*, and those in the A.-S. Chronicle under the years 1036, 1065, and 1087. The whole section deserves translation into English for the use of Anglo-Saxon students, as we now have nothing on Anglo-Saxon verse to put into their hands. With respect to alliterating letters, on p. 49 ad. fin., Schipper quotes two lines from the Psalms as lacking alliteration where evidently *p* and *s* alliterate, as in Aelfric's poetry on p. 64; similarly on p. 50 ad. init. a line from *Byrhtnoth* where *st* and *s* alliterate, which line he so prints on p. 72. So also the neglect of the aspirate, as in *Judith*, p. 50, is frequent in Aelfric, p. 64; and the alliteration of *s* and *sc*, *sw* and *sc* in the Psalms, p. 51, is seen in Aelfric, p. 65. The translator of the Psalms does not seem to have observed strictly the rules of the older poetry, and these licenses became more frequent in the later poetry. Possibly the alliteration of *p* and *s* may have been due to a lisping pronunciation.

Section III, on the Norman Period, the first epoch of early English poetry, is too full to be noticed in detail in a limited space. The chief forms of Early English rhythms derived from the French are defined and illustrated, and the rimed Septenar, or catalectic iambic tetrameter, of the *Poema Morale*, c. 1170, or a little later, is treated at length, and so as to invite approval except where a failing thesis (*Senkung*) within the verse is assumed. This seems very doubtful in some cases, and, if no syllable can be supplied, I should prefer to read lines 121 (248) and 132 (275), p. 97, as suggested on p. 98 ad init., and to emend 43 (88), p. 98, by inserting *he* after *wot*, and 90 (185) by inserting *do* after *suster*, just as in 90 (186), p. 97; so also 12 (2) and 16 (1), p. 100: this omission sounds unrhymical and should be corrected where possible, but its existence in contemporary verse cannot be denied. The unrimed Septenar of the *Ormulum* is next considered and its syllabic regularity commented on, so that we see the same word differently accented in the same line; as, *O mǣnnum swð þatt tū mǣnnkinn*, which simplifies the metre at the expense of the word-accent. Here follows the short eight-syllable rimed verse of the *Pater Noster*, about second half of the 12th century, imitated from the Old-French epic poetry, which is much freer in its movement, showing the same licenses as in the *Poema Morale*, and containing several verses with failing thesis which seem beyond emendation and must be charged to the lack of skill of the riming poet. Then comes the Old-English Alexandrine, seen in *The Passion of our Lord*, about first half of the 13th century, imitated from the French, but characterized by the national metrical licenses, such as lack of a syllable (*Auftakt*) at beginning of the verse and after the caesura, lack of thesis (*Senkung*) within the verse, double *Auftakt*, double thesis, slurring, etc. We find too the Septenar, or 14-syllable verse, mingled with the Alexandrine and sometimes riming with it. A similar measure is seen in *The Woman of Samaria*, of same date. Schipper has a tendency to assume lack of thesis, where change of accent or a slight emendation would restore the rhythm, e. g. lines 72 and 73 (p. 120) second half, would be better if accented, . . . *mýd wel mǣchel þrýnge*, . . . and *béden hts blessýnge*; he cites several examples of accent similar to *blessýnge*. Chapter 6 of this section, on the O. E. Word-accent in the 12th and 13th centuries, is a close argument, devoted to opposing the views of ten Brink and Jessen, adopted by Wissmann, Rosenthal and Trautmann, in respect to the application of the *Vierhebungs-theorie* to Old-English poetry. The laws of word-accent which Schipper opposes are quoted from Wissmann's *King Horn* (*Quellen und Forschungen* XVI, p. 43) on p. 125, and after a careful examination of the versification of *Orm*, supported by that of the *Poema Morale*, *Pater Noster*, and *Passion of our Lord*, Schipper concludes (p. 141): "Alle diese Beispiele aber bezeugen in gleicher Weise die Tonlosigkeit der Flexionssilben zweisilbiger Wörter, einerlei ob dieselben lange oder kurze Stammsilben haben mögen." These views are strengthened by an examination of words of more than two syllables, so that we may consider the *Zweihebungstheorie* as proven for English verse of this period. Schipper's style would be more attractive if it were not so characteristically German; sentences of over twenty lines (pp. 124, 128) are not inviting.

Here follows a study of the alliterative line of free movement in the 12th and 13th centuries, as seen (1) in the *Proverbs of King Alfred* and *Layamon's Brut*; (2) combined with the Septenar and French metres, as in *On god oreisun ure*

Læfdi, A lutel soth sermun, and especially in the varied measures of the Bestiary; and (3) in King Horn, to which he devotes a chapter, supporting at length his above-mentioned views as against Wissmann. Schipper is consistent throughout and shows a regular development of the alliterative line, with all its modifications, from the A.-S. verse, but here again (p. 194), instead of assuming a failure of thesis, why not accent *Schipes fiftene with Sdrasius hene*, 37-8, and again, *And cdm to the klinge At his uprisings*, 843-4, allowing double thesis, but still preserving two accents to the half line, as anapaests in modern iambic verse, and thus resembling the Skeltonic verse (cf. pp. 232 ff.).

The alliterative long-line of stricter form, as it appears in the 13th, 14th, 15th and 16th centuries is next treated, first without, and secondly with end-rime, and in strophes (stanzas). For the 13th century we have Hali Meidenhad, Seinte Marharete, Seinte Juliane, and Seinte Caterine, of which the second and third are considered, but the difficulty of studying their metrical structure is enhanced by the fact that they are printed by Cockayne as prose.<sup>1</sup> For the 14th century a series of works mentioned by Rosenthal in *Anglia* I, 414, are used, though most of the examples are taken from Skeat's edition of *Piers Plowman*, and for the 15th, the *Morte Arthur* and Dunbar's *The twa maryit weman and the wedo*. For the riming and strophic verse Joseph of Arimathe, certain poems in Bøddeker's *Altenglische Dichtungen* (MS. Harl. 2253), Minot's *Political Songs*, and Douglas's *Aeneid* (Prologue to Book VIII), are used, from which it appears that in these last alliteration was employed more as an ornament to verse imitated from the French than in accordance with the strict rules of the older poetry. Finally, the loose forms which this line takes in the *Towneley* and *Coventry Mysteries* and in Skelton's *Magnyfycence* are illustrated, so that alliteration at last ceases to be a characteristic peculiarity of this verse.

The Septenar and Alexandrine long-lines are next taken up and discussed according as the rhythm of the one or the other preponderates, or a mixture of both occurs. Chief representatives of the Septenar are seen in Furnivall's *Early English Poems* and *Lives of Saints* (Berlin, 1862), of the mixed rhythm in Robert of Gloucester, and of the Alexandrine in Robert of Brunne. While Schipper's views of the rhythm of Robert of Gloucester and its national characteristics are correct, and a good Alexandrine is to be preferred to a bad Septenar, exception may still be taken, I think, to his concession of Septenar rhythm to some lines which would read better as Alexandrines. This seems to be caused by his disposition, already noticed, to assume a failure of thesis between two accents, and consequent indisposition to allow that a syllable usually accented may sometimes lose its accent and stand in the thesis, e. g. (p. 248), R. G. I, (first half-line), which he reads as Septenar and accents *After hyng Bdpulf* may be read as Alexandrine and accented *After hyng Bdpulf*; so 9 (first half-line) *þo þe kýng to elde cdm*, with double thesis (*Aufstakt*) as Alexandrine, instead of as Septenar, with Schipper.

This section closes with a chapter on the short riming couplet of four feet, i. e. the iambic dimeter seen in the Owl and Nightingale, the Surtees Psalter, Robert of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne*, Hampole's *Pricke of Conscience*, and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the texts, c. 1310, of *Seynt Margrete* and *Seynt Katerine* from MS. Auchinlech, given in Horstmann's *Altenglische Legenden* (1881), pp. 225 and 242.

many others. Schipper finds the real distinction between this verse and that of four accents in the caesura present in that, absent in this—though to my ear caesura, if not so well defined, is plainly present here also—with which is joined the dissyllabic or polysyllabic thesis of the line of four accents, while thesis and arsis are each usually monosyllabic in this verse. Robert of Brunne shows great freedom here, employing all the usual metrical licenses, but it is hard to see why Schipper should accent (p. 263, l. 5590), *Come Pers fórþ y'n þar gdt*, to my ear an impossible rhythm; *Come* should be accented and not *Pers*, and if we could read *þdre* for *þar*, the line would run smoothly enough. The quotation from Barbour's Bruce, pp. 267-8, seems to contradict the view that few feminine rimes occur in this poem, unless we are to regard most of these final -e's as silent. Lack of space will not permit mention of several lines in which exception may be taken to Schipper's accentuation. I shall add only two from Chaucer's Boke of the Duchesse (p. 281), which would read better as follows: *Certes I will neu(e)r edite bredd*, 92; and, *For him alds! she loved alds(e)rþest*, 87. Morris's remarks, quoted p. 270, will apply to all Old-English poetry: "It is not the number of syllables but of accents that is essential"; and "the syllables which are to be heavily accented are naturally those that ought to be," though this last admits exceptions.

Section IV, on the second epoch of the Old-English Period, treats the forms of the later transition period, and especially the poems written in *strophes*. The first four chapters are introductory, and discuss the kinds of rime and their arrangement in strophes in relation to the Middle-Latin, Provençal, and Old French rimes and strophes. Schipper finds a close connection between these forms and those in Old-English, while it is not always easy to say which of the three languages furnished the model for a particular Old-English strophe. The influence of the Provençal and Old French is observed to a greater extent in the strophe of three parts, or members, than in that of two, for Middle-Latin lyric poetry furnished the model for this strophe to all the nations of western Europe. Finally, the refrain and the *envoy* are discussed in their various forms, and Schipper concludes that, in spite of the great influence which the Middle-Latin and the Provençal-French lyric poetry exerted on the form of Old-English strophes, the Old-English poetry preserved its originality, and this is plainly seen in the kinds of verse used in the strophes. As in the epic and satiric poetry of this period, so in the lyric poetry, the two forms, the Germanic line of four accents and the Romanic of four feet, exist side by side and often cannot be distinguished from one another, as already seen in the Old-English lyric poetry of the preceding epoch.

The *strophes* themselves are next treated, and first that of two parts of equal members, as in the forms riming *aabb*, *abab*, both single and double strophes, and the so-called *rime coule* (*tail-rhyme*) strophe in the form *aabccb*, and its various modifications. The *virelay*, in the form *aabaabaab*, followed by *bcbcbcb*, etc., is here included, and Chaucer's poem quoted as a peculiar modification of it. Here follow the strophe of one rime (which may also be regarded as one whole, similar to the next), the undivided strophe, and the strophe of two unequal parts, or members, which occurs in various forms. Dunbar's poems furnish numerous examples of its different forms; Minot and Shoreham, the Towneley and Coventry Mysteries, and the Old-English legends supply others.

Peculiar forms are seen in certain *lays* of different measures, of which Dame Siriz, in Maetzner, is a good example. The strophe of three parts, in dissimilar and in similar measures, is discussed lastly, examples being taken from Wright's Specimens of Lyric Poetry, found also in Bøddeker's collection, the Early English Psalter, and others. These strophes are treated according to the number of lines which compose them, and the discussion closes with examples, taken from Chaucer, of the strophes in iambic verse of five measures in four, five, six, seven, eight, nine and ten lines, and the *roundel*, with examples from Lydgate and Chaucer.

The last two chapters are devoted to an examination of the iambic verse of five feet, before Chaucer, in his poems, and in his successors. The main examination, as would naturally be expected, is given to Chaucer's verse, and is based on the works of Ellis, Child, Morris, and Skeat. This verse occurs for the first time, so far as known, in two poems of the beginning of the 14th century, published by Wright and by Bøddeker (MS. Harl. 2253), and is doubtless imitated from the French. Chaucer took as his model Guillaume de Machault, as Skeat has already shown. Chaucer's verse is examined in respect to word-accent, caesura, change of rhythm, failure of thesis in beginning and within the verse, double thesis, slurring, unaccented inflexional endings, and final *e*. The examination is very complete, and Schipper's views seem, in the main, correct, but a few exceptions may be taken to them. The occurrence of feminine caesura after the third foot (p. 455) is very doubtful: the examples given may readily be otherwise explained. So also the single example of failing thesis (*Aufstakt*) in second half of the verse (p. 463) will not answer, for *masinciple* is a dissyllable, whether followed by consonant or vowel (cf. p. 468), and that of failing thesis (*Senkung*) within the verse is even more objectionable, for doubtless *seýnt-e* is the correct reading, and if not, *se-ynt* is capable of extension, as Ellis takes it. These licenses then may be excluded from Chaucer's poems. Again, the denial of five accents to each line seems scarcely sustained, for the examples quoted of lines composed chiefly of monosyllables (p. 449) still admit this accentuation, even if the rhythmic accent must be placed on conjunctions, prepositions, pronouns, and such like unemphatic words, which accentuation occurs frequently in Chaucer, e. g., *Or if men smót it with a yérde smérte*: read without such accentuation, it might as well be prose. So too the little words *after* and *under* seem to give Schipper much trouble, as in the examples following this one, but Chaucer does sometimes accent these words on the second syllable, and there is no getting over it. So also does Gower, as in the examples on p. 485.

The last chapter discusses the further development of this verse from Gower to Lyndsay, including Gower, Occleve, Lydgate, Hawes, Barclay, Henrisoun, King James I of Scotland, Blind Harry, Dunbar, Douglas, and Lyndsay. While the French syllabic principle is seen in the Scottish poets, the English accentual principle still predominates largely, and Lyndsay shows the same relations of accent and the same metrical licenses as Chaucer. A few exceptions may be taken here too to Schipper's scanning, e. g. in Lydgate (p. 495), instead of double thesis, why not scan *Of worldly support*; *fór all com(e)th of Jhdsu*, which accentuation of *support* occurs in Lyndsay (p. 536), *Now, with the supporte of the kíng of glórye*! But exceptions taken here and there to Schipper's scanning, more of which might easily be adduced, do not injure the value of his great

work. It is a monument of patient labor, sound judgment, and good rhythmical feeling, even if not perfect in this respect. It has the advantage of being up to date, of having made use of the latest publications, such as those of the Early English Text Society, edited by Ellis, Morris, and Skeat, with whose metrical views it is, in the main, in agreement, and of presenting in one view a historical development of English verse from the earliest times to the middle of the sixteenth century, thus filling a void felt by all English scholars. Especially is this want felt in respect to Anglo-Saxon verse, for English scholars have not heretofore given much attention to this subject, and Schipper's section is the best concise treatment of it that we possess. As suggested above, it should be translated and put into the hands of students of Anglo-Saxon poetry in all of our colleges where this study is pursued.

JAMES M. GARNETT.

Aristidis Quintiliani de Musica libri III, cum brevi annotatione de diagrammatis proprie sic dictis, figuris, scholiis cet., codicum MSS edidit ALBERTUS IAHNIUS, Dr. phil. hon., sodal. Acad. Monac., etc. Berolini: Calvary & Co., 1882. 8°. pg. LXII et 97.

The epoch of the Greek writer on the theory of music, Aristides, is not exactly known. He lived, however, after Cicero's time, for he criticizes some of his disputations (II, c. 70); he probably lived before Ptolemy wrote his *Harmonica*, for he scarcely would have failed to mention it if he had perused its contents. Aristides, who is a most instructive writer, had never before been published, except by Marcus Meibomius (Amstelod. Elzev. 1652), who edited his work together with the musical writings of six other ancient authors. See also Jul. Caesar: *Die Grundzüge der griechischen Rhythmik im Anschluss an Aristides Quintilianus* erläutert. On pages XLVI-LVII the manuscripts are described which Jahn has compared for the present edition. Dr. Jahn is Secretary of the Federal Department of the Interior at Berne, Switzerland. He is well known as a keen archaeologist and historian; as to philology, he has in later years published the writings of Methodius (Sanct. Methodii opera et S. Methodius plotinizans, Halae 1865). Of his earlier works we may mention: S. Basilii M. plotinizans, Bernae 1838, and *Animadversiones* in S. Basil., Bernae 1842.

A. S. G.

## REPORTS.

ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT. 1887.

### Heft II und III.

The articles of Socin on the geography of Tūr 'Abdīn (see in Heft I Nöldeke's notice of Prym and Socin's work on the modern Aramaic dialect of this region, which is bounded on the north and northeast by the Tigris, and on the south by the Mesopotamian valley), of Klamroth on the Arabian Euclid, of Justi on the Parsi Deri dialect of Jezd (Yezd), of Bollensen on the Veda metrik, and the tone-system of the Rig- and Sāma-Veda, of Oldenberg on the date of the new alleged Asoka inscriptions (In which he calls in question the name of the king, and declares the inscription worthless for chronological purposes), of Stickel on Oriental coins (a critical notice of Thomas's ed. of Marsden's *Numismata Orientalia*, London, 1874, and of the *International Numismata Orientalia*, 1875), and of Nöldeke on "Der beste der arischen Pfeilschützen im Avesta und im Ṭabari," can only be mentioned here as containing valuable materials on these subjects. Bickell's article on Hebrew metrik is another attempt on his part to show that this metrik rests on the same principles as the Syrian, and its daughter, the Christian Greek, namely, on number of syllables, neglect of quantity, regular succession of toned and untuned syllables, identity of metrical and grammatical accent, coincidence of verse-divisions (stichoi) with sense-divisions, and the union of similar or dissimilar stichoi into regularly recurring strophes; but his procedure is arbitrary, and his thesis not proved.

5. Phöniciſche Miscellen. Von P. Schröder. (Mit 5 Tafeln.) Text, Hebrew transcription, translation, and discussion of five inscriptions found in Citium, which Schröder numbers Citiensis 51, 52, 53, 54, 55. In the first of these he finds the name of the goddess Ashera, which occurs frequently in the Old Testament, but has not before appeared in any inscription, and a new name of a month Zebahšemeš, so called from the offering made to the god Šemeš. Among the especially interesting proper names are עֲבַרְאִשֶׁר and אֲשֶׁר־לִי, the former rendered "servant of Osiris," and the latter, according to Schröder's conjecture, "Assur in Idalion," a strange name for a man (Assur being the principal deity of the Assyrians), but supported apparently by a similar name in an Idalion inscription. In the *Revue des Études Juives*, No. 6, p. 178, Halévy cites two other hitherto unknown Phœnician names of months, אֲתֵנָם and שַׁלִּיחַ, the former of which occurs in the Old Testament.

6. Zu den himyarischen Inschriften. Von Dr. J. H. Mordtmann, Jr. (Mit 2 Tafeln.) The first plate gives a photograph of a bas-relief with inscription, published before by Mordtmann in ZDMG XXXII 400. It represents a deceased man at a meal, sitting on an armless chair, his right hand holding a cup, and his left pressed to his breast, in front of him a table with drinking-vessels,

by the table a servant holding food and cups, and beyond him a female figure, with what seems a musical instrument in its hands. A picture below portrays him on horseback, spear in hand, driving a well-drawn camel before him; that is, according to Mordtmann's suggestion, he is returning from a successful foray. The second plate represents a woman's head, with inscription. The interest of these monuments lies in the light they throw on the old South Arabian customs and art. The dress is nearly the same as that of to-day—on the head of one figure is seen something like the modern Kaffiye; the style is naïve, and there seems to be no trace of Greek influence.

7. *Ägyptisch-Aramäisches*. Von Franz Praetorius. The first word of the inscription on the Serapeum stone,  $\text{𐤓𐤓𐤓}$ , which Levy (ZDMG XI 69) rendered "offering" (Egypt. *athëb*), and Merx (XXII 693) "slain offering," Praetorius regards as the Egyptian *hṭp* "gift or offering." He objects to Merx's explanation of  $\text{𐤓𐤓}$  as *pa-Neit* on the ground that Egypt. *p* is regularly rendered on the monuments by Semitic *D*, and not by *Ḷ*.

There are commendatory notices of Hoffmann's *Opuscula Nestoriana* (Syriac text, with Introduction) by Nöldeke, of Schlumberger's *Le Trésor de Sana'a* (Himyaritic coins, showing Greek influence) by Mordtmann, of Herrnsheim's *Beitrag zur Sprache der Marschall-Inseln* by Pott, and of Spitta-Bey's *Grammatik des arabischen Vulgärdialectes von Aegypten*, by Goldziher, and by Praetorius remarks on the trilingual inscription of Zebed published and explained by Sachau (*Monatsberichten der Berliner Akademie*, 1881).

#### IV Heft.

1. *Das Gṛhyasamgrahapariṣiṣṭa des Gobhilaputra*. Von Dr. M. Bloomfield. Text in Roman transcription, with annotated translation. The author (now in charge of Sanskrit in the Johns Hopkins University) has made a very careful and instructive study of this ritual treatise, pointing out the relation of the various parts to the sutras of Gobhila, explaining obscure passages, with constant reference to the recent edition of Gobhila's *Gṛhyasūtra* in the *Bibliotheca Indica* by the Pandit Candrakānta Tarkālāmkāra. The text is based on three MSS of the East India office.

2. *Ṭabari's Korancommentar*. Von O. Loth. Of Ṭabari's commentary on the Koran, which for a long time was thought to be lost, three MSS are now known, which give the greater part of this renowned work. The editing of the book Loth thinks impracticable at present, but gives a general account of the Cairo MS, with extracts. Ṭabari's introduction discusses the language and names of the Koran, and the divisions into suras and verses. The commentary is described by Loth as specifically dialectic, and independent and original in suggestion, though holding strictly to the conception of the Koran as a divine revelation. The monograms at the beginning of some suras, which are very variously explained by modern critics, Ṭabari holds to be made up of significant letters conveying religious truth; he quotes at great length the views of his predecessors. In sura 85 he does not find a reference to the martyrs of Najrān. Concerning the people of 'Ad he relates the same things as in his history. The interest of this commentary, whose date is about A. H. 300 (A. D. 912), lies in the fact that it represents the older ethical or practical, as distinguished from the later, more speculative school of theology. It is to be hoped that it will soon be published.



3. Ueber das Vaterland und das Zeitalter des Awestā. Von F. Spiegel. Against Duncker and others Spiegel maintains that Bactria was not the birth-place of the Avesta, and finds in the book itself (Yç. 19, 50-52) and elsewhere proofs that it originated in western Eran among the Medes, where in Ragha Zarathustra is said to have been both civil and religious head of the nation. He opposes also Roth's construction of the Calendar (ZDMG XXXIV 698). As to the age of the Avesta he confines himself to saying that the greater part of it was in existence in the last part of the Achemenidean period; and in general he adopts a very cautious tone with respect to the critical problems of the Zoroastrian religion.

12. Palmyrenische Inschriften. Mitgetheilt und erklärt von Ed. Sachau. In consequence of the activity of dealers in antiquities in Damascus and Aleppo, who send Arabs to Palmyra after rains to search the ruins for objects, whose original place can then not be learned by the purchaser, Sachau thinks that systematic excavation is necessary to further progress in the study of the inscriptions. He commends especially to future investigators the line of mausoleums beyond the Durra fields east and southeast of the temple of the Sun as a spot likely to yield valuable results. The 16 inscriptions which he here communicates and explains are of different lengths, but consist mainly of proper names. The expressions כְּתָרִי and כְּתָרִי he regards as the Syriac technical terms for libertus and *Sapientia*. He suggests that the second component of some Greek names, as Σαμαάθου, may be עֲרִי, the name of a divinity worshipped by the Syrians (שָׁמַע עֲרִי, "Athe has heard").

The other articles of this number, which I must content myself with merely mentioning, are: one on an Ethiopic MS of the "Sapiens Sapientium," by C. H. Cornill (a collation of its text with that printed in Dillmann's Chrestomathy); Armeniaca II, by H. Hübschmann; on Kālāçoka-Udāyin, and corrections and additions to the Kālākāçarya-Kathānakam, by Hermann Jacobi; on the Soma, by R. Roth; on the Himyaritic-Ethiopian wars, by J. H. Mordtmann; Vedic Miscellanies, by R. Pischel; remarks on the "Syrisch-römisches Rechtsbuch aus dem fünften Jahrhundert" of Bruns-Sachau (second article), by Perles (illustrations from the Mishna of the entrance of Roman processes into Jewish law), and a remark by Franz Praetorius on the reading of the second line of the bilingual inscription of Harrān (he thinks it refers to the conversion of the heathen temple into a burial-place of martyrs).

Anzeigen. Praetorius recognizes the great merits of L. Stern's Koptische Grammatik (Leipzig, 1880), especially in its fulness of materials, but finds fault with his arrangement, and some of his grammatical views. The same reviewer speaks favorably of Antoine d'Abbadie's Dictionnaire de la langue amariñña (Paris, 1881), but all the more deplores the author's strange doubt or denial of the Semitic character of the Amharic. Vámbéry has a notice of Count Kuun's edition of the Codex Cumanicus (Budapest, 1880), and of the Turkish dialect of which it treats. Goldziher calls attention to the value of Sa'adia's Kitāb al-Amānāt wa'l-I'tiqādāt, "Treatise on religious dogma" (edited by S. Landauer, Leiden, 1880) as an indication of the influence of Moslem theology on Jewish religious conceptions. Victor Ryssel's monograph on Gregory Thaumaturgus (Leipzig, 1880) is reviewed by Nestle, who makes some corrections

of the author's translation, but expresses a favorable opinion of the work. C. Bartolomae communicates a few readings (variations from Westergaard's text) from a MS in the library of the German Oriental Society, containing fragments of the Vendidad-Sâde.

1882. I Heft.

1. A. Socin gives a number of texts, with translation, in the Arabic dialect of Mōsul and Mārdīn, which he originally wrote down from the mouths of natives. They consist of fables, and stories of the silliness of Kurds, and are very like some of our own folk-stories. The Arabic is simple, but differs somewhat from the western dialects in vocabulary and grammar; Socin purposes working up the language, with the aid of the Kurdish and Syriac spoken in that region.

2. Die Parsen in Persien, ihre Sprache und einige ihrer Gebräuche. Von A. Houtum-Schindler. A valuable statistical sketch of the present Parsi population of Persia, which is said to number about 8500, with comparative vocabularies of Parsi and Modern Persian, the former often showing phonetically weaker forms, as *duter*, *dut*, "daughter," over against Mod. Pers. *duhtar*, *dukt*. The customs of the Parsees, the author says, such as laws of inheritance, and prayers, are the same as those described in the Avesta and other ancient books.

3. In a letter to Professor Fleischer, Dr. Franz Teufel, Assistant in the Grand-ducal library at Carlsruhe, presents his plan for preparing a political and literary history of Persia and Central Asia from the rise of the Safawī to the present time, from original sources. Working all his life, he says, under grievous difficulties, he despairs of carrying out his purpose without the aid of scholars and libraries throughout Europe. Fleischer speaks of him as a thoroughly mature scholar and worthy man, and heartily commends him to the sympathy and coöperation of all persons interested.

4. Teufel furnishes extensive annotations to Ethé's edition of Nāsir Chusrau's *Rušanānāma*, and to Fagnan's "*Le Livre de la félicité*" of the same author.

5 and 6. Hübschmann continues his *Armeniacæ*, and Fischel his *Vedic Miscellanea*.

7. Edessenische Inschriften. Mitgetheilt und erklärt von Ed. Sachau. As further fruit of his journey to the East in 1879-1880 Sachau here makes a beginning in Old Syrian epigraphy. Of the ten inscriptions which he publishes some were already known; but the new Syriac texts throw no little light on the palaeography and early history of Edessa. He inclines to assign one of these to the second half of the second century of our era; the others fall later. Some of the proper names seem not only to belong to the native dynasty of the second century, but also to show that the country had at that time not embraced Christianity, though this is doubtful. From Sachau's account of the wanton destruction of inscriptions now practiced by the Muhammadans it is obviously desirable that means should be taken to secure good copies immediately, and it is to be hoped, as he suggests, that the committee in charge of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* may look to this.

8 and 9. Herrnsheim communicates remarks on Chamisso's "Radak-Vocabularium," and Dr. Alois Führer gives the titles of four Birmese law-books in addition to that edited by Richardson.

Anzeigen. Nöldeke's notice of Friedrich Delitzsch's *Wo Lag Das Paradies?* (Leipzig, 1881), while it admits the great value of the historical and geographical materials collected by the author, decides that he has failed to establish the position of the biblical Eden. The reviewer agrees in this with most of the notices of Delitzsch's work that have appeared, and the objections urged by him seem to be just. The same cannot be said of all his criticisms on the author's Assyriological material. For example, his remark that king Asurbanipal's description of the Syrian desert ("where wild asses and gazelles do not feed") shows either that the king has been guilty of absurd exaggeration (since these animals abound in the desert), or that the passage has been mistranslated, is hasty; such a description of a frightful desert, as a strong expression for unfruitfulness, may easily be conceived. His objection to the Assyrian *uṣṣu*'s representing Arabic *ḥiṣn*, founded on the ignoring of the ḥ (p. 181), is not well taken, since precisely this dropping of the Semitic ḥ is a regular phenomenon in Assyrian. Nor does it seem reasonable to depreciate Assyrian studies in general (p. 182, note 1) because Sayce, "who passes for a master," has "made mistakes in Hebrew grammar" in his explanation of the Siloam inscription.

## II Heft.

Beiträge zur jüdisch-apokalyptischen Literatur. Von Karl Wieseler. For the determination of the date of the Book of Enoch, Wieseler examines the visions of the 70 shepherds, and the 70 weeks of the world's history (89, 56—90, 19). The shepherds, he makes angels (since earthly rulers are represented under the form of animals), and assigns to each a period of seven years. This arrangement, he thinks, makes the chronology of the book consistent with itself, and gives a period of 490 years for the shepherds, to be reckoned from the destruction of the temple B. C. 589—588. The visions, however, he supposes were probably written shortly before the close of this period, about the time of king John Hyrcanus I, B. C. 130. He assigns the same date to the Messianic section, Chs. 37—71. The proper name Taxo (Latin for "badger") in the Assumptio Mosis, c. 9, he regards as symbolic designation of a Zealot, who proposes to his sons to go into a cave in order to keep God's commandments, in the time of Herod the Great, as was done in the Maccabean period. Identical with this, he thinks, is the surname of Simon, *Θασσι*, I Mac. 2, 3, Heb. *Ṣṭṭi*, from *Ṣṭṭi* "badger." As to this last, the Heb. word is now usually, following the Arabic, held to mean "seal."

2. Abhandlung über das Licht von Ibn al-Haiṭam. Herausgegeben und übersetzt von Dr. J. Baermann. Ibn al-Haiṭam (A. D. 965—1038) is reckoned one of the greatest of the Arabic medieval physicists and mathematicians, and this edition of his work on Light is welcome. The editor had before him only one MS, Sprenger 1834, in the Royal Library at Berlin.

3. Socin gives further texts in the Arabic dialect of Mesopotamia, this time from that of Mārdīn. See first article in the preceding Heft.

4. Beiträge zur Erklärung des Kitāb al-Fihrist. Von Ig. Goldziher in Budapest. These remarks refer to the Fihrist's designations of the Sunnites and of the Vulgar Arabic.

5. Das Eigenthumsrecht nach moslemischem Rechte. Von Baron von Törnauw. After stating as his general conclusions that Moslem law recognizes a complete right of property in one's possessions, and has greatly modified the principle that a public treasury belongs to the whole Moslem religious community, the author gives a list of original sources, and an elaborate and valuable treatise on the Moslem right of property.

6. Die persischen Bruchzahlen bei Belādhori. Von M. J. de Goeje. The author points out that the Persian words for fractions ended in *oda* or *ota* (*dahota* =  $\frac{1}{10}$ ), and this reading is accepted by Olshausen, who had given a different form (Berlin Acad. of Sciences, June, 1881).

7. Professor Dozy communicates the titles of some Arabic MSS lately discovered in Granada, on history, philosophy, and medicine, among them one, almost illegible, written in Morocco.

8. A study by Sachau of the trilingual inscription of Zebed, word by word.

9. Der Adler mit dem Soma. Von R. Roth. An examination of Rigveda 4, 27, for the purpose not of explaining the myth, but, so far as possible, of establishing the text; his restored text exhibits the eagle not in the usual character of bearer of the soma from heaven, but as one who snatches it from demons. Roth urges the necessity of careful study of small parts of the RV, to prepare the way for some future translator who shall do for it what Voss did for Homer.

10. Beiträge zur Kenntniss indischer Dichter. Von Theodor Aufrecht. Verses from less known poets, collected from various sources, with translations and short notes.

C. H. Toy.

#### JOURNAL ASIATIQUE, 1881.

Avril-Mai-Juin. 1. Continuation by Halévy of his examination of the Saba inscriptions.

2. Études sur l'histoire d'Éthiopie. Première Partie: Chronique Éthiopienne, d'après un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, par M. René Basset. Text, omitting fol. 2, of which a translation with historical notes is given. This chronicle, written in the first half of the last century, undertakes to give the annals from Adam down to the author's time, and will doubtless clear up some obscurities in the history of Ethiopia. Basset accords to Bruce the honor of having reintroduced this subject to the attention of European scholars, after the labors of Ludolf and others had almost been forgotten.

3. Observations sur le Vendidad, par M. J. Darmesteter. I. This is a reply to Harlez's criticisms on Darmesteter's translation of the Vendidad (Vol. IV of *Sacred Books of the East*). The latter states his own critical position to be as follows: The doctrine contained in the Zoroastrian books existed as early as the fall of the Achaemenides, but only as the faith of the Magi, who also held to dualism and Ahriman in the time of Herodotus; the Magi were a

Median sacerdotal caste, and the writers of the Avesta, the cradle of Zoroastrianism being Media; the Magi reached the doctrines of the Avesta by developing the latent dualism of the old Indo-Iranian religion, and the old Aryan conception of the purity of the elements; they were probably introduced into Persia by Cyrus, were suppressed by Darius, and six centuries later became victorious; Ormazd is Indo-Iranian and Indo-European, a derivation from the old god of heaven; Ahriman is not Indo-European, but Indo-Iranian, partly derived from the old storm-demons, and partly the evil counterpart of Ormazd; and the learned religion established above these two a supreme principle, whence both were held to emanate. Darmesteter further states that he is neither exclusively Vedist nor traditionist, but uses both Veda and tradition, the latter to go as far as it will carry him, and the former to reach the primitive Aryan faith whence both Vedism and Mazdeism are derived.

4. *Études Bouddhiques*. Comment on devient Pratyeka-Buddha, par M. Léon Feer. The Bodhi of the Pratyeka-Buddha is the second of the three grades, the first being that of the *Crāvakas* (hearers), and the third that of the Buddhas. Feer here describes its nature, and the mode of attaining it, giving extracts from the *Avadāna-Āṭaka*, full of curious details.

*Nouvelles et Mélanges*. There are commendatory notices of West's *Pahlavi Texts Translated* (Vol. V of *Sacred Books of the East*), by Harlez, of Nève's French translation of Bhavabhūti's *Dénouement of the History of Rāma*, by Senart, and of Pertsch's *Catalogue of the Arabic MSS in the Gotha Ducal Library*, by Zotenberg.—Barbier de Meynard finds E. H. Palmer's *Haroun Arraschid*, Caliph of Bagdad (London, 1881), lacking in breadth and precision, though written with grace and skill. He calls attention to the formation in London of the Pāli Text Society, for which the aid of American scholars has already been asked.

Août-Septembre. 1. René Basset continues his annotated translation of the *Ethiopian Chronicle*, MS 151 of the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale.

2. *Les prétendus problèmes d'Algèbre du Manuel du Calculateur Égyptien* (Papyrus Rhind), par M. Léon Rodet. The author seeks to show, against Professors Eisenlohr and Cantor of Heidelberg, that this papyrus contains not algebraic, but only arithmetical processes, and that the Egyptian writer was not acquainted with multiplication and division, but only with addition and subtraction; he gives also interesting notices of the medieval Arabian and Jewish arithmetic. Throughout Europe, he remarks, up to the 16th century, books on arithmetic made doubling and halving special operations, distinct from multiplication and division.

3. *Matériaux pour le dictionnaire assyrien*, par M. Arthur Amiaud. Along with some already generally admitted facts Amiaud makes valuable contributions to the Assyrian lexicon. The passages which he cites from W. A. I. for the reading of the plural of the first personal pronoun are not new; the probable forms *anini* and *nini* are well known, but the mutilated readings in two cases have been considered to make the pronunciation somewhat uncertain.

*Nouvelles et Mélanges*. Halévy thinks that the Tyropoeon of Josephus is the same with the *aiṣṭōth* of Neh. iii. 14 ("dung"), which Josephus read *ṣṭōth* (v. 13)

and rendered "cheese"; he also suggests that the word *betyl* is connected not with *bethel* "house of God," but with *bethul* "young man," or, more probably, with some geographical name.—Huart continues his Chinese miscellanies, and gives a favorable notice of Abou-z-Ziya's Turkish Chrestomathy, Constantinople, 1879, press of Mehrân, which he calls a most happy essay in Turkish literary history.—Aristide Marre furnishes a Malay Bibliography, namely, three works on the Malay language by Captain Badings, of Amsterdam.

Octobre–Novembre–Décembre. The body of this number consists of continuations of articles above mentioned, namely, History of Ethiopia, by René Basset; Supposed Problems in Algebra, by Léon Rodet; Buddhist Studies (How one becomes Arhat), by Léon Feer; and Moslem Numismatics and Metrology, by H. Sauvaire—all valuable treatises, worked out in detail. There is added a note by C. de Harlez, stating his position on the Avestan question; Zoroastrianism, he says (against Darmesteter), is not at all a product of an evolution of the old polytheistic religion, but its essential parts sprang from speculations and combinations of the Mazdean priests, perhaps from loans made by them from other cults.

Nouvelles et Mélanges. In addition to the very interesting Chinese Miscellanies, there are notices by Barbier de Meynard of Hartwig Derenbourg's edition of the Arabic Text of Sibawaihi's Kitâb (treatise on grammar), Paris, 1881, and of Charles Rieu's Catalogue of the Persian MSS in the British Museum, Vol. II, 1881.

1882.

Janvier. 1. Sur quelques noms arabes qui figurent dans les inscriptions grecques de l'Auranitide, par M. E. Renan. This memoir, reprinted from the *Bulletin archéologique français* of September, 1856, is an examination of the proper names in a dozen Greek inscriptions copied by J. L. Porter in 1853, and interpreted by T. D. Woolsey in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, V. 1 (1855). According to Renan, ἀβέβος is Ḥabīb, μανός Ma'an, θαιμος Taim-allah, μάλχος Mālik, σαλαμανής Salmān, ανσος Aus-allah, ζοβεδος Zobeid, ονανός (corrected by Woolsey from ομαμος) Honein, and οαβεζος Wāthil. He calls attention to the exclusively Arabic character of the proper names in this region in the middle Semitic period (between the decay of Hebrew and the rise of Islam), and finds in this fact and in the monotheistic form of some of them an indication that the Arabian race was gradually developing politically and religiously for five or six centuries before Mohammed. The fact that the tribe-names are those of individuals who founded families shows, he thinks, that the Arabian heroic period was relatively modern, and from the accuracy of the Greek transcriptions he infers the relatively pure character of the Hellenism of the Roman province of Arabia.

2. Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la numismatique et de la métrologie musulmanes, traduits ou recueillis et mis en ordre, par M. H. Sauvaire, Consul de France. Première partie: Monnaies. (Suite.) A valuable collection of materials, but too detailed to admit of an abstract.

Nouvelles et Mélanges. Léon Feer commends Huart's edition of *Les Instructions Familiales* of Tchou-pō-lou (a treatise on practical ethics), with text, and

free and literal translations, for beginners in Chinese, 1881, and takes occasion to insist on the necessity of a scientific scheme of transliteration.—De Harlez has a highly commendatory notice of the Pehlevi text Dinkart "La Forteresse de la Foi," edited for the first time, with Zend transcription, Guzerati and English translations, explanatory notes, and glossary of difficult terms, by Desur Peshotun Behramji Semgana, 1881.—Barbier de Meynard mentions a recent translation of some plays of Molière into Turkish, by Vélyk Pasha.

Février-Mars. 1. Continuation of the Moslem Numismatics and Metrology, by Sauvaire.

2. Bibliographie Ottomane. Notice des livres turcs, arabes, et persans imprimés à Constantinople durant la période 1297-1298 de l'hégire (1880-1881). Par M. Clément Huart. Deuxième article. (See *Journ. Asiat.*, Oct. 1880.) According to Huart, the Turkish literary renaissance is advancing slowly but surely. At Constantinople are published nine newspapers in Turkish (of which three are official), one in Arabic, and one in Persian; and for the foreign communities six in French, seven in Greek, six in Armenian, and two in Spanish-Hebrew. Egypt has five Arabic papers, one Arabic-Turkish, three French, two Italian, one English, and one Greek; Beirut six Arabic, one Arabic-French, and three weekly Reviews in Arabic; Smyrna one Turkish paper, one French, two Greek, and one Armenian; Salonica one Turkish and one Greek; and Eastern Rumelia one Bulgarian-French, one Greek-French, and one Turkish. Official newspapers are printed in the principal places of twenty-four provinces of the empire; there are forty-five printing establishments at Stambul, and twenty-three at Galata and Pera. Huart's list comprises 218 books, in the departments of theology, religious sciences, legislation, literature, ethics, poetry, history, biography, various sciences, linguistics, composition, and grammar, together with periodicals.

3 Une nouvelle inscription cambodgienne, par M. Abel Bergaigne. The first facsimiles of Cambodian inscriptions were given about nine years ago by Francis Garnier; the alphabet was easily made out, and two years ago Aymonier, then resident in Camboge, and well acquainted with the modern tongue of the country, published interpretations of the ancient language. Professor Kern, of Leiden, had already given translations of some Sanskrit inscriptions, which language was also employed by former kings of Camboge. Bergaigne gives transcription and partial translation of the new inscription of which a facsimile has been obtained by Aymonier. The Sanskrit portion contains an address to Çiva, and refers to the consecration of a linga in the year 976 of the Çaka era (A. D. 1054), the style being that of the Upanishads. The translation of the Cambodian portion Bergaigne leaves to Aymonier.

Nouvelles et Mélanges. É. Senart offers some remarks in an Appendix on conclusions as to the relative age of Pracrit dialects derived from linguistic considerations; he purposes presenting his view in full either in the epilogue to his *Essay on the Inscriptions of Piyadasi*, or in the linguistic memoir which is to accompany the last volume of his edition of the *Mahāvastu*. His point is that the degree of linguistic degeneration in writings is not always a sure mark of age, for the reason that in some of these a sort of artificial dialect exists,

resulting from a learned adoption of ancient forms; he cites the coexistence in the same writings of *st* and *ṭh*, corresponding to Sanskrit *śt*, the presence or absence of the *r*, and the conjunction of Pracrit and Sanskrit forms. He would not limit this phenomenon to inscriptions, but finds it also in the Buddhist Sanskrit. He concludes that we have not the right to found *a priori* on the consecrated orthography of the dialects any theory of their antiquity, though they all rest in the last analysis on real languages which at a given moment were popular; and as to the Buddhist Sanskrit in particular, he thinks there are indications that it is anterior to the Pracrit orthographic type, in the form in which the latter is fixed by the grammarians.—In a second appendix Antoine d'Abbadie defends his non-Semitic translation of the Ethiopian coin-word *jān* by "elephant" against the Semitic rendering "judge" proposed by Halévy. The latter takes it to be equivalent to *dayan*; d'Abbadie states, from personal observation, that the modern Amara do not change Ge'ez *daya* into *ja*, and that he has got the rendering "elephant" from native Kamites, and found it in an ancient chronicle applied in this sense to the king.—Imbault-Huart continues his Chinese Miscellanies, giving an account of the reigning family, together with anecdotes of the Mongol dynasty, and an apologue.—There is a notice by Pavet de Courteille of the Codex Cumanicus of the Library of Saint Mark, Venice, recently published, with prolegomena, notes, and glossaries, by Count Kuun, member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (Budapesth, 1880). The MS contains a rich store of vocabularies and texts of this dialect, spoken by a people who dwelt formerly on the east of the Caspian Sea, but have since been displaced. The language is described as resembling that of the Turkish tribes of Southern Siberia. The present publication is awarded high praise by the reviewer.—Barbier de Meynard reports that the mission to Tunis, recently despatched by the Minister of Public Instruction, has collected a good number of Arabic inscriptions, posterior to the third century of the Hegira, interesting for the history of Arabic palaeography in Northern Africa.

Avril-Mai-Juin. 1. Continuation of Moslem Numismatics and Metrology, by H. Sauvaire.

2. Études Bouddhiques. *Mésaventures des Arhats*, par M. Léon Feer. The author, in continuation of his Buddhist Studies, here describes the contents of the Tenth Decad of the Avadāna-Çataka, under four heads: the misfortunes of the heroes; the culpable acts to which these are due; the virtuous actions of the same heroes; the attainment of the state of Arhat. The crimes, repentance and virtues are mostly ceremonial, and the sufferings physical. It appears that the greatest crimes do not prevent a man from attaining the state of perfect union with Buddha, and this state does not save him from punishment. Good actions counterbalance bad, yet not always perfectly. We have in these narratives an unsuccessful attempt to solve the enigma of the relation between moral acts and the events of life.

3. Études sur l'épigraphie du Yémen, par MM. Joseph et Hartwig Derenbourg. This is a learned and valuable discussion of several Sabeian inscriptions and words, with a good many attempts at conjectural emendations of the texts, the correctness of which can be tested only by further researches. Among other things the authors propose for the signification of *ṣaṭar* (which commonly



means "to write"), "to draw a line, mark out the limits of a country" (as in the Arab. stem *ḥatta*), render *ba. half* by "in the province," and find evidence that Fari' was the last Yemenite king of the second period, and his sons begin the third period, when the centre of gravity passed westward to Raidan. Messrs. Derenbourg intend to continue these studies, from which we may hope for additions to our knowledge of Yemenite epigraphy.

4. Étude sur les inscriptions de Piyadasi, par M. Senart. Deuxième Partie. On the edicts of the column of Delhi or of Firuz Shah, with transcription, translation, and grammatical notes. The excellence of Senart's work is abundantly acknowledged by scholars in this department.

5. Essai sur les inscriptions du Safa, par M. J. Halévy. (Suite et fin.) Halévy here concludes his admirable work on the Safa inscriptions by a sketch of the grammar of the language, a short account of the history of the Arabs of the north, a discussion of Safa names of men and gods, and of Greek transliterations of Arabic and Nabathean names, and a vocabulary of the Safean language. This tongue he holds to be Arabic, but different from the dialect of Hijaz, approaching in some points the Hebrew and Phenician, occupying, in fact, a position midway between these last and the Arabic of the Kuran.

Nouvelles et Mélanges. Stanislas Guyard gives notes on four words of the inscriptions of Van, and August Eisenlohr, Professor of Egyptology at Heidelberg, replies to the criticisms of L. Rodet on his translation of an Egyptian mathematical manual (1877).—Ch. Brosselard, in a letter to Renan, announces his intention to bring out a Berber-French dictionary, a work which will be welcome to students of the Berber or Libyan dialects.—In his Chinese Miscellanies Huart relates, among other things, the fortunes of General Ward, a native of Salem, Mass., who acted as Free Lance on the imperial side in the Taiping rebellion, and was killed in battle (1862).—Rubens Duval has a notice of Joseph Derenbourg's edition of Deux versions hébraïques du livre de Kalilâh et Dimnâh (49th part of the Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes-Études), Paris, Vieweg, 1881. The first of these versions, attributed to Rabbi Joel, is especially valuable for the criticism of the Arabic text from which it was made, and which was a rendering of the Pehlvi version of the original Hindu work.

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#### MNEMOSYNE, Vol. X, Part I.

The first article in this number (pp. 1-26) is by S. A. Naber, entitled "Euripidea," in which he comments on various passages in the Rhesus, Alcestis, Hippolytus, Medea, Andromache, and Troades. In Rhes. 274, μάχας πρὸ χειρῶν καὶ δόρη βασιτάζομεν, he objects to explaining μάχας by zeugma, and proposes μάχαι, which has been already suggested by Vater. On Rhes. 327-8 ὁρθῶς ἀτίσεις κάπνιμφοι εἰ φίλοις· δέχον δὲ τοὺς θέλοντας ὥφελειν πόλει, which are addressed by the chorus to Hector, who has just rebuked Rhesus for his late arrival, his comment is: "quid est ineptire nisi hoc est? duo versiculi sunt, qui adversis frontibus concurrunt, uti vides. Unum semicolon si addideris, ex his

tenebris emerges: ὁρθῶς· ἀτίξεις κἀπίμοφος εἰ φίλοις," taking ὁρθῶς in the sense of καλῶς ἔχειν. χαίρειν as explained by Plut. Mor. p. 22 f. ἐν τῇ συνηθείᾳ καλῶς φαμέν ἔχειν καὶ χαίρειν κελίομεν, ὅταν μὴ δεχώμεθα μηδὲ λαμβάνωμεν. He thinks the καλῶς in St. Mark vii 6, 9 is perhaps to be explained in the same way. On 646, which is addressed by Pallas, in the guise of Aphrodite, to Paris, θάρσει· φυλάσσει σ' ἡδὲ πρενυμεῖης Κύπρις, he insists on writing φυλάσσω, since though one often speaks of oneself in the third person, "nemo hoc facit dum vult declarare ipsum se praesentem adesse." Many examples of this are given; but it is remarked that in Iph. Taur. 770 ἡ' ἂν Αὐλίδι σφαγεῖσθ' ἐπιστέλλαι τὰδε ζῶσ' Ἰφιγένεια, the third person is rightly given; for the first would have prematurely revealed her.

In Alc. 161 he would read ἐκπρεπῶς ἡσκήσατο for εὐπρεπῶς: "nam honesta mulier semper εὐπρεπῶς vestita est, sed ultimo vitae die fecit quod festis diebus ceteroquin solebat facere et ἐκπρεπῶς ἡσκήσατο." In Alc. 321, οὐδ' ἐς τρίτην μοι μῆνός ἐρχεται κακόν, he will not accept Wecklein's τριταῖον ἡμῶν nor Herwerden's τρίτον μοι φέγγος, "sed multo leniore medicina rescribi poterit, οὐδ' ἐς τρίτην μοι σμῆνος ἐρχεται κακόν."

In Med. 11 he would read ἀλλάσσουσα μὲν . . . αὐτὴ δὲ κτέ: "hoc dicit nutrix: propter Peliae caedem coacta quidem fuit solum vertere et Corinthum migrare, sed mansit cum marito fidelis concordia." To confirm this use of ἀλλάσσειν Plat. Polit. 289 *e* is quoted: οἱ δὲ πόλιν ἐκ πόλεως ἀλλάσσοντες κατὰ θάλατταν καὶ πεζῇ.

On Hipp. 42, δείξω δὲ Θησεῖ πρᾶγμα κἀκφανήσεται, he says: "quid unquam inepte abundabit si post δείξω Θησεῖ πρᾶγμα probare debemus κἀκφανήσεται?" and proposes κἀκμάνησεται sc. Θησεῖς. On 79, ὅσοις διδακτὸν μὲν, he writes: "credamus licet virtutem nobis a natura tribui, disciplina non comparari, legerit denique Pentheseileae filius Platonis Protagoram, tamen affirmare non poterit disciplinam virtuti officere, eumque prae ceteris σωφρονεῖν qui nihil didicerit," and proposes ὅσοις ἀλαστον μὲν, quoting the words of Theseus in 877 βοᾷ δέλτος ἀλαστο. In 982 for τὰ γὰρ δὴ πρῶτ' ἀνέστραπται πάλιν he suggests 'στῶτ'. In 1085, for πάλαι ξενοῦσθαι τόνδε προῖννέποντά με, he proposes 'ξέσθαι, referring to the reply of Hippol. in 1087 σὺ δ' αὐτός, εἰ σοι θυμός, ἐξώθει χθονός.

On Androm. 177, ἂ μὴ παρ' ἡμᾶς ἔσφερ', he writes: "quia peregrini mores introducuntur et εἰσάγονται nec feruntur nec portantur neque adeo φέρονται vel εἰσφέρονται, malim ἔσφρες": and, referring to Cobet's collection of the instances of this verb, V. L. p. 575, "quod exempla declarant . . . verbum φρεῖν usurpatur fere de iis quae clam fiunt . . . quo certius pateat in Androm. itidem ἔσφρες reponendum esse." On 1272, πᾶσιν γὰρ ἀνθρώποισιν ἡδὲ πρὸς θεῶν ψήφος κέκρανται, καθανεῖν τ' ὀφείλεται, he writes: "per se quidem nihil est cur his verbis offendamur . . . est autem sciendum, in Parisino Codice τ' omissum esse; et quia notum est apud Euripidem histriones saepe partium suarum quasi oblitos sese ad spectatores convertere, qua de re Cobetus dixit in Var. Lect. p. 587, vide num probari debeat, ἡδὲ πρὸς θεῶν ψήφος κέκρανται· καθανεῖν ὀφείλετε." But Cobet's remark is: "saepius enim Euripides veluti argumenti oblitus spectatores admonet in cavea sedentes."

On Troad. 440 he writes: "sine sensu Casandra vaticinatur de Solis bubus, αἱ σάρκα φωνήσσαν ἡσούνιν ποτε, πικρὰν Ὀδυσσεὶ γῆρυν. Respicit poeta, quod etiam pueri intelligunt, Homeri verba in Odys. μ 394:

τοῖσιν δ' αὐτίκ' ἔπειτα θεοὶ τέραα προῦφανον·  
εἶπον μὲν ῥινόι, κρέα δ' ἄμφ' ὀβελίοις ἐμεμῖκει,  
ὀπταλέα τε καὶ ὠμά· βοῶν δ' ὥς γίγνεται φωνή.

Sed *φωνὴν ἵνα* quid sit, satis novimus; quid autem est *σάρκα ἵνα*? Kirchhoffius putavit satis esse, si rescriberet *ἐξουσιν*, sed eum ipsum fugere non potuit, quam parum poeta digna ea locutio sit. Nec magis dicere possis quomodo facillimum verbum *ἐξουσιν* mutari potuerit in *ἦουσιν*. Sed quid cesso veram lectionem expromere? Lege: ὦν σάρκα φωνήεσαν εἴουσιν ποτε, πικρὰν Ὀδύσσει γῆρυν. Demit aliquid de fabula Casandra atque portentum etiam sic satis magnum fecit paulo credibilius. Accusativum *πικρὰν γῆρυν* retulerim ad adiectivum *φωνήεσαν*."

The second article (pp. 27-41) is by Cobet, on the fragments of Eunapius, in Müller's *Hist. Graec. Fragm.* There is much that is interesting in these notes, though only a few extracts can be made. "Ad fragm. 1. Solus omnium Historicorum Eunapius profitetur se iudice Chronologiam in historia scribenda esse inutilem: οἱ ἀκριβεῖς λογισμοὶ τῶν χρόνων ὥσπερ ἀκλίῃται μάρτυρες αὐτομάτως ἐπεισίνοντες ἐς ταῦτα ὉΦΕΛΟΥΣΙΝ ΟΥΔΕΝ. et post pauca: κενὴ τις καὶ ἀχρεῖος ἡ περὶ τούτων χρόνους διατριβὴ καὶ σχολή. idque verum esse levissimis quibusdam argumentis demonstrare sat agit, veluti his: τίς λόγος πρὸς ἱστορίας τέλος εἶδέναι ὅτι τὴν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίαν ἐνίκων οἱ Ἕλληνες κυνὸς ἐπιτελλόντος; τί δ' ὄφελος ἦν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν εἰς ὠφέλειαν ἱστορικῆς χρείας εἰ κατὰ ταύτην ἐτέχθη τὴν ἡμέραν ὁ δεῖνα καὶ μελοποιὸς ἀνέσχευεν ἢ τραγῳδὸς ἀριστος." It is shown that Eunapius constantly borrows from Plutarch without naming him. "Fragm. 14, 2. ὁ Ῥωμαῖος Μάριος τὸν ἀντίπαλον Σύλλαν διπλοῦν θηρίον ἀποκαλῶν ἀλώπεκα καὶ λέοντα μᾶλλον ἔφασκε φοβεῖσθαι τὴν ἀλώπεκα. Plutarchus in *Sulla* 28, 18. Κάρβωνα φασιν εἰπεῖν ὡς ἀλώπεκι καὶ λέοντι πολεμῶν ἐν τῇ Σίλλᾳ ψυχὴ κατοικοῦσιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀλώπεκος ἀνίψτο μᾶλλον. Memoriter haec referens Eunapius pro Carbone, quem non noverat, notissimum Marium substituit." "Fragm. 24. φασιν Ἀλεξάνδρον θειάζοντος ἑαυτὸν ἐκ Διὸς Ὀλυμπιάδα θρυπτομένην φάσκειν· 'οὐ παύσεται τὸ μεράκιον διαβάλλον με πρὸς τὴν Ἑραν.' Sumsit perlepidum Olympiadis dictum ex Plutarchi *vita Alexandri* cap. 3. φασιν αὐτὴν (*Olympiadem*) λέγειν· 'οὐ παύσεται με διαβάλλον Ἀλεξάνδρος πρὸς τὴν Ἑραν.' Plutarchus temporum gnarus non potuit Alexandrum *μεράκιον* appellare, ut Eunapius." Emendations are suggested for a large number of the fragments, many of which must be looked upon as certain. *E. g.* "Fragm. 48 de Theodosio scribit eum initio imperii magnas opes inconsulto absumsisse καθάπερ μεράκιον ΜΕΛΛΟΠΛΟΥΤΟΝ πατρὸς ἐπὶ χρόνῳ πολλὰ χρημῆατα σεσωρευκότος διὰ σωφροσύνην καὶ φειδῶ . . . μαίνεται. Unice verum est Νεόπλουτον. Ne est quidem Graecum vocabulum μελλόπλουτος neque sanam notionem continet. Μελλόγαμος et μελλόνυμφος recte dicitur qui iamiam uxorem ducturus est, qui in eo est ut νυμφίος fiat, sed filius familiae divite patre superstite semper est μελλόπλουτος. Manifesto comparatur Theodosius cum adolescente dissoluto qui patrimonium recens acceptum prodigit et dilapidat. Νεόπλουτος δέσποινά legitur in *vitis Sophistae* p. 99." On the style of this author Cobet writes: "Eunapius in *Historiis* utitur oratione perinde putida et affectata atque in *Sophistarum vitis*. Amplificat omnia, exaggerat et quasi inflat tumore verborum. *Magna laus est οὐρανομήκης*. Qui *imbibit aliquid* χανὸν ἀρνεται, ἐμφορεῖται, κατεμφορεῖται. Qui *se aliquo confert* συνωθεῖται ποι, et plurima habet de genere hoc similia Quae

Veteres parce ac raro usurpant apud eum ad fastidium usque repetuntur . . . Alibi formis Ionicis abutitur, ut passim in καλόν τι χρήμα, πολὺ τι χρήμα et similibus compluribus . . . et saepe θέσθαι pro ποιήσασθαι . . . et *antistes Deae Syriae* fr. 94 Herodoteo vocabulo μελεθωνὸς τῆς Συρίας θεοῦ nominatur. Non tantum in verbis, sed etiam in rebus Eunapium omnem modum excedere ostendit fragmentum 76; quum vellet dicere Romanum ducem *esse mulierosum et temulentum* dixit eum πλείους ἔχειν παλλακίδας τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ πλείονα πίνειν ἢ ὅσα πάντες οἱ ἀνθρώποι πίνουναι."

The next article (pp. 42-66) is also by Cobet, on passages of the *Epistolographi Graeci*, ed. Hercher. Only one or two of his notes can be given. "Alciph. III 1, p. 67 οὐκέτ' εἰμι ἐν ἐμῶντι, ὦ μήτηρ. In tali re constanter et veteres et sequiores dicebant ἐν ἐμῶντι *non sum apud me*. Arist. Vesp. 642, ὡς οἷτος ἡδὴ σκορδινᾷται κάστιν οὐκ ἐν αὐτοῦ, ubi Ravennas mendose, ut Graeculi solent, exhibet ἐν αὐτῷ." [But apparently all MSS read in Xen. An. I, 5, 17 ἐν ἐμῶντι ἐγένετο, and in Soph. Phil. 950 ἐν σῶντι γένου.] On Julian. Epist. IX, § 3, p. 340, τὸν μακαριώτατον Κωνσταντῖον ἐρεῖτε, we are told to read "quod *de defunctis* usitatum est τὸν μακαρίτην Κωνσταντῖον," and it is explained that originally the epithet μακαρίτης was used to express the highest degree of happiness of the living as well as of the dead. Cf. Aesch. Pers. 633; Ar. Plut. 555. But as such happiness could rarely be predicated of the living "ad eos trahi coeptum est qui vitae laboribus et aerumnis defuncti beatam aetatem agerent." And so from the time of Menander the dead in general came to be called μακαρίται. "Photius Μακαρίτας: τοὺς τεθνηκότας Μένανδρος. Timaeus, v. Βάλλ' ἐς μακαρίαν: τοὺς ἀποθονόντας μακαρίτας ἔθος καλεῖν. Neque tamen promiscue omnes, qui diem obiissent, μακαρίτας appellabant, sed quos quisque in vita dilectos aut cognitos habuisset . . . Nullus hodie Menandri locus superest in quo ὁ μακαρίτης eo sensu legatur, sed apud Alciphronem legitur, qui pleraque omnia sua a Menandro sumsit . . . Tandem apud Christianos μακαρίται dicebantur omnes, quorum memoria pie colebatur, vel apostolorum vel principum, qui Christianis favissent, veluti ὁ μακαρίτης Παῦλος, ὁ μακαρίτης Πέτρος, ὁ μακαρίτης Κωνσταντῖνος . . . et similia passim."

The next article (pp. 67-95) is by van Herwerden, *ad Comicos Graecos*. We have first notes on several fragments which appear in Kock's recent edition, and also on certain passages of Aristophanes. It is natural that the fragments referred to should be those as to which the judgment of the writer differs from that of the editor; and therefore, as no general opinion is expressed as to the character of the edition, none can be inferred from the unfavorable tone of most of these criticisms. On Crates, fr. 14 for the corrupt αὐτῇ, παρασκευάζεισαντον, Kock proposes ἀμυγ. But Herwerden shows that it must be some kind of "convivii instrumentum" which is addressed, and suggests himself ψυκτήρ or κρατήρ, preferring the former. On Pherecr. fr. 1, ὡς ὀλεγομένοις ἡσθ' ἄρ', δε κατεσθίει τῆς ἡμέρας μακρὰς τριμήρους σιτία, he admits that his own previous suggestion that μακρὰς is to be taken with ἡμέρας has been rightly rejected by Kock. It is equally impossible, however, to connect it with τριμήρους "quasi *braeiae* τριμήρους exstiterint. Eadem res profligat Meinekii coniecturam μακρὰς," and the reading μικροῦ is suggested. "Tiremis cibaria diurna erant quatuor ferme medimnorum . . . ut interlocutor hominem *paene* tantum consumere cum comica exagger-

tionem dicere potuerit." On Aristoph. fr. 230, in which Kock inserts *εὑπετῶς* he writes: "peccavit contra sermonem comicorum, qui numquam *εὑπετῶς*, (nec, hoc sensu *εὐχερῶς*), sed constanter *βαδῶς* dixerunt. Verum sermonis proprietatem parum curare solet editor, qui Pherecrati fr. 143, pro *λεπτάς* reddi iussit *λενράς*, in Aristophane fr. 640 tolerandum putat *ἐξαχοῖνικον* pro *ἐκχοῖνικον*, apud eundem fr. 898 retinuit formam pessimam *ὀφλῶν* pro *ὀφλῶν*, alia quae referre taedet." On Arist. Thesm. 930, οὔτος τί κίπτεϊς; Δῆσον αὐτὸν εἰσάγων, he writes: "Quia severior grammatica, quam pedestres sequuntur, postularet *εἰσαγάγων*, non inutile erit monere saepe Aristophanem, spectatorum auribus consulentem, in talibus uti Praesentis participio. Cf. Nub. 1213; Pac. 882; Vesp. 170, 177; Av. 658; Eq. 1367; Ran. 981; Pac. 49, 288, 1219. Similiter *ἰὼν* et *τρέχων* pro *ἐλθὼν* et *δραμὼν*, quae res olim fefellit Meinekium ad Plut. 1103 ἀλλ' ἐκκάλει τὸν δεσπότην τρέχων ταχί', adnotantem: 'expectabam Aoristum, quo in tali oratione si recte memini, constanter Aristophanes utitur.' Male meminerat vir egregius et, si quis alius, *μνημονικός*. Vid. Pac. 259; Nub. 780, 1164; Ach. 176."

The last article (pp. 96-112) contains notes by Cobet on Madvig's edition of Livy (1861-4). A large number of these are devoted to the expulsion of 'puerilia et insulsa additamenta,' which he is astonished to see 'etiam in antiquissimis Codicibus circumferri.' As a specimen may be quoted: "multas saepe vidi absurdas interpolationes indoctorum hominum, sed neminem qui magis deliraret quam is qui apud Livium XXI 40, 7, ad verba; *duabus partibus peditum equitumque in transitu Alpium amissis*, annotavit: *quum plures paene perierint quam supersunt*. Imperitus homuncio ne hoc quidem sciebat quid esset *duabus partibus amissis*, atque hi nugatores nos in Livio legendo ludificantur." On VII 17, 4: *consul legatique ac tribuni puerorum ritu vana miracula paventes irridebant increpabantque*, he writes: "ridicule *miracula* in tali re ponuntur. Lege vana *TERRICULA*, ut V 9, 7; XXXIV 11, 7."

On XXXVIII 23, 8: *Claudius . . . ad quadraginta millia hominum auctor est caesa, Valerius Antias, qui MAGIS immodicus in numero augendo esse solet, non plus decem millia*: he writes: "mendosum est *MAGIS IMMODICUS*, quae verba coniungi non possunt. Dici potuit aut; *qui ALIAS immodicus*, aut ut pressius ductus literarum sequamur: *qui IN ALIIS immodicus esse solet*. Cf. XXXIII 10, *si Valerio quis credat omnium rerum immodice numerum augenti*, et de eodem XXVI 49, *adeo nullus mentiendo modus est*. Nempe quum scorpiones capti essent *ad sexaginta*, Valerius *undeviginti millia* capta esse scripserat." On XLV 32, 3, *quos cum liberis maioribus quam quindecim annos natis praecedere in Italiam placeret*, he writes: "non est haec in tali re Latina orationis forma, sed *cum liberis maioribus quindecim annis*, expuncto *quam* et *natis*. Duplex loquendi genus confusum est: *maioribus annis quindecim* et *plus quam quindecim annos natis*. Cf. XL 37, 3, *maiores duodecim annis omnes coronati*; XLII 34, 11, *viginti duo stipendia annua in exercitu emerita habeo* et *maior annis sum quinquaginta*."

In parts of some pages otherwise unoccupied Cobet continues his notes on Galen.

C. D. MORRIS.

HERMES. 1881.

No. III<sup>1</sup>

Points of language determining the chronological order of the dialogues of Plato ("Sprachliche Kriterien für die Chronologie der Platonischen Dialoge"), by W. Dittenberger. In this noteworthy contribution Professor Dittenberger first takes up Plato's usage of *μήν*, as observed in the following combinations: *καὶ μήν*, *ἀλλὰ μήν*, *τί μήν*, *γε μήν*, *ἀλλὰ—μήν*. A conspectus is presented on p. 326 exhibiting the occurrence of these five combinations in each dialogue. The *Timaeus*, *Critias* and *Apology* are omitted, there being but very little conversation in them. The most striking result seems to be the following: The *Crito*, *Euthyphro*, *Protagoras*, *Charmides*, *Laches*, *Hippias*, *Euthydemus*, *Meno*, *Gorgias*, *Cratylus*, *Phaedo*, are found to be entirely without *τί μήν*?, *γε μήν*, *ἀλλὰ—μήν*. These dialogues Dittenberger groups together as constituting the first of the two main sections of Plato's works. In the second group, however, *τί μήν* and the rest are of very frequent occurrence, the dialogues being the following: *Symposium*, *Lysis*, *Phaedrus*, *Respublica*, *Theaetetus*, *Parmenides*, *Philebus*, *Sophista*, *Politicus*, *Leges*. Now as to the inferences which may be drawn from the above, Professor Dittenberger proceeds with good sense. He makes no use of his results for the purpose of determining the Platonic canon, and contents himself with suggesting that Plato's style in this particular underwent a change in the later period of his composition. In the body of the *Xenophontean* productions Dittenberger also notes a similar progression in the way *μήν* is used.

As to the chronological dividing line between the two periods of Plato's literary life, Dittenberger suggests 385 B. C. (approximately), because of the allusion in *Symp.* 193a to the *διοικισμός* of Mantinea; and conjectures that the free use of *τί μήν* is derived from Plato's first journey to the West.

A further point investigated in the present paper is the relative occurrence of *ὥσπερ* and *καθάπερ*. In the *Respublica* *ὥσπερ* occurs 212 times, *καθάπερ* but 5 times; in the *Leges* on the other hand *καθάπερ* (148) decidedly prevails over *ὥσπερ* (24). Now the dialogues resembling the *Leges* in the employment of *καθάπερ* are: The *Sophista*, *ὥσπερ* 9, *καθάπερ* 14, *Politicus* 16:34, *Philebus* 9:27, *Timaeus* 10:18, *Critias* 2:5. The use of *ὥσπερ* and of *καθαπερεί* corresponds. *Aristophanes* too, whose date of composition is nearer to the earlier period of Plato's writing, uses *ὥσπερ* almost exclusively.

A similar observation is made as to the use of *μέχριτερ* (used synonymously with *μέχρι οὐ* and *ὡς*). It occurs almost exclusively in the dialogues of Plato's later age, viz. in the *Leges*, *Philebus*, *Timaeus*, *Critias*, *Sophista*, *Politicus*, etc.

A similar note is made by Dittenberger on the pleonastic combination *τάχα ἰσως*.

The paper evidently suggests in what direction Platonic studies may now profitably be undertaken, and the results of this and similar investigations promise to be of more substantial value than classifications and combinations based mainly on material analyses.

P. Stengel writes on Greek sacrifices to the winds. They are met with from the times of the Persian wars on, and probably were copied from those of the

<sup>1</sup> See *American Journal of Philology*, III 103.

Phenician sailors. Sanctuaries are known to have existed at Athens, Sikyon, Megalopolis, Thuri. The ritual observed resembled that employed in sacrificing to the dead.

H. van Herwerden. *Homericæ*, pp. 351-379. The writer thinks that Homeric scholars nowadays observe an ultra-conservative attitude with regard to the Alexandrian arrangement of the text. While commending the recent critical labors of Nauck, he himself makes ample contributions in the present paper. Not less than 113 passages are commented upon, of which a little more than one-half are in the *Odyssey*. In a few instances his remarks confirm that which has already been established; e. g. in  $\Theta$  108 and  $\Psi$  470 he supports the exclusion of these lines by the Alexandrians. In  $\iota$  97 he defends *λαθέσθαι* against Naber who proposed *λάθοντο*; in  $\Gamma$  3 he maintains *βεβόληται* against Nauck; in  $\mathcal{O}$  680 he supports *συναίρεται* against the same editor.

In the great majority of cases, however, Herwerden attacks the established reading, having no patience with the "average critic" (p. 360, l. 8); on  $\Pi$  736 "*Verba pessime depravata sine suspitione legi mirarer, si nescirem nihil non aequo animo tolerare in Homero plerosque criticos.*"

In many cases syntactical considerations prompt the change, e. g.  $\Gamma$  208 he substitutes *τείξεσθαι* for *τείξεσθαι* (after *ἀνώγειν*), "nam futurum post jubendi verbum, etiam ubi jussa non statim perficienda sunt (sic enim futurum hic explicant) soloecum est." In  $\Omega$  586 he substitutes the optative for *ἀλίτῃται*. In  $\lambda$  10 (*τὴν δ' ἀνεμός τε κυβερνήτης τ' ἴθυνε*) he reads *ἴθυνον*: "duo subjuncta non unam notionem exprimunt sed duas penitus diversas." Other syntactical remarks are made on  $\rho$  413,  $\iota$  384 sqq.,  $\sigma$  452 sq.

As to etymology we glean a few points: *τραπείωμεν* ( $\vartheta$  292) H. derives not from *τρέπω* (*τραπῶμεν*), but from *τέρπω* per metathesis,<sup>1</sup> quoting the construction *ἐν φιλότῃ τραπείωμεν εὐνηθέντε*  $\Xi$  314. Insisting on the primitive consonant which must have existed as the initial sound of *ιδέ* (*ἰδέ*), he removes the *v* movable in  $\epsilon$ , 186, citing many passages with an apparent hiatus of a similar kind. A form "omni analogia destitutum" such as *φίηλις* (p. 360),  $\Gamma$  143, is to him "admodum suspectum." Regard for logical consistency and for taste suggests to him critical remarks on  $\Pi$  742 sqq.,  $\Sigma$  25 (*νεκταρέω*),  $\Omega$  649 (*ἐπικερτομένων*). A number of lines are bracketed, e. g.  $\Gamma$  394,  $\delta$  144-146 ( $\epsilon$  32-40, "valde mihi suspecti sunt"),  $\kappa$  415-417,  $\sigma$  39,  $\sigma$  201,  $\sigma$  554,  $\phi$  107.

To restore the ancient form, H. favors *slight* change; of two emendations he favors that which ( $\rho$  378) "*lenitate magis commendatur*," and  $\rho$  367 "*locum obscurum et corruptum leni manu sic refinxerim*," etc.<sup>2</sup>

E. Maas (Florence) writes on the "List of Commentators on Aratus." There are given in Cod. Vat. 191, fol. 209 $\delta$ , a number of names of Greek writers on astronomical subjects. The title, however, "*οἱ περὶ τοῦ ποιητοῦ* (Aratus) *συναζόμενοι*," is palpably erroneous, since the list given includes many authors earlier than Aratus. Maas has now discovered in Cod. Vat. Graec. 381 a very similar list with the heading "*οἱ περὶ τοῦ πῶλον συντάξαντες*," and infers that both lists are derived from the same source, viz. a catalogue of works or authors

<sup>1</sup> Which had been done before by Veitch s. v. *τέρπω*, ed. 1879.

<sup>2</sup> A few misprints occur. On p. 372, l. 8 from below read *ὡς ὅτε* instead of *ὡς ὅτι*; on p. 377, l. 8 from above read *eum* instead of *eum*.

referred to in some particular work on astronomy (no longer extant), and that both titles are improvised.

E. Albrecht (Berlin) publishes an exhaustive and laborious paper on "Repeated verses and parts of verses in Vergil." The main topics discussed are: I. Set phrases referring to recurrent matters. II. Lines from different books. Here we find the interesting statement (p. 407) that in the Aeneid with two exceptions (V 89, X 767) all repeated lines *in similes* are derived from the Georgics. III. Intentional repetitions. IV. Lines in the Aeneid which are less apt in one passage than in the other. A summary is given on p. 433 sqq.

In questions of genuineness Albrecht generally takes a conservative view, declining to accept the strictures of Peerlkamp and of Ribbeck. Some imperfections are referred to the incompleteness in which Vergil left his last poem. As a rule no verse is repeated more than once, and on the whole A. remarks p. 432: "How very eager Vergil is to vary the phrasing where the subject-matter is identical"; as in describing daybreak, nightfall, the fury of the winds and of the sea, the din of battle. Of course every one will ask himself: Did Vergil try to live up to his Homeric model in this particular? One can hardly say yes. For while, as to Homeric repetition, "*ratio haec* (Heyne ap. Albr. p. 413) *tenenda est ne semel bene et proprie enuntiata jejune aut perperam mutantur*," one may well doubt whether Vergil entirely trusted his own workmanship in this point.

Th. Mommsen prints an elaborate paper entitled "Schweizer Nachstudien." While in this "aftermath" the points discussed are mainly antiquarian, they do not at all refer exclusively to ancient Helvetia. Some of the topics discussed are: that Caesar did not know the real sources of the Rhone; that none of the vanquished Helvetii were to be admitted to Roman citizenship; what the *pagus* was—two important inscriptions bearing on the question; what the *equites singulares* were—what kind of franchise they enjoyed (*viz.* the *ius Latinum*)—how these matters were affected by the general bestowal of the Roman franchise by Caracalla; a special office in Helvetia, *viz.* the "*curator civium Romanorum conventus Helvetici*." The real bearing of the entire inquiry is announced on p. 483, *viz.* to mark the fundamental difference between the Graeco-Roman and the Gallo-Germanic custom and idea of *political community*, the former attaching it entirely to a town or city, the latter treating the individual mode of habitation as entirely secondary.

Mommsen also communicates an inscription from Caiatia: "Q. Folvius Q. f. M. [N. ?] hanc aquam indeixsit apu(t) P. Atilium L. f. pr(aetorem) urb(anum). The distinguished antiquarian suggests in explanation (assuming the date of the later republic from the form of the letters) that whoever wished to tap a public aqueduct for private uses, such as irrigation, had to notify (*indicere* here = *indicare*) the public authorities. Other minor papers are "Analecta Macrobiana," by G. Wissowa; "Ueber den Vaticanus 915 des Theognis" and "Faliskisches," by H. Jordan.

#### No. IV.

This number, which is chiefly a Latin one, is the last issued under the editorial management of Prof. Hübner. His successors are Prof. Kaibel of Rosstock and Prof. Robert of Berlin.



Professor Hübner himself contributes an elaborate article entitled *Exercitus Britannicus*, a survey of facts and data gathered from a vast number of sources. The paper well illustrates the fact that epigraphic study is assuming more and more the dignity of an independent branch of historical investigation. For while the author fully and freely refers to Caesar, Strabo, Tacitus, Suetonius, Cassius Dio, his statements, inferences, and conjectures are based, in great part, upon inscriptions. His main endeavor is to trace the composition of the Roman army in Britain during the 250 years from Caesar onward to Claudius Domitian, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and Septimius Severus. The legions represented in the history of the occupation were the II Augusta, XIV, IX, XX (Valeria Victrix) and the II Adjutrix, the latter taking the part of the XIV in Nero's reign.

The paper, although largely a collection of fragmentary material, strongly sets forth the vast but well-directed machinery manipulated by the imperial administration, the working of which seems to have suffered little from the succession of the emperors in the capital, whatever their character may have been. The *auxilia* of the legions are described as fully as the legions themselves; and these lists show how skilfully Rome availed herself of military forces drawn from one province to maintain her grasp upon another. While most of the cavalry were from Gaul (9 *alae*), Germania (*i. e.* the *provinces* so-called) furnished a heavy contingent of cohorts (20 or 21) of various tribes, particularly of the Nervii and Batavi. Other *auxilia* were drawn from the province of Pannonia (from Illyricum, Dalmatia, Thracia) and from Hispania. Among such bodies of troops from the provinces certain ones are designated *en bloc* as Roman citizens; *e. g.* "cohors secunda Vasconum c(ivium) R(omanorum)," "cohors prima fida Vardullorum civium Romanorum," "ala Hispanorum Vettonum civium Romanorum."

G. Knaack of Stettin presents *Studien zu Hygin* (the compiler of mythological legends and fables). By copious quotations from Cassiodorus' *Variae* he tries to make out not merely that Cassiodorus freely transcribed from Hyginus, but that Hyginus, in the form or edition used by Cassiodorus, was very much more copious than he is now found to be in the existing text, which Knaack also shows to be very corrupt. He suggests a number of corrections, and points out the way to further emendations. Some of the writer's inferences are somewhat positive; *e. g.* p. 589: "Cassiodor hat also mehr *inventores* als Hygin. Dieses Plus kann aber nicht aus einer nebenher benutzten Quelle geflossen sein, da es eng verknüpft mit dem aus Hygin bekannten auftritt und denselben einheitlichen Charakter trägt." The italics are ours. On the next page we read: "Da Cassiodor . . . die Angabe *nach meiner Ausführung allein dem Hyginus verdankt, so muss,*" etc., *i. e.* a conjecture is made the premise of a categorical conclusion.

Professor Mommsen in this number prints a paper on the *Geographical passages in Ammianus*. As he sums up the points of this paper himself in his own way and in his own vein, it may be best simply to reproduce his own statement, for even in this brief summary Mommsen's acuteness and pungency and the almost personal liveliness of his criticism are fully exhibited: What Gardthausen says is true that the geographical sections in Ammianus are elaborated after the

fashion of a schedule (*schematisch*); nay we may confidently add that it probably was the intention of the historian to insert in his work, at the proper places, a description of the entire inhabited world. But the 'schematic' geography which Gardthausen's hypothesis represents to have been the basis of Ammianus' work, never existed. Ammianus rather took for such a basis (so far as the Roman empire was concerned) the *official lists* of towns and districts, and, for foreign countries, he availed himself of the analogous lists of Ptolemy, adding from the historical work of Festus (which was arranged according to countries) the historical notices, and from the memorabilia of Pliny and of Solinus other points of curious interest. Moreover, he occasionally made use of Greek topographical descriptions in special sections. And it is to the influence of the source last named that the occasional abandonment by Ammianus himself of his own scheme is to be ascribed. Lastly, we find many statements of fact of special character which have been borrowed from others, as may be proved in the case of Caesar, Sallust, and Livy. While, therefore, the plan of his work gives evidence of reflexion and reading, Ammianus exhibits not only great carelessness in the execution, but also an attempt to cover up his lack of knowledge with empty words, and to parade before the reader at every point and on every subject an appearance of accurate information, which on careful scrutiny turns out to be nothing else than an audacious and inadequate cloak for his own ignorance. The vain endeavor to attain omniscience, as it is the curse of all encyclopedic culture, and as it pre-eminently was the curse of those unhappy generations who, even in the domain of intellectual effort, were making their beggarly haunt upon the ruins of a greater past, shows itself in Ammianus, not in this department alone. His other *excursus* on the oracles and other religious ideas of various sorts, on rainbows, comets, eclipses, intercalation, earthquakes, cultivation of palm trees, hieroglyphics, each darkens by its inadequacy what was dark enough before. And to all of this is to be added the ostentatious arrogance of the Greek, which led him to use, instead of his own tongue, the proud language of the court and empire, a language which he never was able to handle easily in spite of his close attention to phraseology. At the same time, Ammianus in his own proper sphere remains what he was to us, a man of sound principles, of liberal and elevated sentiments, having an insight into the human heart which, keen and yet tender, was better calculated to see through the baseness of courtiers than to identify himself in thought with the individuality of alien peoples. Still with all his faults and shortcomings he is by far the best historian of an epoch in general history which was indeed profoundly debased, but is notwithstanding of the greatest importance.

A corollary follows, viz. that it is desirable to have an edition of Ammianus in which the source of each geographical statement is noted, a work which properly should be done in a collection of *Geographi Latini Minores*. Thus wheat and chaff might be separated, for Mommsen says "The investigation which I have made in the present paper has shown to me in an alarming manner the misuse in geographical manuals of data furnished by Ammianus."

E. G. SIHLER.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

*Sir*: I have to thank your reviewer (L. R. P.) and yourself for a courteous and appreciative article in Vol. III, No. 9, pp. 89-91, of the American Journal of Philology. I only wish to say a few words on points of fact, *not* on the various matters of opinion therein raised. As regards the charge of being "old fashioned," my first volume was published about 18 years ago, since which period the American Journal of Philology and many other new lights have arisen. I myself should probably treat very differently many points considered in Vol. I, *now*. In Vol. III I don't think I am open to the charge, at any rate as regards "locality" and "etymology." The geographical and topographical notices of the most recent Ithacan explorer, Dr. Schliemann, have been fully turned to account; and the etymological references to Curtius, Autenrieth, H. Düntzer, and Hentze, are, I think, numerous enough to vindicate me on the latter point. In regard to the "unity of the poem," my view is one which, as far as I know, had not been previously urged; that a poem composed in parts by a poet who recited them separately *memoriter*, could never have the objective unity of a written composition, and that no greater deviations from unity are to be found than are incident and probably inevitable under such conditions. The lines which "could easily be spared" are precisely those produced probably under the influence of the feeling of the moment for the portion recited; without due regard to the whole; if not a mere rhapsodist's addition.

As regards "no notice taken at the beginning of the fifteenth book of the awkward joining of the Telemachus story with the Odysseus story, or of the resulting hitch in the order of days," that will be found dealt with, I think, sufficiently at the end of the *fourteenth book*, and in an earlier note in Vol. I, on IV 594; see also on V 8-11.

If this letter is not too long for insertion in the Journal, I shall deem such insertion a privilege, and will thank you by anticipation for it.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

HENRY HAYMAN, D. D.

ALDINGHAM, ULVERSTON, *September 21, 1882.*

*Sir*: In answer to Dr. Hayman's letter I have to admit that in regard to the "junction" at the beginning of the fifth book, my remark was, strictly speaking, incorrect. I must have overlooked the brief appendix (H 2), for which I desire to apologize. With regard to the rest I am afraid we should differ as to the application of the word "old-fashioned." I hold that Schliemann's plan of finding in Ithaka the exact local features just as described in the Odyssey is an old-fashioned plan, no matter when the book based on it is published. I hold that the method of etymologizing illustrated in the notes on μέν, τ 105, ἀπηνής, τ 329, ἐξής, τ 574 (examples from one book chosen at random), is of the same kind. Dr. Hayman's remark above, with reference to lines which "could easily be spared," illustrates what I mean in the sphere of "higher criticism."

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

### AMERICAN.

- Chase (T.) A Latin Grammar. *Eldredge*. 12mo. \$1.35.  
Cicero (M. T.) Cato major; Lælius. By F. W. Kelsey. *J. Allyn*. 16mo. \$1.50.  
Lucian. Selections from Lucian. By C. R. Williams. *J. Allyn*. 16mo. \$1.60.  
Ovid. Metamorphoses: selections from; with notes and lexicon. By G. Stuart. *Eldredge*. 16mo. \$1.35.  
Tollier (T. Northcote). Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, based on the MSS collection of the late Jos. Bosworth; ed. and enl. by T. Northcote Tollier. *Macmillan*. 2 pts. 4to, paper, each \$3.75.

### BRITISH.

- Bosworth (Joseph). An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary. Edited and enlarged by T. Northcote Tollier. Parts 1 and 2. 4to, sd. *Frowde*. each 15s.  
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A prospectus has been received of the 'Internationale Zeitschrift für allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft,' to be edited by F. Techmer, of Leipzig, with the co-operation of many distinguished linguistic scholars, such as Ascoli, Bréal, Curtius, Ellis, v. der Gabelentz, Miklosisch, Friedrich Müller, Max Müller, Oppert, Pott, Sayce, Scheler, Steinthal, Storm. The American collaborators are Gatschet, March, and Trumbull. It is also understood that Professor Whitney's help has been secured. As will be seen by the names already mentioned, the different schools and tendencies of linguistic thought and research will be fully represented. The great divisions announced are the anthropological, embracing the physiology and the psychology of speech, and the historical, which will treat of the phylogenetic and ontological development of language. Messrs. B. Westermann & Co., New York, are the American publishers of this important and interesting addition to the existing organs of linguistics. It is to appear semi-annually. Subscription price 12 marks.

Advanced sheets of F. A. Brockhaus' Philological Catalogue have been received. Mr. Brockhaus, who is agent for the Journal in Germany, has issued the prospectus of a new edition of Du Cange's *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, edited by the French scholar L. Favre, to be published in 10 quarto volumes of about 600 pages each, to be issued in 100 fascicles. The price of each fascicle will be 300 francs, which will be reduced for the first five hundred subscribers to 200 francs, payment to be made upon the reception of each volume or each series of ten fascicles. Two volumes are to appear a year. The number of copies will be limited and the book will not be put to press until 250 subscriptions are received. Address F. A. Brockhaus, Leipzig. It is not necessary to emphasize the importance of this undertaking.

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## ERRATUM.

No. 10, p. 228, line 14 from bottom, the reference should be Thuk. , 5, 65. Thuk. 5, 7 is a future ἀπέναι. The editor desires to publish a table of errata at the end of the volume, and will be glad to have important errors pointed out.

# AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY.

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## I.—EGGELING'S TRANSLATION OF THE ÇATAPATHA- BRĀHMAṆA.

The *Satapatha-Brahmaṇa*, according to the text of the Mādhyandina school, translated by Julius Eggeling. Part I; Books I and II. (Vol. xii of *Sacred Books of the East*, edited by F. Max Müller.) Oxford (Clarendon Press), 1882. 8vo. pp. xlviii, 456.

This is a highly interesting and important volume: in fact, by far the most legitimate and acceptable contribution to the world's knowledge of the religious history of ancient Brahmanical India made in Müller's series of the *Sacred Books of the East*. In this department, at least, of the series the editor's selection is open to serious objection, on the ground both of what it includes and of what it omits. Thus, as regards the former, it is chiefly made up of works like the *Upanishads*, which have been repeatedly and well translated already, and are sufficiently accessible; or of those which, like the *Law-books*, however welcome as additions to Indian literature, are yet too loosely connected with religion to be fairly classed as "*Sacred Books*"; or of those which, like the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, fall under both these categories at once. Then, as regards omission, no Vedic text is either given or promised. Now if there was anything that the public counted on with confidence at the announcement of the series, it was that an English translation of the *Rig-Veda*, the earliest and beyond all comparison the most important *Sacred Book of India*, made by the editor himself, would be found among the volumes offered. We had already once been disappointed by him in our reasonable expectations on this very head: having purchased, in 1869, the first volume of a promised

translation in eight volumes, we had found it to contain only a paltry dozen of hymns (a seventy-fifth, instead of an eighth, part of the whole number), ingeniously padded out to the dimensions of a volume; and no continuation has ever appeared. It would be interesting to hear how Müller explains and excuses this capital omission. There is, to be sure, in existence a version, begun by Wilson and continued by Cowell, of the larger half of the *Rig-Veda*; but it is too little in accordance with the present condition of Vedic scholarship fairly to deserve the name of a version; and from the fact that nothing of it has been published during the last sixteen years, we are probably authorized to conclude that the continuator himself does not regard it as worth finishing. There are also two complete German versions, by Grassmann and Ludwig, both works of great merit; but neither is final or satisfactory, and they are vastly more inaccessible to readers of English than are versions of many of the works included in the series, in all its various departments. One may even question whether the outcome of the whole enterprise justifies the much-heralded magnificence of the plan, and whether the cause of science and letters is not at least equally well and efficiently served by private undertakings like Trübner's Oriental Series, and Oldenberg's Pali scriptures.

No one, however, will think of denying that, next after a *Veda*, a *Brāhmaṇa* has the best right to form part of a collection intended to illustrate the religious history of India. The *Brāhmaṇas* have been often enough described, and call for only a brief characterization here. In point of time they come next after the Vedic hymn-texts, accompanying rather than preceding the Brahmanic organization of Indian society and polity. They are products of the schools of priests, engaged in the practice and propagation of the sacrificial ceremonies, and in the study of their value and application. They describe the ceremonial, with more or less completeness and system, inculcating the importance of its several parts, explaining their reason and relations (frequently with discussion of varying views), professing to give their history; branching out not infrequently into legend, disquisition, philosophy, in a way that leads over by insensible gradations to the *Upanishads*. Their intent is not precisely prescriptive; the office of teaching the ceremonial belongs rather to secondary works, the *Sūtras* etc.; the *Brāhmaṇas* give the dogmatic basis of the vast and intricate science of sacrifice: a science whereof the excessive and puzzling intricacy, the minuteness and triviality of details, with the general inanity of their

exposition and justification, are beyond belief. We have here one of the aberrations of the human mind; but one which is, like the rest, of high interest and necessary to be understood—and the more, as it is a step in the religious development of a great and gifted people, who finally came to determine the religious belief of the larger part of Asia. Moreover, the Brāhmaṇas are the oldest body of Indo-European prose, of a generally free, vigorous, simple form, affording valuable glimpses backward at the primitive condition of unfettered Indo-European talk.<sup>1</sup> And their language is of an older cast than the classical Sanskrit, being in many respects intermediate between the latter and the yet older Vedic dialect. For these reasons, and in spite of their tedious inanity, which will soon satiate, if it does not disgust, the general reader, they are full of interest, almost of charm, to the special student; their ordinary *naïveté* is much more tolerable than the empty verbosity and make-believe profundity of the next following period of religious and philosophic thought in India.

The Brāhmaṇas form together a tolerably extensive literature. Each of the schools of the priests had in its keeping and tradition such a body of dogma; and a number of them have been put on record, or kept on record, and handed down finally to us, with the same reverent and successful care that was devoted to the Vedas proper, or hymn-collections, and with the same result, of a wonderfully conserved text, nearly free from errors and varieties of reading. The schools of the so-called Black Yajur-Veda have kept their *mantra* and *brāhmaṇa*, text and dogmatic exposition, as alternating portions of one and the same collection; but the schools of the White Yajur-Veda divided the two into separate works, as *Saṁhitā* and *Brāhmaṇa*; and the same method was followed by the schools of the other Vedas; it came to be the way that every school should have its *saṁhitā* and its *brāhmaṇa*, with the further addition of *sūtras* and other auxiliary literature. The Brāhmaṇas appear to be the products of one movement and period, considering the extent to which they agree with one another in language, style, and even contents. But it is still quite too early to attempt to define with any closeness their mutual relations, or determine their comparative age; and especially to be deprecated are the assertions sometimes made of a borrowing by one Brāhmaṇa from another.

<sup>1</sup> This part of their value has been especially brought out by Delbrück, in his works mentioned later.

They are all joint survivals out of one age of production and tradition; and another generation of scholars will pass, in all probability, before they will be sufficiently worked up to allow of our holding definite and defensible views as to their history. Editions, and translations like the one here before us, are the necessary prerequisites to such results. Not all of them are yet accessible in print. The first to appear was the Çatapatha (completed in 1855), forming one volume of Weber's great edition of the White Yajur-Veda. Then came the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa, of the Rig-Veda, by Haug (Bombay, 1863): a faulty text, now superseded by the excellent transliterated one of Aufrecht (Bonn, 1879); and it is understood that the latter scholar is at present engaged in preparing an edition of the Kāuṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa, belonging to another school of the same Veda. Of the Black Yajus texts, of mingled *mantra* and *brāhmaṇa*, the Tāittiriya version has appeared, partly in Weber's transliteration (Berlin, 1872), partly in the series of the Bibliotheca Indica; and Schröder is now bringing out the Māitrāyaṇīya. The Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa, of the Atharva-Veda, was issued in the Bibliotheca Indica in 1872. Of the Sāma-Veda works of this class, the Tāṇḍya or Pañcaviṅça was completed in the Bibliotheca Indica in 1874; a number of the minor treatises falsely arrogating to themselves the name of Brāhmaṇa have been printed and in part translated by Burnell; and the same scholar has recently discovered in Southern India an immense work, the Jāiminiya or Talavakāra-Brāhmaṇa, of which, by his kindness, all the known manuscripts are now in my hands, for transcription and examination; they are, unfortunately, insufficient to found an edition upon, except perhaps for the first part of the text. It is, of course, not impossible that other works of the class may yet come to light; but this is not to be hoped for with any confidence. Of them all, the Çatapatha is the most extensive, filling 934 large quarto pages in Weber's edition; the Jāiminiya, even including its Upanishad-Brāhmaṇa (of which the Kena-Upanishad is a fragment, from near the end), is about a seventh less; the Aitareya has hardly more than a quarter of its content, and the other separate works are yet smaller; while the *brāhmaṇa* portions of the Black Yajus texts are at any rate far less comprehensive than the Çatapatha.

The earliest translation of a specimen of *brāhmaṇa* text was given by Weber, in the *Zeitschrift* of the German Oriental Society (vol. iv, 1850; reproduced in the author's *Indische Streifen*, vol. i, 1868): namely, the first chapter of the Çatapatha; this has since been for



many a scholar his introduction to a knowledge of the peculiar style of these works. The five volumes of Muir's Original Sanskrit Texts contain versions of not inconsiderable extracts from several of the Brāhmaṇas: excellent specimens, though not completely trustworthy in details; and, for some of the works instanced, still the best or only bits of translation into English or any other European language. Haug's Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa text was accompanied by a translation: a work of considerable merit and still more considerable pretension; with valuable explanatory notes added, but with the actual version quite too hastily and carelessly executed, and in the English of a German who has learned the language pretty well. Delbrück's volumes of contributions to comparative syntax (*Syntactische Forschungen*, i-iii, Halle, 1871-8) also give numerous and often extended extracts, especially from the Çatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, rendered with a care and minute attention to the niceties of expression which is worthy of all praise; no other translator gives so lively a reproduction of the spirit of the Brāhmaṇa style. And a chapter of the Çatapatha, an immediate continuation of the part contained in the volume before us, and containing an account of the ceremony of consecration for the *soma*-sacrifice, has been given in German by Dr. Lindner (*Die Dikshā*, Leipzig, 1878): it is carefully and well done. The enterprise of Prof. Eggeling, then, is by far the most considerable that has been undertaken in this department. We only fear lest it may prove too considerable, and never be brought to a conclusion; the stout volume in our hands contains just one-fifth of the whole Brāhmaṇa, and the series of Sacred Books is nearly full, with no prospect held out of a continuation. A publication intended for scholars, paying no tribute to a superfluous "editor," and put at a price which would bring it more within the reach of those who most need it (for five volumes like this would, I believe, cost considerably more than the original text itself), would be a far more satisfactory work. To the general public, perhaps, a fragment of the Çatapatha is worth more than the whole of a briefer work of its class, for the Çatapatha is much the most interesting of the Brāhmaṇas. But if a fragment here stands in the way of a completed work that might have been produced under other auspices, special students will have cause to regret its appearance; and the Brāhmaṇas are at present ground for special students only; until these have compared them and worked out their results more fully, they can be only a matter of idle curiosity to the general reader.

Professor Eggeling has executed his task very well. He is a competent translator, in both departments of the work—in general accuracy of scholarship and familiarity with the Brāhmaṇa style, and in comprehension of the processes of the ceremonial and knowledge of its technical vocabulary, without which no scholar could make otherwise than a botch of such a piece of translation. His notes are valuable additions, casting light from the native commentaries upon the meaning of the text, referring to parallel passages of other Brāhmaṇas, or affording us occasional glimpses of the additional intricacies of ceremonial prescribed in the Sūtras, but passed without notice by the Brāhmaṇa, and doubtless at least in part later than its period and unknown to its authors.

As a matter of course, however, in a work of this extent, perhaps carried through under some urgency of pressure, there must occur slips and oversights, as well as occasional misapprehensions of meaning, which one going over the text after the translator and with his assistance may discover; besides passages of difficult and doubtful interpretation, as to which the views of different students will for some time or always continue to be at variance. A second translator stands in a manner on the shoulders of a first, and may hope to see some things hidden from him. And as I have happened to have occasion to go over the text of the Brāhmaṇa in company with this translation, and have noted the points in it to which I was obliged to take exception, I propose to assemble and present the main part of them here in detail.

One is now and then a little uncertain whether the translator has not a different text before him from that of the published edition; he even once or twice in his notes quotes a different reading without giving any explanation (so at I v 2. 20; II iii 3. 1). Now considering that the published text is the only one that most scholars have and will for a long time to come have in their hands, and that it is in general admirably correct (quite marvellously so, in fact, in view of the time and the stage of study at which it appeared), it is obviously Prof. Eggeling's duty, if he has found any errors in it, or has on manuscript authority better readings to propose, to point them out clearly and account for them in every single case. We do not know, otherwise, that he has not himself committed a slip. At I v 1. 23, for example, is *purāṇdsur ha* of the edition right, or has the translator another text which he has a right to render 'Formerly . . . Parāvasu'? And at II vi 3. 1, does he read *yajati* with the printed text, or *jayati*, as he translates ('gains it')?

Of real oversights, which more time for revision would doubtless have removed, the most notable is seen at I ii 5. 24, where, against the clearest evidence of the connection and the accent, *ne' jiré*, 'did not sacrifice,' is rendered by 'washed their hands' (as if *ninijiré*). Prof. Eggeling has doubtless long since corrected this in his own copy. It is one of those mishaps that can occasionally befall even an accurate and careful scholar. In a few cases a word or phrase is incorrectly translated at one place, though correctly at others: thus, *dvayám* is rendered 'twice' at I viii 3. 14, though 'for a double reason' repeatedly afterward (I ix 1. 1 *et al.*); and *yāt 'śām iyān jītiḥ* is made to mean 'when they had conquered' at I vi 2. 1, 2, while in its frequent occurrences later (cf. II iv 4. 15) it is correctly understood. It must have been, too, from a momentary forgetfulness of the ordinary use of *bāndhu* that at I iii 1-22 *eko vā utpāvanasya bāndhuḥ* etc. is not translated 'one and the same [everywhere], indeed, is the significance of cleansing: he makes it thereby sacrificially pure' (cf. III vi 1. 11, correctly rendered by Delbrück, *Synt. Forsch.* iii 70). Here and there, a word or phrase or sentence is left untranslated; but none of the cases are of any special consequence: thus, we have *nūtās* omitted at I vi 3. 13, *ūrdhva* at I ix 1. 27, *dhnas* at II i 3. 1, *dakṣiṇēna* at II v 2. 38; and longer omissions occur at II i 4. 22; ii 1. 8; iii 3. 18, 20; v 1. 11. One grammatical form is occasionally confused with another: thus, *nenijati* is rendered as singular at I iii 1. 3, and *akrātā* at I ix 1. 11; *dveṣmi* as plural at I v 4. 12, and *juhuyāt* as 1st plural at II iii 1. 14. More important is the not very infrequent inaccurate rendering of the aorist: either as a simple preterit, as at I iv 1. 39; viii 3. 11, 17; ix 1. 20; 3. 10, 12; II vi 1. 15; or as present, as at II iv 1. 11; 2. 11; or, what is much worse, as optative at I vii 3. 10, 11; II i 4. 19, 20; ii 2. 17; v 2. 47. On the contrary, a subjunctive or optative is turned into an aorist or present indicative at I vi 3. 26; II iii 4. 21. Some of these mistranslations may repose upon the authority of the native commentator; but that does not in the least change their character; the authors of the Brāhmaṇa are precise and consistent enough in their use of the verbal forms to require to be implicitly followed.

A more careful attention to the accent would in a few instances have prevented an error or cleared up a difficulty. Thus, at II iii 1. 11, the accent of *upajīvāmas* requires us to read 'of this life-giving juice, which, being theirs, we here live upon.' At II iv 3. 13, the accent of the first *yajeta* entirely removes the translator's

difficulty "how to account for the *vā*": read 'if he have [already] sacrificed, or if he be now sacrificing with the new- and full-moon offerings, then let him sacrifice with this.' At II vi 2. 16 we have, as the accent shows, *vī lipsante*, not *vi-lipsantas*, and the word is coördinate with the two that precede and follow it. But the most striking case is at II ii 2. 20, where Eggeling makes utter nonsense of the passage, but in a note at the end of the volume amends it from Delbrück, who had long ago rendered it correctly. This is not the only indication that the present translator has not been duly heedful of this one of his predecessors; at I viii 1. 4, in the story of Manu and the flood, while quoting the opinions of several authorities, he takes no note of the best and only acceptable one, that of Delbrück (also adopted by Böhtlingk): namely, that the sentence *çdçvad . . . vārdhate* is an interpolated gloss: "surely that was a *jhasha*, for he grows biggest."

A few scattering cases of a similar character may be noted. 'Sacrifice,' instead of 'sacrificer,' for *yđjamānam*, at I v 2. 15, is perhaps a misprint. At I ix 2. 12 *jighatsanti* is desiderative, not intensive: 'for this reason these human wives like to eat out of sight [each] of her husband: "whoever do, they do": so forsooth Yājñavalkya says' (of the last clause, which Eggeling omits to render, the meaning is not altogether clear; perhaps it is 'but if any do this, then certainly they [*i. e.* the wives of the gods, who are talked about here] do it'). At I ii 1. 12, it is hardly proper to render the neuter *caturtham* by 'fourth world'; it is rather something more indefinite: 'fourth thing or space' (it is called *pđram bhās* at I ix 3. 10). At I vi 3. 33, the gender of *uttarām* shows that the 'following night,' not 'day,' is meant. And at II i 1. 7, the gender of *etāsya* proves it not to belong to a *çrī* understood. Again, it is doubtless a grammatical impossibility to use the past passive participle as a present active one; and hence the translation of *iđitām* by 'praising,' in the rather obscure passages I v 3. 11; 4. 3 is not to be approved; we may perhaps render in the former case thus: 'in this way, namely, are the rains the *iđ*'s: this petty crawling vermin that is left desolate by summer and winter goes about during the rains (the acc. pl. seems to be used distinctly in this adverbial sense in the next paragraph), seeking, as it were, prayed-for (*iđitām*) food.' But even this is not satisfactory. The analogy of I vi 2. 3, *et purođāçam eva kūrmdm bhūtvā sarpañtam*, 'lo! the sacrificial cake creeping about, having become a tortoise!' seems to show that in those excessively rare cases in which a gerund

is made the adjunct of an object-accusative, a predicate-noun added to it would be (as it is natural to expect) also in the accusative: is it possible, then, to understand with Prof. Eggeling that *asāv evāi 'tdd bhūtvā 'nv āha* (I iv 2. 18; and a similar phrase in 19) means 'by it he recites that which is yonder sky'? I would prefer to render the paragraph thus: 'he repeats, indeed, standing; for he does repeat it; yonder [sky], namely, is the invitatory prayer; so then having become yonder [sky] he repeats it; for that reason he repeats standing.' That is, he must stretch himself aloft like the sky (cf. below, I iv 4. 12), in order to repeat a formula that is like the sky. As in the last passage but one, the translator makes everywhere bad work with the particle *td*, apparently regarding it as a verb-form from the root *i*; and so, at II ii 3. 3; iii 4. 2 he gives a spiritless as well as inaccurate rendering of the colloquially lively sentence: "'here we come again," said the gods; and lo! Agni out of sight!'

It is not always easy to recognize the joints of these broken sentences; nor, indeed, are they perhaps in every instance to be determined with certainty; and further, Prof. Eggeling may have preferred sometimes to disregard them for the sake of the readability of his English text. Hence, although I had noted a number of cases in which another division than that apparently recognized by him appears preferable, I will mention but one or two (apart from those which appear in other connections, above and below). Thus, at the end of I vii 1. 3, we ought doubtless to connect *upa hī dvitīyō 'yatt 'ti* with what precedes, as the (etymologizing) reason given by those who add the formula *upāyāva stha*. Again, at II i 2. 12, we may better divide thus: 'Let him set up his two fires under Hasta whose wish is "let there be giving to me"; surely that [is given] directly which is given with the hand (*hasta*): he, verily, receives gifts (lit. there is giving to him).' More serious is the misapprehension at I ix 2. 27, where *yātra-yatrā "sāh cāraṇāth tdd dnu* belongs to what precedes, and signifies '(them he thereby dismisses in due form) to go about their several businesses.'

Of renderings of single words and phrases more or less objectionable, a number may be instanced. 'Wanes,' instead of 'waxes' (*ā pūryate*), at II iv 4. 19, is doubtless a mere slip of the pen; also 'overtly,' for 'covertly' (*parokṣam*), at II i 2. 11. The word *ātman* is not seldom translated 'body,' an inaccuracy that might easily be avoided. For *kapāla* is regularly given 'potsherd,' instead of 'cup, dish'; this seems an unfortunate adoption from Haug; surely Prof.

Eggeling does not suppose that the Brahmans made their offerings on fragments of broken pottery? 'Means of salvation' for *bheṣajām*, 'remedy' (I ix 1. 27), has a too theological sound. It is an oarsman, rather than a "steersman," that impels (root *aj*) a boat (II iii 3. 15, 16). To render *ūrj* by 'sap' (II iv 2. 1), and *nirvīrya* by 'sapless' (II i 2. 9), is to strain undesirably the meaning of the English word *sap*. 'Equipment' is an unhappily chosen word for *sambhārd* (II i 1. 1 etc.), since *sām bharati* means simply 'brings together, collects,' and has no transitive force, such as belongs to 'equips'; but it is not easy to find an acceptable substitute. II ii 4. 2 *agnikā*, 'Agnihood,' is too pregnantly rendered by 'origin and nature of Agni.' So at II v 2. 25, *dva yajāmahe* hardly has so much of its etymological force left as to call for the rendering 'expiate by offering'; nor, in the same passage, can there be good reason for making *indriyē* mean 'in our own self'; and *vā . . . vā* (as also at II iii 4. 6) is inaccurately represented by 'both . . . and.' At II iii 4. 18, the translation 'injures' seems colorless, for the frequent technically used term *dva dyati*: rather ('makes a cutting from,' *i. e.*) 'takes away a part of, diminishes.' At I ix 3. 2, *çānti* is not 'lustration,' but 'allayment, extinguishment of fire or heat.'

More definite misapprehension of meaning is seen in the following cases. At I iv 3. 8, *antasthā* is not 'internal motive force,' but simply 'intermediate, central,' from which movement in both directions takes place. At I v 4. 1, *abhi mṛṣa*, not 'stroke thyself,' but 'touch him, feel him'—namely, any person whose condition is to be determined. A similar rendering of an active as middle is seen at II i 1. 5: *dhāvayati*, 'cleanses oneself.' In more than one place, *āgam* is faultily treated: thus, at I vi 4. 2: 'him Agni discovered; with him he arrived on that night' (not 'stayed with him as a guest that day and night'). Then the next paragraph goes on quite unmistakably: 'So the gods said: "at home with us to-day is staying our Vasu, who has been staying away from us,"' and they proceed to cook a dish for the two, as any one does for two friends who have come to stay (*āgata*: this time correctly rendered) with him. Similarly at II v 3. 20, not 'went forward,' but 'arrived.' At I vii 3. 28, *tṛṣeyam* is evidently not 'May I satiate myself,' but 'I should be satisfied, along with and as a consequence of (*dnu*) the satisfaction of the priest': *dnu* in such phrases has a peculiarly pregnant force which cannot be rendered briefly: if one thing is done, another comes 'after,' follows, is its necessary sequent and consequence. *Sāmi*, at I vii 4. 3, does not mean 'half of,' but 'mid-

way, prematurely,' as the translator himself renders it at II iii 3. 4 (and might have done also elsewhere, where he uses some less acceptable phrase). In quite a number of instances, *pdrā* and *pards* and their kin appear to me to be inaccurately rendered, by 'on high,' 'backward,' and so on; their fundamental idea is always that of remoteness, afar, away. Thus, at I ix 2. 32, 'the sacrifice, moving off (not 'backward') without being unyoked (Prof. Egge-ling here overlooks the negative prefix in *dvimukta*), would injure the sacrificer.' Another example or two will appear below. At II i 1. 7, *idtas* is rather 'from there' than 'there'; and similarly, at II vi 1. 11, *sarvdtas* is rather 'from all sides come' than 'on all sides are.' At II i 2. 5, *samṛddhās*, 'increased,' is quite insufficiently represented by 'have.' At II i 3. 9, *ūpa namet* must be, as the translator gives it elsewhere, '(whenever the sacrifice) proves favorable to him, goes as he would have it' (not 'when he feels called upon to sacrifice'). At II ii 2. 6 (*et al.*), *ṣuṣruvāṁso 'nucānds* (lit. 'having heard, having repeated') is hardly 'who have studied and teach,' but 'who have heard and studied.' At II ii 2. 13, one would not suspect that the word used of the fire and rendered 'eat' is simply *daha*, 'burn'; and *bhuñjate* is rather '(whereby men) enjoy their food.' At II iii 4. 6, *ācānsamānas* is not 'praising him, thinking,' but simply 'hoping' (cf. Delbrück, l. 1. iii 10). The gerundive *samāhāryā*, at II iii 4. 16, is inadequately rendered by 'collected'; nor is it possible to believe that any reference to extraction from the Rig-Veda is contained in the word. In the *dhdraṇa* of *kāma-dhdraṇa* at II iii 4. 34 cannot inhere any meaning of 'fulfilment'; the interpretation given of the phrase by the Brāhmaṇa itself shows that the compound is to be understood as 'maintenance of affection.' At II iv 1. 11, both grammar and the connection forbid us to understand *paridām ma idām* by 'to give himself up to him': read rather '(he has come) in order to give this into my charge.' 'Tamper' is a very weak word with which to render *vi math* (II iv 2. 14), which means rather 'shake to pieces, break up.' In II iv 2. 20; vi 1. 36, *ā vrṣāyata* is translated 'like bulls come hither,' instead of 'pour down,' according to the more general and preferable opinion (cf. I vii 2. 17). Surely, there can be no justification for giving 'regions' outright as translation of *haritas* at II v 1. 5; whatever glimmer of that sense the word may seem to have in the later language comes doubtless from the traditional misinterpretation of this very Vedic phrase; Ludwig renders 'the green ones,' i. e. the plants, which is not implausible. In the next paragraph, *āda-*

*yanti* is not well translated by 'nurse': read 'moreover, those that have no milk, they make their young eat (*i. e.* supply them with food in other ways).' At II v 1. 19, *agnim . . . jāyamānam dnu* is not 'after Agni was born'; but the *dnu* has the special and pregnant sense pointed out above (in connection with I vii 3. 28). At II v 3. 17, *ūpa hanti* cannot mean 'cuts out,' whatever else may be the sense of it. In the next paragraph, *vṛṣabhdm āhvayitavāt brūyāt* is certainly not 'let him tell the sacrificer to make a bull roar,' but 'let him give orders to call a bull'; and then, if the bull, thus invited or coaxed to the spot (perhaps by offering it food), is pleased to bellow (*ruyāt*), certain results follow. At II v 4. 3, *tījas* is rendered by '(shaped into) a sharp point,' and, five paragraphs later, in an equivalent connection, by 'fiery glow': the latter, or something like it, is doubtless better at both places. At II vi 1. 15, *trayān* is not 'three,' but 'three kinds of (Fathers).'

Prof. Eggeling does not seem fully to recognize the idiomatic verb-phrase formed by a present participle with the verb *i*, 'go,' and not infrequent in the Brāhmaṇa language; for though he renders such a phrase correctly at I i 4. 14, he laboriously translates the form of *i* independently at I iii 5. 8; II i 4. 18; ii 1. 18; thus, at the place last mentioned, 'since he moves in the ascent of these worlds' should be 'for he goes on ascending (keeps ascending, is continually ascending) to those worlds.'

Another extremely frequent idiom of the Brāhmaṇas, used in connection with their numerous attempts (generally most artificial and unfortunate) at etymologies, is this: 'that is (or therein lies) the so-and-so-ness of the so-and-so'—meaning, 'that is the reason why so-and-so has this name.' Either Prof. Eggeling has overlooked this (which is scarcely credible), or he has against the ordinary way of understanding the phrase some objection, satisfactory to his own mind, but which he also certainly owes to his readers to explain. Thus, at II i 1. 1, *īdī sambhārāṇām sambhāratvdm* is translated by him 'that is the equipping (of the fire) with its equipments'; but it really means 'that is why the *sambhāra*'s are called *sambhāra*'s'—namely, that one brings them together (*saṁ bharati*), collects them, from a variety of quarters (other examples at II i 2. 6, 17, 19, etc.).

The frequent recurrence of the phrase *yāpēna yopayitvā* (I vi 2. 1 *et al.*) calls repeated attention to the unacceptableness of the present prevalent rendering of the root *yup*, as 'smooth over, efface the marks of.' How the setting up of a post should operate to



'efface traces' cannot easily be made to appear. 'Set up an obstacle, block or bar the way' certainly suits the connection vastly better. This was the meaning given originally to the root in the Petersburg lexicon, but later withdrawn, for some reason not apparent; Ludwig is to be praised for adhering to it in all the Rig-Veda passages where the root occurs.

To render *videghó ha māthavdh* by 'Māthava the (king of) Videgha' (I iv 1. 10 ff.) is not to translate the text, but to amend it. By invariable Brāhmaṇa usage, the name proper stands first: 'Videgha, the Māthavan.'

At II iv 2. 1-3, in the distribution of Prajapati's gifts to the three classes of beings, one *vas* is omitted in the first verse, and the construction is misunderstood in the second and third. We ought to translate: (to the gods) 'be the offering your food; be immortality yours, strength yours, and the sun your light'; (to the Fathers) 'month by month be your food; be the ancestral oblation (*svadhā*) yours, thought-swiftness yours, and the moon your light'; (to men) 'at evening and morning be your eating; be progeny yours, death yours, and the fire your light.'

It is (as already intimated) by no means impossible that some of the renderings here objected to may have the support, or be due to the authority, of the native commentary. That makes, however, no real difference; it is a translator's first duty to be faithful to the text itself; a marginal note, giving the commentator's interpretation, would be sufficient satisfaction of the latter's claims. A striking, and by no means unimportant, example of how far Western translators can be misled by native authority is furnished at I viii 3. 6, which Prof. Eggeling (like more than one predecessor, and for the same reason) regards as having to do with "the prohibition of marriage between near blood-relations," and as showing that this was less strictly enforced in the ancient time than later. The general subject under discussion is the treatment of two sacrificial spoons, which in a certain ceremony are separated from each other, the one being moved in one direction and the other in another. After its ordinary fashion, the Brāhmaṇa attributes profound meaning to this act, connecting the two spoons with two opposing parties, and making the movements of the former help determine the fortunes of the latter. The two parties are styled *attā*, 'he who eats,' and *ādyās*, 'he who is to be eaten'; and the paragraph in question goes on further about them, in Eggeling's translation: "Thus the separation (of the eater and the eaten) is effected in one

and the same act ; and hence from one and the same man spring both the enjoyer (the husband), and the one to be enjoyed (the wife) ; for now kinsfolk (*jātyāḥ*) live sporting and rejoicing together, saying, ' In the fourth (or) third man (*i. e.* generation) we unite.' And this is so in accordance with that (separation of the spoons).'' The reference to prohibited degrees of kinship is here certainly of the obscurest, even upon the translator's showing ; and underneath this are hidden a number of insuperable difficulties. In the first place, we are called on to believe that the masculine *ādyās*, ' he who is to be eaten,' can be used to mean ' a wife ' ; then, that the plural noun (*jātyās*) and verb (*sām gachāmahe*) can refer to a married pair and its action ; and finally, that *dīvyamānā āsate* means ' live sporting and rejoicing,' and not simply ' sit gambling.' There appears to be no passage quotable from a genuine Sanskrit work in which a form or derivative of the root *div* means anything but ' gamble ' ; that such are found and given from the grammarians and the Bhaṭṭikāvya only shows that they do not exist elsewhere. The Petersburg Lexicon claims to have one from the Atharva-Veda ; but, when rightly understood, it is quite otherwise, and helps the real comprehension of our present passage : *yó no didēva yatamó jaghāsa* (v 29. 2), ' he who has played (gambled) with us, whoever has devoured us '—there follows an imprecation on him. It seems clear, then, that *ādyā* signifies the person to be pillaged, or drained, or stripped of all that he has ; it is used for ' liable to contribution or taxation ' below, at V iii 3. 12 *et al.* ; and both *ādyā* and *atṛ*, ' the pillager,' at V iv 4. 20, 21, in a parallelism of a certain ceremony with a gambling operation. The word *videvdm* (which the Pet. Lex. regards as a gerund : this, however, would require the accent *vidēvam*) does not appear to be met with elsewhere ; it doubtless signifies either a ' big game ' or ' a foul or false game.' And the (sufficiently trivial) meaning of the paragraph seems to be that, as the two antithetical spoons are implements in the same ceremony, so both parties at play, the sharper and his victim, are often relatives ; and they talk of it together ; the sharper especially, of course, being very sociable and fraternal until the result of his plans is reached. The paragraph, then, should be translated as follows : ' Now this separation (of the spoons) is made in the same ceremony ; and for that reason are born from one and the same man both the pillager and he who is to be pillaged ; for even now " we meet in the fourth man, in the third "—talking thus, relatives sit gambling with foul play ; that is why that is so.'

The rendering of *anu* by 'behind' in the preceding paragraph (I viii 3. 5), as in other similar places in the text—'behind the *juhū* [stands] the sacrificer, and behind the *upabḥṛt* [stands] he who means evil to him' (the verb 'stands' is supplied)—is not wholly to be approved; though it might pass well enough if accompanied by a word or two of explanation. It is the same pregnantly used *anu* already once or twice referred to; it denotes such a connection between the two things mentioned, and dependence of the one on the other, that whatever is done to the type will be necessarily followed by a corresponding effect upon the antitype.

At I i 1. 21 (middle) is a somewhat blindly constructed nexus of clauses, which Weber as well as Eggeling appears to me to have resolved not quite correctly. Both commit the grammatical error of taking *āpas*, 'water,' as accusative instead of nominative; and *yātrā* 'sya' doubtless means 'wherever of it': *i. e.* 'at whatever part of it' (cf. *yātrā vā asyāi kvā ca*, 'at whatever point of her,' III i 1. 4; and such phrases are not very rare elsewhere). Hence we should read: 'if he were to carry it past and set it down: there is verily a sort of enmity between fire and water; and he—as that [enmity] arises on the part of the fire wherever water comes in contact with it—would increase the enmity of the fire, if he were to carry past and set down.'

The paragraph I iii 5. 14 is not very successfully translated. *Vacas* is 'voice,' not 'strength'; and the point made is, that if he were to design and attempt to recite the whole passage without taking breath, and then were to fail in it, the failure would be attended with direful result to the sacrifice. And hence (par. 15), if he cannot trust himself to do that (not 'do not care to undertake this,' as Eggeling has it), he had better plan to recite each separate verse with uninterrupted breath. Hence read: 'According as his voice is, so should he plan to recite. In this there is a slip [possible]: if, namely, he should draw breath prematurely, when intending to recite without drawing breath, the ceremony would be spoiled: that is the slip.' It may be added that, at the end of par. 13, *evā* 'smin' is overlooked by the translator; read: 'thus puts it in him prolonged, not cut off.'

The last sentence of I iv 5. 11 would read more accurately: 'and it is of a superior that an inferior imitates the acts and follows in the wake.'

At I v 1. 13, *mānuṣa* does not mean 'man,' but 'human,' as distinguished from divine: 'With the words "so-and-so is the human

(*hotṛ*)," he then selects this human *hotṛ*.' Compare I viii 3. 10, where the term is properly understood and rendered.

At I vi 1. 4, a better understanding would be: 'That, now, was an offense to the gods; "for less than this," said they, "enemy seeks to injure enemy; how much more, for what is on such a scale as this! Contrive ye how this may be otherwise than thus."'

The paragraph I vi 3. 26 is rather heedlessly treated: the accent of the first *āpnōti* is overlooked (read: 'whichsoever two of them he gains by means of the two butter-portions'), and *ahorātri* and *ardhamāsāu* are entirely left out in the two following clauses: the rendering of *asa* later by 'has been,' as if it were an aorist indicative, was noticed above.

At I vi 3. 33, the meaning and connection of the clause *sò nya-toghāty eva syāt* is missed; translate: 'as if one were to crush one moving with his back turned toward him and not attacking in return—[for] he would just strike in another direction—so it is with him who fasts the following night.' That is to say, a person who has his front turned away from his assailant can, even if he deals a blow, only hit something else, and not the assailant.

The latter half of I viii 2. 8 involves sundry inaccuracies in the translation as given, and is rather to be understood thus: 'So, on whatever occasion the metres gratified the gods, then the gods gratified (this verb is not accented, as Eggeling's version would imply) the metres. Now it has been some time previous to this that the metres, harnessed, have carried (aorist) the sacrifice to the gods, have gratified the gods'—and so the text proceeds to point out, in the following paragraph, how the metres have now their turn at being gratified.

The last two sentences in I viii 3. 12 seem to call for correction. Read: 'Let him take it up, then, with this [text]; for whensoever the rain anoints him (or it), it makes him thereby an oblation, with the view "becoming an oblation, let him go to the world of the gods."'

The phrase *ūpa hi vāge labdhvā* (I ix 2. 35, middle) cannot possibly mean 'when it occurs to him'; the sense is rather that he who is simply left without a share waits a while in expectation of one, and then helps himself, assuming that he is to have a share, and might as well take possession of it without more delay: 'he waits so long, and then, taking it into possession, says "What share hast thou given me?"'

The passage I ix 3. 9-12 presents various difficulties. The sacrificer is to take the three strides of Vishnu, by which that god is

thought to have taken possession of the three worlds, repeating at each stride a certain verse; and he is allowed to do it in either of two directions: from a certain nearer point outwards, or from further off hitherwards. In the former case, which we are informed is the more usual way, he represents Vishnu striding from earth to atmosphere and sky, and repeats his verses accordingly; in the latter case, he is Vishnu striding from sky to atmosphere and earth, and the order of the verses is reversed. The final sentence of par. 9 means, then, not 'Now it is indeed from this [earth] that most [beings] go [upwards],' but 'Now it is in the direction away from here that most people take the strides' (cf. for *bhūyisthā iva* II iv 1. 9, where Prof. Eggeling translates more correctly). Accordingly, *tdd u tdd*, at the beginning of both 10 and 12, means 'then in that case [he says as follows]': Eggeling translates it the first time by 'Hence [he strides thrice],' and the second time by 'And in this way also [he may stride].' The inaccurate rendering of the aorists in the repeated verses has been already referred to; not 'Vishnu strode,' merely, at some indefinite time in the past; but 'Vishnu has strode,' just now and here, in my person. Toward the end of par. 10, after the reasons are given for striding in this way, the other and alternative way is introduced: 'On the other hand, hitherward from further off may stride he who wishes to give instruction (? exercise authority ? inflict punishment ?) from here. There is a double reason why one takes his strides hitherward from further off.' But the first of these reasons is obscure, owing to the questionable meaning of *apasaraṇa*; while not convinced by Eggeling's translation, I am unable to put anything more satisfactory in its place.

At II i 2. 9, the clause *tdd iṣṇā trikāṇḍeṇ 'ty āhus* seems best understood as a parenthesis, perhaps an interpolated gloss: 'Now when they then pierced him—and that, they say, with the three-jointed arrow—he abandoned,' etc. In the next paragraph, the translator has evidently overlooked one of the negatives. I would suggest: 'It (the asterism) is not, surely, the refuse of that god (the slayer of Prajāpati), nor unholy, nor the body that [was] Prajāpati's.'

It appears altogether probable that the phrase *yad ca veda yad ca na*, at II ii 3. 1 and elsewhere, is an adjunct of the subject of the following *āhus*: 'therefore. they [all], both he who knows (i. e. really comprehends what is meant by it) and he who does not, say "King Varuna."' This understanding is strongly supported by

what follows, which should be rendered thus (Eggeling's version is quite unacceptable): 'Soma [did the same] when desirous of glory; he became glorious; therefore, whether one has a share in the *soma* or whether he has not, they both alike come (*i. e.* to a *soma*-drinking ceremony): what is glorious, namely, they thus come to see.'

At the end of II ii 3. 4, the translation is certainly not to be approved, although the real meaning is not very clear. Perhaps 'but [to him], indeed, other beings, in whatever numbers, have recourse.'

In II ii 4. 3, *adyāt* is used rather in an optative than in a conditional sense: 'than myself—whom, by all means, let him not eat!'

In the last part of II iii 1. 7, the right division and connection is not carefully maintained. Read, rather: 'from that the gods go away; now that turns out a failure for him, from which the gods go away; and of his failure people—both he that knows and he that does not—say: "the sun has gone down on his fire not [yet] taken out."' Earlier in the same paragraph, we should understand: 'those rays, doubtless, are all the gods' (not 'the rays, doubtless, are all those gods').

At II iii 2. 3, certain improvements seem called for: 'Moreover, this fire which is in the hall, that is *Anañnant Sāṅgamana* (*i. e.* 'the non-eating assembly-fire'): now because they gather about it without eating at all, therefore it is *Anañnant*. Further, these ashes which they take out and throw away, that is *Asant Pāṇsava* (*i. e.* 'the non-existent dusty one').'

The clause *svayāñ vāt tēṣāñ sahā yēṣāñ sahā*, at II iv 2. 19, is obscure; but it can hardly have the meaning which Eggeling attributes to it: namely, 'since he himself is one of those to whom [it would be offered] in common.' For in that case, the phrase *y' ca tvām dnu* might be added, without any reason to the contrary, to the dedications to grandfather and great-grandfather; while yet it is not so added: hence the objection given ought to be one that applies equally in all the three cases. There is also reason for not taking *dnu* as 'after' in the way in which one generation comes 'after' another; for then an offering to the great-grandfather would be also made to the grandfather and father, and separate offerings to these latter would be unnecessary. Perhaps, then, rather 'and those that are dependent upon thee, or accompany thee'—with a vague reference to other relatives of that generation, with whom the direct ancestor may consort. Then the objecting clause would

mean 'for he himself (or 'of himself,' without needing to have it specified) is in company of those of whom he is in company'—that is, if there are any whose association with him would entitle them to a share, the association will procure them that share; they do not need to be specially invited.

The translation 'through the one (he created) the upright, and through the other those looking to the ground,' for *itdṣ co "rdhvā itdṣ cā 'vācīs* (II v 1. 11 *et al.*), does not seem to me acceptable, but I am uncertain what to put in the place of it.

How *pīnākāvasa* at II vi 2. 17 can be made to signify 'muffled up' is an insoluble mystery; the repeated use of *avasā* 'provision (for a journey)' in this paragraph shows pretty clearly that it means '(with thy bow unstrung and) with thy staff as provision.' One would like to understand 'with staff and provisions'; but no copulative compound is convertible into a possessive.

To notice briefly a point or two not specially connected with the Brāhmaṇa. In a note to I iv 2. 17, Prof. Eggeling expresses his opinion in favor of understanding the common epithet *jātdvedas* to mean 'he who knoweth [all] beings.' The same is Grassmann's usual rendering ('*Wesen-kenner*'); it is rather favored in the larger Petersburg Lexicon, and definitely adopted in the smaller; and it is met with, perhaps increasingly, in the works of recent scholars. The word may, indeed, fairly be regarded as an obscure one: that is to say, it is very strange that an appellation so frequently applied to Agni should not have its meaning distinctly pointed out, either by its applicableness, or by parallel expressions used in the descriptions of the same god or in ascriptions made to him; but no such explanation has been found obtainable from the Vedic writings. Nevertheless, it seems to me that the translation 'being-knower' is to be regarded as unacceptable; because *vedas*, in all its distinct and unmistakable uses, those which should be decisive of its value in other more doubtful connections, means only 'acquisition, possession, wealth' (from *vid* 'acquire,' not *vid* 'know'). By its accent, the compound must be a possessive (it could arrive at the sense of 'being-knower' only through the intermediate 'having knowledge of beings'): either, then, 'having born or native wealth,' or 'having whatever is born as his property, all-possessor.' The explanation of *ndkṣatra*, 'asterism,' as equivalent to *nakta-trā*, 'night-protector,' is in a note to II i 2. 17 pronounced "probably correct"; to me it seems an unacceptable conjecture, opposed by phonetic form, accent, and sense. Much better pass the word as obscure than accept such an etymology.

In conclusion, the wish may be expressed that Prof. Eggeling had followed the simple and broken syntax of the Brāhmaṇa somewhat more closely, giving his version less the character of a paraphrase. He defends the method he has followed in his Introduction (p. xlvii); but he seems to exaggerate the difficulty of making a tolerable English version with preservation of a little more of the peculiar flavor of the original text. To taste the latter, one must go, as things are, to the German renderings of Delbrück. The question, however, is one of taste; and many readers will doubtless be better satisfied with the translation in its present form; the essential thing, at any rate, is that the meaning be faithfully rendered.

The method of transliteration followed in this, as in the other volumes of Müller's series of Sacred Books, is wholly to be condemned. It is the general editor's own so-called "Missionary Alphabet"—a mixture, too awkward and ugly to be tolerated, of roman and italic letters and small capitals in the same word. The original device was, to be sure, an ingenious one; and the alphabet has its own proper sphere of usefulness, as indicated in its name—that is to say, in cases of exigency, where the resources of a well-furnished printing-office are wanting, and one has to accept and be thankful for the best means of distinction that are available. But it was certainly a grave error of judgment on Müller's part to impose its use upon the wealthy Clarendon press, and in these handsome and costly volumes.

W. D. WHITNEY.



## II.—ON THE LOCALITY TO WHICH THE TREATISE OF PALLADIUS *DE AGRICULTURA* MUST BE ASSIGNED.

The difficulty which exists with regard to the question with which we have headed this paper will be better understood by a reference to the article of Weiss in Michaud's *Biographie Universelle*, in which it is stated that Palladius (Rutilius Taurus Aemilianus), one of the most ancient writers on agriculture whose works have come down to us, is, according to Barth and Dom Rivet, the same as Palladius, the son of Exsuperantius, prefect among the Gauls.<sup>1</sup> The majority of critics have adopted this conjecture, which is, however, founded merely upon an identity of name. On the other side, those who suppose Palladius to have been born in Italy, and that he flourished towards the middle of the second century, can bring no solid proof to support their opinion. So that the origin of this writer is uncertain. If we may believe Dom Rivet, he was born at Poitiers at the commencement of the 5th century,<sup>2</sup> and after training in eloquence according to the Gallic schools, he went to Rome to study jurisprudence. After the death of his father, who was killed in 524 (an evident error for 424) in a riot, it became a matter of indifference to Palladius whether he lived in Gaul or Italy, and it is believed that he settled himself in the neighborhood of Naples. He informs us himself that he possessed landed property in the suburbs of that city and in Sardinia, and that he himself superintended the cultivation of his estates.

Thus far Weiss in reference to this interesting writer, whose works have been but rarely edited. It will be observed that Weiss holds the reference of Palladius to the 5th century and to the locality of Gaul as a conjecture founded upon a similarity of name.

Schneider, who edited the work of Palladius in his *Scriptores Rei Rustici*, Lipsiae, 1795, maintains, with Gesner, against the opinion of Mylaeus, that Palladius is not a contemporary of Pliny

<sup>1</sup> See article 'Exsuperantius' in Michaud, and Note 1.

<sup>2</sup> See Rutilius, *Itinerary*, I 208, and Note 2.

and Quintilian; and against Ludovicus Vives, that he is not to be placed in the reign of Adrian; but he does not believe Palladius to be a native of Gaul. "*Gallicae patriae nullum plane vestigium in opere suo signavit Palladius, nisi forte huc trahere velis ligni Gallici asseres (I 13, 1), vel messorii vehiculi descriptionem quo pars Galliarum planior utebatur*" (VII 2).<sup>1</sup> Now Schneider's first illustration is a peculiarly unhappy one, for the passage, quoted more at length, advises that in building your country house you should employ materials which lie ready to hand, *ex ea materia quae facilius inveniatur*, and therefore the writer recommends planks of French pine or cypress: "*asseres ligni Gallici vel cupressi directos et aequales constituemus in eo loco, ubi camera facienda est.*" Moreover, that the writer is not an Italian is evident from the first words of the second book: "*Januario mense locis temperatis ablaqueandae sunt vites, quod Itali excodicare appellant, id est circa vitis codicem dolabra terram diligenter aperire,*" etc. But we are able to approach this question in another direction than that of linguistic criticism, for Palladius has given us at the end of each month a table of the lengths of the shadows in the sun-dial for the various hours of the day and from month to month.

In the Aldine edition of Palladius, printed at Venice in 1472, a small tract is appended by Aldus to explain the system employed by Palladius for the division of the hours, and also showing how to adjust the gnomon empirically by means of the given length of shadow on a particular day. This tract is reprinted in Schneider, as doubtless by other writers. There is no doubt that Aldus judges rightly in maintaining the hours of the day according to Palladius are always twelve, and these make up the interval between sunrise and sunset. Thus in the month of June the length of the shadow is given in feet as follows:

<i>Horae</i>	i & xi	. . .	22
ii	x	. . .	12
iii	ix	. . .	8
iv	ix	. . .	5
v	vii	. . .	3
vi		. . .	2

But whether this day is composed of twelve *equal* civil hours is not mentioned; nor, as Sir G. C. Lewis remarked in his treatise

<sup>1</sup> See Note 3 for this earliest form of reaping-machine.

on the Astronomy of the Ancients, is it stated what is the length of the pointer which casts the shadow. Moreover, we are not informed on what particular day (whether at the beginning, middle, or end of any month) the measurement for that month is made; and we shall see by reference to the data of Palladius that his measurements certainly never run nearer than to the nearest integral number of feet; nor are we told what kind of a sun-dial is employed. We will first transcribe Palladius' 12 tables into one, observing that it is only necessary to note the shadows for half the day, since the lengths repeat in inverse order; and for half a year, since he makes the months also coincide two and two, January with December, February with November, and so on.

TABLE I.

<i>Horæ</i>	<i>January</i>	<i>February</i>	<i>March</i>	<i>April</i>	<i>May</i>	<i>June</i>
i & xi	xxix pedes	xxvii	xxv	xxiii	xxiii	xxii
ii x	xix	xvii	xv	xiii	xiii	xii
iii ix	xv	xiii	xi	x	ix	viii
iv iix	xii	x	vii	vii	vi	v
v vii	x	viii	vi	v	iiii	iii
vi	ix	vii	v	iiii	iii	ii

Now, to begin with, with regard to the apparatus by which the shadow is cast, we may say that if it is a sun-dial it is not a vertical south dial, for the shadow is cast whenever the sun is above the horizon. We infer, therefore, either that it is a horizontal dial, or that Palladius is even more elementary and is in fact measuring what is practically the shadow of a vertical stick.

On the hypothesis of a horizontal dial the shadow at midday is given by

$$\frac{\cos \delta}{\cos \phi - \delta} \times \text{length of style,}$$

where  $\delta$  is the sun's northerly declination and  $\phi$  the latitude. Thus the ratio of shadows at periods of the year six months apart is  $\cos \phi - \delta : \cos \phi + \delta$ . Taking figures from our table we have

$$\frac{1 + \tan \phi \cdot \tan \delta}{1 - \tan \phi \cdot \tan \delta} = \frac{9}{2}$$

therefore

$$\tan \phi = \frac{7}{11} \cot \delta$$

$\delta$  being the sun's declination somewhere between December 1 and January 31. Now, if we give  $\delta$  its greatest value we have

$$\delta = 23^{\circ} 20' \text{ and } \phi = 55^{\circ} 52'.$$

If we had supposed observations made at the beginning of December, or when  $\delta = 22^{\circ}$ , we have

$$\phi = 57^{\circ} 36'.$$

It is evident that these latitudes are a great deal too far north to be admissible. Moreover, if we take a particular latitude such as Rome ( $42^{\circ}$  N) and calculate the shadows for the end of the first week of each month, we shall find it difficult to harmonize our results with the given data; thus a four-foot style would give mid-day shadows

$$8.4 \quad 7.1 \quad 5.6 \quad 4.8 \quad 4.1 \quad 3.9$$

and the divergence is as great when we take for instance latitude  $47^{\circ}$ , that is, if we go five degrees north of Rome, where we get

$$9.3 \quad 8.2 \quad 6.4 \quad 6.1 \quad 4.4 \quad 4$$

with a style four feet in length. And if we imagine the author to have carried a sun-dial adjusted at Rome five degrees north, the results when corrected are even more divergent. A reference to Table III shows how impossible is the hypothesis of a horizontal dial. So that we can not even assume that our author has imitated the foolish parade of the Romans when they brought a valuable sun-dial from Syracuse and fixed it up without correction for change of latitude, in the Comitium.<sup>1</sup>

It seems that we must abandon this hypothesis and seek a simpler one; and here we are helped by the remembrance that the earliest form of the sun-dial is not one with an elevated gnomon starting from the centre of the dial, but is composed of two strips of metal or wood, one horizontal and in the north and south line of the dial, and the other at right angles to it and perpendicular to the plane of the dial and of a proper height to adjust the instrument to the latitude of the place.

It is, therefore, in the highest degree likely that Palladius has employed a dial of this kind, and he may even have measured his shadows from the foot of the upright pointer and not from the middle of the plate. Our figures then give us

$$\begin{array}{ll} \text{from June} & x \cdot \tan \phi - \omega = 2 \\ \text{and December} & x \cdot \tan \phi + \omega = 9 \end{array}$$

<sup>1</sup> Bunsen. Hippolytus I 430. Digitized by Google

where  $x$  is the length of the vertical style,  $\phi$  is the latitude, and  $\omega$  the obliquity of the ecliptic. This leads us to the conclusion that

$$x^2 - 7x \cot 2\omega + 18 = 0,$$

which is certainly an impossible equation, if  $\omega$  have the value ordinarily ascribed to it. Either, therefore, the measurements are incorrect, or they are not made at the solstices, or else we shall be forced to abandon the hypothesis of a vertical style as well as the previous one. We observe, however, that at the corresponding times of the winter and summer the ratio of the shadows is  $\tan(\phi + \delta) : \tan(\phi - \delta)$ , a proportion which for various values of  $\phi$  ranges from  $\infty$  to  $\infty$  as  $\phi$  changes from  $\delta$  to  $\frac{\pi}{2} - \delta$ , and has

therefore a minimum value between those limits, viz. when  $\phi = \frac{\pi}{4}$ ,

in this case the ratio is  $\tan^2\left(\frac{\pi}{4} + \delta\right)$ ; which shows us that at the

solstices the winter shadow at midday is  $6\frac{1}{2}$  times the summer one in latitude  $45^\circ$ , and a greater proportion in every other latitude; and the winter shadow when the sun's declination is  $20^\circ$  is  $4\frac{1}{2}$  times the summer shadow in latitude  $45^\circ$ , and greater in every other latitude. Now  $4\frac{1}{2}$  is the proportion of winter and summer shadows, according to our author.

We cannot then be very far from latitude  $45^\circ$ ; and, assuming this latitude for the moment, we have

$$x \cdot \tan(\phi - \omega) = 2$$

$$x \cdot \tan(\phi + \omega) = 9$$

equations which we know to be somewhat inconsistent.

The first gives us  $x = 4.8$

the second  $x = 5.4$

and we may therefore infer that the style by which the shadow was cast was 5 feet in length. Assuming therefore a vertical staff 5 feet in length, we construct Table II, which gives us the actual shadows for four principal latitudes for every week of the first six months of the year. A comparison of our table with the data of Palladius confirms our supposition that we are not far from latitude  $45^\circ$ . Athens is evidently a great deal too far south.

Now, before we go further, we must remark that of all the results given by Palladius the most correct will probably be those given for June, because the weather is probably clear, and, the sun scarcely

varying a degree in declination during the whole month, we may therefore expect the shadows to be accurately measured. On the other hand winter measurements are least trustworthy, for the opposite reasons. Moreover, of measurements made on any given day, the first is likely to be very sensibly less than the theoretical value, because the sun is raised by refraction, especially when on the horizon, and consequently casts a shorter shadow than it ought. Another perceptible error in the opposite direction may be expected if the hours are marked by a clepsydra adjusted to the month or day; the water runs out too fast at first, and the early hours are a little short perhaps;<sup>1</sup> this makes the shadows of Palladius somewhat longer than they ought to be, in the beginning of the day; but I do not suppose that this error will compensate the one introduced by refraction. A difference of a degree in altitude makes a difference of 3 feet nearly in the shadow, when the altitude is  $10^{\circ}$ .

So far our table has only served to assure us that we were right in putting five feet for the length of the style, and that the latitude is not far from  $45^{\circ}$ ; but we are scarcely able to decide with certainty between  $42^{\circ}$ ,  $45^{\circ}$ , and  $47^{\circ}$ . We therefore proceed to calculate the shadows for every hour of the civil day, at the time of the equinox, for the latitudes in question. The results are given in Table IV; and bearing in mind the cautions given a little while ago with regard to the longest shadows, the comparison is *decisive in favor of latitude  $45^{\circ}$* ; but latitude  $47^{\circ}$  is better than that of  $42^{\circ}$ ; and, as we have pointed out, these are the results upon which we can best rely, being made at midsummer.

Lastly, we have calculated, from the assumption that the sun is in the equator, the lengths of the shadows for the whole of the civil day at the equinox. It is not perfectly easy to decide at what date the sun, according to Palladius, passes the equinox; assuming it to be somewhere in March or April, we see by reference to Table V that the judgment is against the latitude of Rome, and in favor of one even more northerly than  $45^{\circ}$ .

Upon the whole we conclude that the measurements given by Palladius refer to a latitude at least as high as  $45^{\circ}$ ; *i. e.* to a country very much further north than Sardinia, Naples, or Rome; and

<sup>1</sup> "The supposed determination of an instant by means of clepsydras is likewise futile; for the contents of the jar will not flow out in the same time [? at the same rate] when it is full as when it is half empty."—Hippolytus, *Philosophumena* IV 5.

in fact it can only be Gaul, perhaps as far north as Aremorica, the province to which Exsuperantius, who must now be regarded as the father of our Palladius, is referred by Rutilius in his Itinerary. There are especial reasons for a reference to latitude  $45^{\circ}$ . We may show that a table of shadows must actually have been in existence for that latitude.

A reference to Vitruvius, de Architectura XI, c. iv, gives us the following information on the subject of sun-dials: "Ea autem sunt divina mente comparata habentque admirationem magnam considerantibus, quod umbragnomonis aequinoctialis alia magnitudine est Athenis, alia Alexandriae, alia Romae, non eadem Placentiae ceterisque orbis terrarum locis. Itaque longe aliter distant descriptiones horologiorum locorum mutationibus." Critics have been puzzled to explain the force of the reference to Placentia; the interpretation is that the 45th parallel of latitude was actually over the city, or as nearly as could be determined by persons of limited ability and apparatus. It was especially easy to set up a sun-dial in this latitude, the gnomon being immediately constructed by means of a right angled isosceles triangle.

We may, I think, conclude that the measurements of Palladius are the shadows of a vertical rod 5 feet in length, in latitude  $45^{\circ}$ , or a little to the north of it; that the treatise is therefore properly ascribed to Gaul, Palladius fairly identified as the son of Exsuperantius to whom St. Jerome wrote one of his epistles, and that it is not true, as Weiss and other critics have affirmed, that the reference to Gaul is founded merely upon a similarity of name.

It is a delicate matter to establish very positive conclusions upon very incomplete data, but I think we have established our conclusion. As Aldus observes, a complete series of observations *by experiment* would require a large book and a long life. "Observandi forent dies sereni multorum annorum donec omnes describerentur. Quod quia laboriosum est, et longi taedii plenum, nec Palladius fecit, nec alius quisquam, nec forte erit unquam qui faciat. Sed de his haec satis. Tu vero, lector carissime, vale et me ama."

TABLE I.—*Table of Shadows from Palladius, De Agricultura.*

Horae	January	February	March	April	May	June
i et xi	xxix pedes	xxvii	xxv	xxiii	xxiii	xxii
ii et x	xix	xvii	xv	xiii	xiii	xii
iii et ix	xv	xiii	xi	x	ix	viii
iv et iix	xii	x	viii	vii	vi	v
v et vii	x	viii	vi	v	iiii	iii
vi	ix	vii	v	iiii	iii	ii

TABLE II.—Table showing the lengths of the actual shadows at midday for a vertical stick of length either 1 foot or 5 feet, the latitudes being noted on the margin, and the sun's declination for the day being taken to the nearest degree.

	January				February				March				
<i>Latitude</i>	1	8	15	22	1	8	15	22	1	8	15	22	
38° { Athens } { 37° 58' }	1.80	1.73	1.66	1.60	1.42	1.32	1.23	1.11	1.00	.93	.83	.78	
	9.00	8.6	8.3	8.0	7.1	6.6	6.1	5.5	5.0	4.6	4.1	3.9	
<i>Average</i>	8.2				6.0				4.2				
42° { Rome } { 41° 53' }	2.14	2.05	1.96	1.73	1.66	1.53	1.42	1.27	1.17	1.07	.96	.90	
	10.7	10.2	9.8	8.6	8.3	7.6	7.1	6.3	5.8	5.3	4.8	4.5	
<i>Average</i>	9.5				7.0				4.8				
45° Placentia	2.47	2.35	2.24	2.14	1.88	1.73	1.60	1.42	1.30	1.19	1.07	1.00	
	12.3	11.7	11.2	10.7	9.4	8.6	8.0	7.1	6.5	5.9	5.3	5.0	
<i>Average</i>	11.0				7.9				5.4				
47° { Poitiers } { 46° 50' }	2.74	2.60	2.47	2.35	2.05	1.88	1.73	1.53	1.40	1.27	1.15	1.07	
	13.7	13.0	12.3	11.9	10.1	9.4	8.6	7.5	7.0	6.3	5.6	5.3	
<i>Average</i>	12.2				8.5				5.7				
	<i>April</i>				<i>May</i>				<i>June</i>				
<i>Latitude</i>	1	8	15	22	1	8	15	22	1	8	15	22	30
38° { Athens } { 37° 58' }	.66	.60	.53	.48	.42	.38	.34	.32	.28	..	..	..	.26
	3.3	3.0	2.6	2.4	2.1	1.9	1.7	1.6	1.4	..	..	..	1.3
<i>Average</i>	2.7				1.7				1.3				
42° { Rome } { 41° 53' }	.76	.70	.62	.57	.50	.46	.42	.38	.36	..	..	..	.34
	3.8	3.5	3.1	2.8	2.5	2.3	2.1	1.9	1.8	..	..	..	1.7
<i>Average</i>	3.1				2.1				1.7				
45° Placentia	.88	.78	.70	.64	.57	.53	.48	.46	.42	..	..	..	.40
	4.4	3.9	3.5	3.2	2.8	2.6	2.4	2.3	2.1	..	..	..	2.0
<i>Average</i>	3.5				2.4				2.0				
47° { Poitiers } { 46° 50' }	.91	.83	.75	.70	.62	.57	.53	.50	.46	..	..	..	.44
	4.5	4.1	3.7	3.5	3.1	2.8	2.6	2.5	2.3	..	..	..	2.2
<i>Average</i>	3.7				2.6				2.2				



TABLE III.—*Table correcting the previous results so as to give measurements from the centre of the dial-plate, the elevated pointer being five feet, and the shadows cast at midday.*

This gives us, in fact, the actual shadows in a sun-dial. We add for Athens  $5 \cdot \cot 38^\circ = 6.3$ ; for Rome  $5 \cdot \cot 42^\circ = 5.5$ ; for Placentia 5; for Poitiers  $5 \cdot \cot 47^\circ = 4.6$ .

	January	February	March	April	May	June
Athens	15.3 to 13.1	13.1 to 11.3	11.3 to 9.6	9.6 to 8.4	8.4 to 7.7	7.7 to 7.6
Average	14.5	12.3	10.5	9.0	8.0	7.6
Rome	16.2 to 13.8	13.8 to 11.3	11.3 to 9.3	9.3 to 8	8.0 to 7.3	7.3 to 7.2
Average	15.0	12.5	10.3	8.6	7.6	7.2
Placentia	17.3 to 14.4	14.4 to 11.5	11.5 to 9.4	9.4 to 7.8	7.8 to 7.1	7.1 to 7.0
Average	14.7	12.9	10.4	8.5	7.4	7.0

We can see at a glance, from the proportion of the shadows in the table, that the shadows are not those of a sun-dial.

TABLE IV.—*Lengths of shadows at the summer solstice for the six hours of the day; with a five-foot style.*

	Hours i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi
According to Palladius	xxii	xii	viii	v	iii	ii
In latitude $42^\circ$	22.2	10.1	5.9	3.2	2.4	1.7
In latitude $45^\circ$	22.7	10.0	8.6	5.3	2.5	2.0
In latitude $47^\circ$	23.8	10.7	6.9	4.0	2.6	2.2

Observing that on account of the irregular run of the clepsydra the hours are most accurately measured in the middle of the run; and that the elevation of the sun by refraction diminishes the shadow as calculated theoretically, which makes a very sensible difference when the sun is on the horizon; we conclude in favor of latitude  $45^\circ$ , but  $47^\circ$  is better than  $42^\circ$ .

TABLE V.—*Showing the shadows for every hour of the civil (actual) day, at the equinox, for three principal latitudes.*

	Horæ i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi
Palladius, results between	25 } 23 }	15 } 14 }	11 } 10 }	8 } 7 }	6 } 5 }	5 } 4 }
Latitude $42^\circ$	25.4	12.5	8.0	5.9	4.8	4.5
Latitude $45^\circ$	26.8	13.2	8.6	6.4	5.3	5.0
Latitude $47^\circ$	27.8	13.7	9.0	6.8	5.7	5.3

*Note 1: On Exsuperantius.*<sup>1</sup> He was born at Poitiers in the 4th century . . . and was a relative and friend of Rutilius, who speaks in his praise in the first book of his Itinerary. He had applied himself particularly to the study of Jurisprudence, and it is believed that he had composed treatises on that science. One of his brothers, Quintilius or Quintilianus, had retired to the solitude of Bethlehem, where he lived under the direction of Jerome. At his direction the holy doctor wrote to Exsuperantius a letter,<sup>2</sup> which has been preserved, and in which he exhorts him to follow the example of his brother. Exsuperantius, however, would not renounce the advantages which the world seemed to offer him. Nominated to the important office of prefect of the Praetorium among the Gauls, he occupied himself in re-establishing order and police in the *Armorican* provinces; he succeeded in expelling the Goths, and in quieting disturbances occasioned by the levy of new taxes. At last he came to Arles, believing that his presence would suffice to reduce to order the revolted legions; but as soon as he appeared amongst the mutinous soldiers, they surrounded him and stabbed him to death. The death of Exsuperantius happened in 424, under the reign of the weak John, who did not even order search to be made for the assassins.

*Note 2: On Rutilius.*

Tum discessurus, studiis urbique remitto  
 Palladium, generis spemque decusque mei,  
 Facundus juvenis Gallorum nuper ab arvis  
 Missus Romani discere jura fori.  
 Ille meae secum dulcissima vincula curae,  
 Filius adjectu, stirpe propinquus habet.  
 Cujus Aremoricæ pater Exsuperantius oras  
 Nunc postfluvium pacis amare docet.

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*Note 3: On the French Reaping Machine of the 5th century.* It is, to say the least, somewhat astonishing to find an early account of a reaping machine used in the level parts of Gaul, not very dissimilar from those employed in the great West to-day. "Pars Galliarum planior hoc compendio utitur ad metendum, et præter hominum labores, unius bovis opera spatium totius messis absumit. Fit itaque vehiculum, quod duabus rotis brevibus fertur. Hujus

<sup>1</sup> Weiss in Michaud, Biographie Universelle.

<sup>2</sup> It is Ep. CXLV in Migne's Patrologia.

quadrata superficies tabulis munitur, quae forinsecus reclines in summo reddant spatia largiora, ab ejus fronte carpenti brevior est altitudo tabularum. Ibi denticuli plurimi ac rari ad spicarum mensuram constituuntur in ordinem, ad superiorem parte recurvi a tergo vero ejusdem vehiculi duo brevissimi temones figurantur velut amites basternarum. Ibi bos capite in vehiculum verso jugo aptatur et vinculis, mansuetus sane, qui non modum compulsoris excedat. Hic ubi vehiculum per messes coëpit impellare, omnis spica in carpentum denticulis comprehensa cumulatur, abruptis ac relictis paleis; altitudinem vel humilitatem plerumque bubulco moderante qui sequitur; et ita per paucos itus et reditus brevi horarum spatio tota messis impletur. Hoc campestribus locis vel aequalibus utile est et iis quibus necessaria palea non habetur."

J. RENDEL HARRIS.

### III.—ON SOME POINTS OF USAGE IN ENGLISH.

Already in the opening pages of the instructive remarks on the Revised New Testament which Professor Short is contributing to this Journal,<sup>1</sup> even a rapid glance suffices to discern, where he adverts to usage in modern and in older English, a sprinkling of assertions demonstrably open to question.

Assuredly, it ought not to be, that, day by day, the fact is still practically treated as though it were not a fact, that English philology is, as yet, very far from maturity.<sup>2</sup> For a long time to come, it must be the case, just as it now is, that any industrious reader of our literature can discover things previously unrecorded, or slighted, by lexicographers, glossarists, and grammarians, of a character to modify, if not to invalidate, positions supposed to be definitively established. In these circumstances, wariness and diffidence will never be out of place. Just in proportion to their prevalence, there would seldomer be occasion to comment on hasty pronouncements, and the criticism of philologists would be dispensed from the necessity of a polemic attitude.

According to Professor Short, "the verb in the singular after a compound subject" "is rare" in "modern English"; and he seems to be dissatisfied with Dr. Liddon for writing: "All this and much else *appears* to forbid," etc. As he draws no distinctions, would he scruple an expression on the type of "milk and water *is* a harmless beverage"? Referring to Milton's "where *flows* Ganges and Indus," Walter Savage Landor<sup>3</sup> observes: "The small fry will carp at this, which is often an elegance, but oftener in Greek than in Latin, in Latin than in French, in French than in English." Let Landor say what he may, there is, nevertheless, to what he would have called the degenerate ears of later days, something inevitably grating in the locution which he adduces;<sup>4</sup> and an imitation of it

<sup>1</sup> *Vide supra*, pp. 141-169.

<sup>2</sup> Witness, for instance, Mr. Hensleigh Wedgwood's "Contested Etymologies in the Dictionary of the Rev. W. W. Skeat," just published.

<sup>3</sup> *Works and Life* (1876), Vol. IV, p. 460.

<sup>4</sup> Still worse is the following, in which one would, in an ordinary case, presume a typographical error: "Scythia and Tartary *has*, each, its characteristic breed of horse." Professor F. W. Newman, *Miscellanies* (1869), p. 201.

As a whole, Professor Newman's English is arrestingly eccentric, above all for its independence of idiom.

would no longer be tolerated.\* At the same time, since countless

\* Indeed, even in the days of English much quainter than Milton's, "*flows* Ganges and Indus," in which the compound subject consists of proper names, would have been objected to, though precedents for "*flows* milk and honey," and for "*flows* waters," were long extremely common. Somewhat less common, however, in older English,—dialectal excepted,—are expressions like "*waters flows*," where the verb is not protactic. Specimens of them,—which might be headed with quotations from Chaucer, from writings attributed to Wyclif, and from other sources,—are subjoined :

"I kepe the stremys and the waters that *renny*s to Paradice." Anon. (fifteenth century), in *Letters of Queen Margaret of Anjou*, etc., p. 166 (Camden Society, 1863).

"And there, thorough mysghovernance, the carikes, with alle the good therinne, *was* brent." Anon., *A Chronicle of London*, etc. (1442-1483), p. 89 (1827).

"And thes dedys of armys *was* for lyffe and dethe." William Gregory (? about 1469?), in *Historical Collections*, etc., p. 236 (Camden Society, 1876).

"Lyke a spere, it perced the hertes of all her true servauntes that *was* about her." Bp. Fisher (1509), *English Works*, Part I (1876), p. 300.

"And she sayth playnly that the Duk and the lords *is* togethers, and comyth forth of Edinburgh this same day." Sir William Bulmer (1523) in Sir Henry Ellis's *Original Letters*, etc., Third Series (1846), Vol. I, p. 328.

"Other capiteins *has* "; "the warkes *is* done "; "the souledeours forsaide *has* advertised me." Thomas, Lord Dacre (1523 and 1524), in *State Papers*, etc., Vol. IV (1836), pp. 65, 66, 75.

"Thadventures that *was* fallen "; "his wordes *was* nat byleved "; "all these wordes that *was* bytwene . . . *was* come," etc.; "many dedes of armes there *was* done "; "xl. thousande frankes *was* gadered "; "his revenewes *was* therby augmented "; "their wylls *was* to have him kyng." Lord Berners, *Frissart* (1523-1525), Vol. I, pp. 15, 81, 109, 202, 729; Vol. II, pp. 635, 752 (ed. 1812).

"His fortunes *is* base." *Id.*, *The Golden Boke*, etc. (1534), sig. Aa 3 r. (ed. 1546).

"Many great conflyctes *was* betwene them." John Rastell, *The Pastyme of People* (1529), p. 172 (ed. 1811).

"For the world loveth all that are of the world, and hateth all things that *is* contrary to it." "My first-fruits, reparations, and solutions of my debts *amounts* to seventeen hundred pounds." "I dare say a thousand *was* the fewest that with joy left their houses and *lives* here." Bp. Hugh Latimer (1530, 1538, and 1555), *Sermons and Remains* (1845), pp. 412, 437.

"Few men *shotes* "; "horses . . . *lettes* and *troubles* one another "; "they *stresses* not a shaft much "; "two maner of arrowe heades, sayeth Pollux, *was* used in olde tyme." Roger Ascham, *Toxophilus* (1545), pp. 48, 89, 126, 135 (ed. 1868).

"Some *sighes* out their wordes. Some *singes* their sentences. Some *laughes* altogether, when thei speake to any body. Some *gruntes* like a hogge. Some *cackles* like a henne or a jacke daw. Some *speakes* as though thei should tell a tale in their sleve. Some *cries* out so loude that thei would make a mannes eares ake to heare them." Sir Thomas Wilson, *The Arte of Rhetorike* (1553),

quotations from reputable authors of the last hundred years, generically parallel, for their concord, to that for which Dr. Liddon is cited, are, as every observant philologist well knows, producible, is Professor Short warranted in designating their grammar as "rare"? For the subjoined fifty-seven testimonies adverse to that view I have made, by the by, no special quest whatever:

"Less and less *is* done." Dr. Johnson (1783), in *Letters to and from*, etc. (1788), Vol. II, p. 278.

"The difficulty and controversy now *was*, to determine to which of these four classes each word belonged." Rev. John Horne Tooke, *Diversions of Purley*, Part I (1786), p. 21 (ed. 1798).

"All this stratagem and mystery *looks* very much like some scheme contrived by love." Mrs. Elizabeth Inchbald, *Child of Nature* (1788), Act I, Scene I.

fol. 112 (ed. 1567). The first edition, also, that of 1553, has been consulted, for the greater certainty.

"Yet *was* the charges the king's, the which *was* no small sums of money." George Cavendish, *Life of Cardinal Wolsey* (about 1560), Vol. I, p. 141 (Mr. Singer's edition).

"White teeth *is* a good sight in a woman." Sir Thomas Hoby, *The Courtier* (1561), sig. F 2 r. (ed. 1577).

"Great consultations *was* had upon this request." Rev. Edmund Campian, *A Historie of Ireland* (1571), p. 44 (ed. 1809).

"Yet their temple, sacrifices, ceremonies, law, and doctrine, *was* good." Rev. Dr. William Fulke, *Stapleton's Fortress Overthrown*, etc. (1580), p. 38 (ed. 1848, Parker Society).

"Those actes, . . . the which long since *is* past"; "those matters of the Indyas, the which *was* done"; "the Indias *is* frequented by the Portingales"; "those battayles that *was* done"; "neyther yet kinges nor captaines of none of all these nations *was* so equall in force"; "the charges that *is* daylye done there." Nicholas Lichfield, *The First Booke of the Historie*, etc. (1582), Prologue. Shakespeare, also, might be quoted largely here, if space allowed.

In the extract from Sir Thomas Wilson, "some," as the contexts show, is not for "some one," a use which, though not seen in his pages, is found in Lord Bacon and in the Bible. It looks as though we there had a colloquialism. Compare "you *was*," which, in an informal style, was not beneath Dr. Hawkesworth, Horace Walpole, Cowper, and Lord Byron.

As to the passage from Sir Thomas Hoby, I am not unaware that its verb may be regarded as owing its number to the attraction of "sight." Let it be taken, then, as furnishing a sample of an interesting outworn idiom with which I am not now specially concerned. Older books abound with like constructions. Fulke (*ut supra*) has, at p. 25: "Idleness and vain ceremonies *is* the exercise of popish monks."

The northern third person plural of most verbs once ended in -r; and a survival of that ending may, possibly, be traceable in Latimer's, Ascham's, Sir Thomas Wilson's, and Shakespeare's plurals, *amounts*, *troubles*, *cries*, *poisons*, etc. But *is*, *has* and *was*, as plurals, and Ascham's "you *letter*" (*T'exophilus*, *ut supra*, p. 120), have no sure warrant in early English.

"All I had heard of his eloquence, and all I had conceived of his great abilities, *was* more than answered by his performance." Madame D'Arblay (1788), *Diary and Letters*, Vol. IV, p. 95 (ed. 1842, etc.).

"The engagement and pact of society, which generally *goes* by the name of the constitution, *forbids* such invasion and such surrender." "The unbought grace of life, the cheap defence of nations, the nurse of manly sentiment and heroic enterprise, *is* gone." "Already there *appears* a poverty of conception, a coarseness and vulgarity, in all the proceedings," etc. Edmund Burke, *Reflections*, etc. (1790), pp. 28, 113, 118.

"My own disappointment and loss in her *is* very great." Miss Jane Austen, *Northanger Abbey* (1798), p. 171 (ed. 1866).

"I wish to be buried with as little expence and ceremony as *is* consistent with decorum and a regard to general opinion." Rev. Gilbert Wakefield (1799-1801), in *Memoirs*, etc. (1804), Vol. II, p. 306\*.

"The plan and execution of the 'Friend' *is* so utterly unsuited to the public taste as to preclude all rational hopes of its success." S. T. Coleridge (1809), in the *Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey*, Vol. III, p. 259.

"The heat and exasperation of battle *was* suspended." Robert Southey, *Edinburgh Annual Register* for 1809, Part I, p. 725 (1811).

"The bread and milk *reminds* me of an anecdote connected with the fashion of those days." *Id.* (1821), in *Life and Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 52.

"In reality, flesh and blood *is* not equal to such wear and tear as *is* exacted from an English minister in these times." *Id.* (1822), in *Selections from the Letters*, etc., Vol. III, p. 329.

"My great doubt and difficulty, at present, *is* as to the possibility and the manner of reconciling Gieseler with Schleiermacher." Bp. Connop Thirlwall (1823), *Letters* (1881), Vol. I, p. 71.

"The applause and admiration excited by certain achievements and accomplishments *infects* us with desire." William Godwin, *Thoughts on Man*, etc. (1831), p. 57.

"In history, the hero and the politician *dwindles* into a vain and feeble tyrant." Lord Macaulay (1832), *Miscellaneous Writings*, Vol. II, p. 89 (ed. 1860).

"Both what was good and what was bad in Goldsmith's character *was*, to his associates, a perfect security that he would never commit such villany." *Id.* (1856), *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 258.

"On the one side *is* health, leisure, peace of mind, the search after truth, and all the enjoyments of friendship and conversation.<sup>6</sup> On the other side *is* almost certain ruin to the constitution, constant labour, constant anxiety." *Id.* (1835), in *Life and Letters*, etc., Vol. I, p. 442 (ed. 1876).

"Everywhere else *was* the thunder, and the fire running along the ground,—a very grievous storm,—a storm such as there was none like it since man was on the earth."<sup>7</sup> *Id.* (1852), *Speeches*, p. 507 (ed. 1854).

<sup>6</sup> I remark on this sentence in note 9 *infra*.

<sup>7</sup> This imitation of old-fashioned style, with its "such as there was none like it," is not remarkably felicitous. Again, however our forefathers wrote, we should do well so to write as not to suggest the question, when man ceased to be on the earth.

In the *Selection from the Correspondence of the late Macvey Napier, Esq.*, Lord Macaulay is represented, at p. 289, as having written, in 1839: "Everything and everybody is languid."

From Lord Macaulay's *History* I transcribe as follows:

"The poetry and eloquence of the Augustan age *was* assiduously studied in the Anglo-Saxon monasteries." Chap. I.

"To fierce spirits, . . . it seemed, that to waylay and murder the king and his brother *was* the shortest and surest way," etc. Chap. II.

"The brilliancy of the shops and the luxury of the private dwellings far *surpasses* anything that England could then show." Chap. III.

"The difficulty and expense of conveying large packets from place to place *was* so great," etc. Chap. III.

"Every sight and sound *was* thought to indicate the approach of pursuers." Chap. V.

"To sit near him at the theatre, and to hear his criticisms on a new play, *was* regarded as a privilege." Chap. VI.

"In the neighbourhood of the little cluster of villages *was* some copsewood and some pasture-land." Chap. XVIII.

"The equipping and manning of the ships *was* urged forward with vigour." Chap. XVIII.

"There *was* far less industry and energy, among the labouring classes, than in England." Chap. XXIII.

The next quotations are from Mr. W. E. Gladstone's *Gleanings of Past Years*:

"That great intellect and heart *has* left upon record," etc. "Anything and everything *suggests* itself to him." "Great plainness and adequate freedom of speech *is* to be used." "Such as the character and efficacy of law *is* now, such, they are apt to assume, *it* always must have been." "Science, experience, . . . have reached a bulk and maturity which *displaces* religion from," etc. Vol. II, p. 308; Vol. III, p. 220; Vol. V, p. 61; Vol. VI, pp. 185, 212. These passages are dated 1876, 1878, 1843, 1875, and 1875, respectively.

"The analogy and contrast between moral and spiritual knowledge *deserves* remark." "Physical ease and comfort *is* the most valuable thing," etc. Professor F. W. Newman, *The Soul*, etc. (1849), Preface, p. viii, and p. 43.

"I found . . . that beauty and effect *was*, sometimes, largely lost," etc. *Id.*, *The Iliad of Homer*, etc. (1856), Preface, p. vii.

"Their skill, beauty, and correctness *is* immensely superior." *Id.*, *The Text of the Iguvine Inscriptions*, etc. (1864), Preface, p. vi.

"But the savage . . . adopts that mode of living which the climate and land *suggests* as easiest." *Id.*, *Miscellanies* (1869), p. 158.

"How much strength and courage *was* derived from the ministries of religion," etc. Bp. Christopher Wordsworth (1854), *Miscellanies*, etc. (1879), Vol. I, p. 254.

"The question and answer . . . *applies*," etc. "This question and answer *restrains*," etc. "This question and answer *deprives*," etc. Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, *Defence*, etc. (1862), pp. 51, 56, 59.

"Great natural energy and generosity *has* been manifested," etc. "The nature and origin of man *has* been so often fixed and unfixed," etc. Cardinal Manning, in *Essays on Religion and Literature*, First Series (1865), pp. 36, 64.

"But, in fearful truth, the presence and power of him *is* here." Mr. John Ruskin, *Time and Tide*, etc. (1867), p. 58 (ed. 1872).



"But the administrative government and real substance of power *was*, at all times, in the hands of the oligarchy." Mr. James Bryce, in *Essays on Reform* (1867), p. 255.

"As much power and labour *has* gone," etc. Mr. A. C. Swinburne, *William Blake* (1868), p. 109.

"For the former the continual presence and supervision of the maître d'étude *leaves* no place." Mr. Matthew Arnold, *Schools and Universities on the Continent* (1868), p. 80.

"With reference to it there *is* generated a voluntary activity and determination," etc. Professor A. Bain, in James Mill's *Analysis*, etc. (ed. 1869), Vol. I, p. 396.

"Nor *is* the pathetic and the tragic exhibited under less multiplicity of forms." Rev. J. S. Brewer (1871), *English Studies*, p. 260 (1881).

"It *was* such peace and freedom as *was* consistent with the position of an outlying province." Mr. E. A. Freeman, *Historical and Architectural Sketches* (1876), p. 226.

"From Greece *comes* art and literature, and, in a manner, law and freedom." *Id.*, *Historical Essays*, Second Series (1879), p. 234.

"In America, the presence of English law, and all that comes of the presence of English law, *is* something thoroughly natural and native." *Id.*, in *Longman's Magazine*, No. 1 (1882), pp. 81, 82.

Now-a-days, neither plural substantives and pronouns, nor a plural and a singular, may be nominative to a verb, protactic or hypotactic, in the singular; and herein, alone, good usage restricts us, absolutely, from the freedom, as to concord, in which our forefathers,\* more or less remote, allowed themselves.† That considera-

\* They rather seldom, I think, wrote as follows: "And there *was* taken the erle of Dene, St Olyver Claykyn, and manye othere." Anon., *A Chronicle of London*, etc. (1442-1483?), p. 67 (1827). And similarly at pp. 86, 136, 138, 139, 141, 144, etc.

† This is like Milton's "*flows* Ganges and Indus." Compare *St. Matthew*, XXVII, 56.

At p. 130 of the *Chronicle* just quoted we read: "And, in this yere, come tidynge unto the kyng, that Gascoigne and Gyan *was* lost."

It is not very often, I should say, that two or more proper names are found constructed in like manner.

\* Most of what, gauged by later usage, are concordial licences of theirs, have, from heedlessness, found their way, here and there, into the pages of moderns.

"All proportions, every arrangement of quantity, *is* alike to the understanding," etc. Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry*, etc., pp. 165, 166 (ed. 1761), or p. 141 (ed. 1792).

"And history is thus a part of that great revolution which all arts, all sciences, and all literature *is* gradually unfolding before our eyes." Rev. J. S. Brewer (n. d.), *English Studies*, p. 381 (1881).

Compare *Proverbs*, XVI, 1. The first sentence of the passage which I have already taken from the *Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay* differs from the pas-

tions of euphony, however, may be surmised to operate, now and then, consciously or unconsciously, as determinants of choice, in the matter under discussion, is not to be denied.

With regard to the archaism observable in "all the region about Jordan," Professor Short says: "This omission of the article with the name of a river has been quite obsolete for a long period." Well-known phrases like "from Tweed to Tay," or Mr. Ruskin's "by Weare and Tyne," are, of themselves, enough to disable that dictum; but conclusively irreconcilable with it, and not to be left out of account, in pronouncing on the English of England, are such current territorial names as the five and twenty, selected from upwards of thrice that number, about to be specified:

Stratford-on-Avon,<sup>10</sup> Burgh-upon-Bain, Aston-on-Clun, Bolton-upon-Deame, Sutton-upon-Derwent, Kingston-upon-Hull, Barrow-on-Humber, Barton-on-Irwell, Sheffield-upon-Loddon, Ashton-upon-Mersey, Newton-upon-Ouse, Ashton-on-Ribble, Frampton-upon-Severn, Shipston-on-Stour, Brompton-upon-Swale, Stockton-on-Tees, Clifton-upon-Teme, Stoke-upon-Tern, Henley-on-Thames, Burton-upon-Trent, Berwick-upon-Tweed, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Skelton-on-Ure, Staunton-upon-Wye. And compare Stanton-by-Bridge, Weston-under-Red Castle, Stanton-by-Dale, Sutton-on-Forest, Ashton-under-Hill, Kingston-upon-Railway, Grange-over-Sands, Westgate-on-Sea.

On the word of Professor Short, the pleonastic forms *from hence*, *from thence*, *from henceforth*, and *from whence* "interchange with the simple forms *hence*, *thence*, *henceforth*, and *whence*, in the best English of all periods." If the best English of our century agrees, in sanctioning those pleonasms, with the best English of bygone centuries, proofs of such agreement ought, it is submitted, to have been offered. Who is there, it may be asked, among accredited contemporary stylists, that, having committed any one of them,

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sages just quoted, in that its verb is protactic. Like that sentence are *Jeremiah*, VI, 7, and *Hebrews*, IX, 4. Innumerable, in older books, are expressions similar to "There *was* ten men there." Compare *Ezekiel*, II, 10.

"There *has* been a simplicity and humility in his letters that *have* been very delightful." Archdeacon J. C. Hare (1843), in the *Life and Correspondence of Dr. Whewell*, p. 290.

This mode of writing was once very far from being unusual. For something nearly akin to it, see the *Psalms*, LXXXIX, 15, and *Proverbs*, XXX, 12.

<sup>10</sup> Peculiarly interesting is the name of another town on the Avon, Bradford-on-Avon, a name which, within living memory, has, by an Act of Parliament, been substituted for the simple Bradford. No one in England is conscious of any archaism in "Bradford-on-Avon"; and the hiatus in "Bradford-on-the-Avon" would not have been endured.

would not, probably, on its being pointed out, admit that it had escaped him through inadvertence?

Professor Short's list of certain expressions "perhaps not to be objected *against*" can hardly be supplemented by the superannuated phrase which he substitutes for "objected *to*." A few lines after "objected *against*" occurs the quite unnecessary, however popular, innovation, "*over* four centuries ago"; and elsewhere he has the wholly disused "we will instance *in* a single writer." Nor is he at all aware that Dr. Liddon's "*it*, too, grows," is a gross Scotticism. Yet he notifies his dislike of the still familiar "*in* the way," for "*on* the way," because "it is now commonly used of an obstruction"; as if the context would not instantly guide one to the signification it is meant to bear. Apparently, it is very exceptional to meet with a countryman of ours who has not erroneous notions and little pet crotchets touching what is, or what ought to be, acceptable living English, and who is not ready, when they are challenged, with untenable arguments in support of them; and it is all but unavoidable that a home-staying American should judge of our language otherwise than an educated Englishman judges of it. General rectitude of linguistic discretion set aside, it has, hence, conspicuously come to pass, that, though the English Revisionists have often erred in questions of taste and expedience, their American collaborators have therein erred incomparably oftener.

The kind of repetition found in "cast *out* the mote *out* of" is, if Professor Short may be trusted, "very rare" in English." Unfortunately, it is not very rare to have to do with gratuitous certitude like that of which we here have a sample. Doubtless, the learned Professor would think it rash, in a person who had given but little attention to Latin, to make a corresponding assertion as to any idiom in that language. For the style of duplication instanced

"This epithet recurs, where Professor Short calls *whiles* "a very rare old genitive of the noun *while*, used adverbially." Since I began the present page, I have quite accidentally discovered an instance of that genitive. "That done, after some *whiles* meditation," etc. Bp. Joseph Hall (1610), *Works*, p. 347 (ed. 1648). And it would not surprise me, if I chanced upon half a dozen other instances of it within the next six months.

What have we, too, if not the old genitive of *while*, in the adverbial phrases "a *whiles*," "a great *whiles*," "one *whiles*," "the *whiles*," "in the mean *whiles*," "this mean *whiles*," "within a good *whiles*"? Instances of them all are before me; and some of them are not two centuries old. Like "a long *ways*," "a great *whiles*" still lives in vulgar English speech.

above, and a slight variation thereof, I subjoin perhaps one in ten of the references which lie heaped before me :

*At . . . at.* Bp. Latimer (1535), pp. 368-369 (*ut supra*). Thomas, Lord Vaux (died 1562), *The Assault of Cupid*, etc.

*By . . . by.* Sir Thomas Malory, *La Mort Darthur* (1469), Vol. I, p. 303, and Vol. II, p. 323 (Southey's edition).

*In . . . in.* Sir Thomas Malory (*ut supra*), Vol. I, p. 298. William Gregory (? about 1469?), in *Historical Collections*, etc., p. 87 (Camden Society, 1876). William Tyndale (1526), in *Doctrinal Treatises*, etc. (1848), p. 134. Bp. Latimer (1530 and 1538), pp. 300, 399 (*ut supra*). Abp. Cranmer (1537), *Miscellaneous Writings*, etc. (1846), p. 351. Sir Thomas Hoby, *The Courtyer* (1561), sig. Q 7 v. (ed. 1577). Rev. Dr. Thomas Stapleton, *A Fortresse of the Faith*, etc. (1565), fol. 79. Robert Parke, *Historie of . . . China*, etc. (1588), p. 262. Shakespeare, *Coriolanus*, Act II, Scene I; *Timon of Athens*, Act II, Scene II.

*Of . . . of.* Anon., *Merlin* (1450-1460?), p. 106. Henry Wyndesore (1455), in the *Paston Letters* (*ut supra*), Vol. I, p. 345. Sir Thomas Malory (*ut supra*), Vol. I, pp. 148-149, 341; Vol. II, p. 81. Lord Berners, *Froissart* (*ut supra*), Vol. I, p. 759. Bp. Latimer (1535?), p. 367 (*ut supra*). Nicholas Lichefield, *The First Booke of the Historie*, etc. (1582), fol. 84 r. Dr. Timothy Bright, *A Treatise of Melancholy* (1586), pp. 139, 166. Robert Parke (*ut supra*), p. 184. Thomas Danett, *The Historie of Philip de Commines* (1596), p. 28 (ed. 1614).

*On . . . on.* Shakespeare, *All's Well*, etc., Act I, Scene II.

*Out . . . out.* Sir Thomas Malory (*ut supra*), Vol. I, p. 45. Anon. (1568), in the *Archaeologia*, Vol. XXXI (1846), p. 463.

*To . . . to.* William Caxton, *Chesse* (1474), Tractate III, Chap. VIII. Sir John Paston (1477), in the *Paston Letters* (*ut supra*), Vol. III, p. 173. Lord Berners, *Froissart* (*ut supra*), Vol. I, p. 286. Shakespeare, *Troilus and Cressida*, Act V, Scene I.

*With . . . with.* Abp. Parker (1559), *Correspondence*, etc., p. 62 (Parker Society).

*In . . . into.* Anon. (1568), in the *Archaeologia*, Vol. XXXI (1846), p. 465.

*Of . . . fro.* Sir Thomas Malory (*ut supra*), Vol. I, p. 50.

*Of . . . on.* Roger Ascham, *Toxophilus* (1545), p. 110 (ed. 1868). Robert Parke (*ut supra*), p. 327.

*Of . . . over.* Anon. (1426), in *Letters of Queen Margaret of Anjou*, etc., p. 33 (Camden Society, 1863).

*On . . . by.* Samuel Pepys (1665), *Diary*, etc., Vol. III, p. 308 (ed. 1876).

*Over . . . of.* Sir Thomas Malory (*ut supra*), Vol. I, p. 121.

*To . . . unto.* *Id.*, Vol. II, p. 329. Abp. Cranmer (1533), p. 250 (*ut supra*). Rev. Dr. Thomas Stapleton, *A Fortresse*, etc. (*ut supra*), fol. 133, 135-136. Sir Thomas North, *Dial of Princes*, sig. +\* 4 v. (ed. 1568).

*Wherein . . . in.* Sir Thomas Malory (*ut supra*), Vol. II, p. 312. Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, Act II, Scene VII.

*With . . . withal.* Sir Thomas Malory (*ut supra*), Vol. II, pp. 109-110. Bp. Latimer (1538), p. 406 (*ut supra*).

At variance with what Professor Short seems to imply, it may

confidently be maintained, that, in "moth and rust *doth*,"<sup>12</sup>—the eligibility of retaining which in the Scriptures I do not discuss,—there was not, in the age of King James's Revisers, as there is in our age, an unquestionable case of "a verb in the singular after a compound subject." The form *hath*, for instance, succeeded both *hafað* and *hafiað*, the third person singular and the plural, respectively, of the present indicative of *habban*; and, in its character of third person plural,<sup>13</sup> it was slow in passing out of vogue. That the Jacobean Revisers refused to adopt the plurals *hath*, *doth*,<sup>14</sup> etc.,

<sup>12</sup> Tyndale, says Professor Short, is among those who "have the verb in the plural here." This, from the Professor's point of view, gives a wrong impression; for Tyndale has "rust and mothes *corrupte*."

<sup>13</sup> We have not to go very far back for *-th* as, occasionally, the termination of the first and second persons plural. "We . . . alwaie have ben, *beeth*, and ever shal be," etc. Anon. (temp. Hen. V.) in the *Letters of Queen Margaret*, etc. (*ut supra*), p. 22. "Ye . . . that *hathe*," etc. Robert Hungerford, Lord Moleyns (1449), in the *Paston Letters* (*ut supra*), Vol. I, p. 80. "*Ze wryteth*, in your letter," etc. Sir John Paston (1469), *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 369. "*Ze hath* not sent it," etc. Margery Paston (1489), *ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 349. "Ye . . . *hath* the keyes in your warde." Anon., *Cronycle of Englonde* (1483), 1 v. (ed. 1510). "And you have been so good, and *hath* shewed your goodness," etc. "And, sir, you be, indeed, scius artifex, and *hath* a good hand," etc. Bp. Latimer (1538 and 1539), pp. 394, 416 (*ut supra*). Also (1539), p. 422. "Ye yourself *hath* begun," etc. Bp. John Jewel (1560), *Works* (ed. 1845-1850), Vol. I, p. 66. "Yourselfe *hath* confessed the same." Bp. Edmund Geste (1568), in the *Archaeologia*, Vol. XXXI (1846), p. 466. But it is possible that, with Bishop Geste, "hath" is for "has," from the influence of "selfe." For we elsewhere find: "And I think you yourself *is* not ignorant therein." Bp. Latimer (1536), p. 373 (*ut supra*). "Your selfe *is* of fleshe." William Painter, *The Palace of Pleasure* (1575), Vol. I, p. 171 (ed. 1813); and again in Vol. I, p. 340. Similar is: "Myself *is* occupied." William Fleetwood (1577), in Sir Henry Ellis's *Original Letters*, etc., Second Series (1827), Vol. III, p. 56.

The first and second persons singular also were sometimes made to end in *-th*. Several instances are at hand of "I *hath*" in the time of Hen. VII; and I have found "I *doth*" used in the time of Hen. VIII. Bishop Geste, in the page referred to above, has "thou *hath*."

<sup>14</sup> It would be a heavy task to indicate all the forthcoming passages which go to show that such plurals, of the third person, and preceded by plural subjects, were by no means unexampled in the Elizabethan era. Here are a few references in point:

*Maketh, hath.* Sir Thomas North, *Dial of Princes* (1557), fol. 49 v. and 55 v. (ed. 1568). *Lieth, hath.* George Cavendish (1558), Vol. II, p. 160 (*ut supra*). *Knoweth. Id.* (about 1560), *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 130. *Goeth, doth, hath.* Abp. Parker (1559-1573), *Correspondence* (*ut supra*), pp. 62, 304, 326, 379, 438. *Hath.* Bp. John Jewel (1560), *Works* (*ut supra*), Vol. I, pp. 18, 25. *Telleth.* Dr. Henry Cole (1560), *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 38. *Hath.* Sir Thomas Hoby, *The Courtyer* (*ut*

in contexts of various descriptions,—as in concord with pronouns or proper names,—but did not hesitate at “moth and rust *doth* corrupt,” “distress and anguish *cometh*,” “my flesh and my heart *faileth*,”<sup>14</sup> and the like, was in harmony with the fashion of their period; and their period was one in which a slight archaism, especially if it conduced to an agreeable rhythm, was often held to constitute passably orthodox syntax. Incidentally, a curious fact, mentioned by a grammarian of the time of the Commonwealth, may account, in a measure, for the continuation of the habit of yoking two or more substantives with what have come to be, exclusively, singular verbs. Richard Hodges,<sup>15</sup> discoursing on the customs of “our ordinary speech,” states, that, “howsoever wee

*supra*), sig. F 4 v. *Sayeth*. John Heywood, *Proverbs and Epigrams* (1562), p. 31 (ed. 1867). *Hath, dieth*. Rev. Dr. Thomas Stapleton, *History of the Church of Englande* (1565), fol. 14. *Hath*. Rev. Dr. William Fulke, *Stapleton's Fortress Overthrown*, etc. (*ut supra*), p. 122. *Doth* (*quinquies*), *hath* (bis). Nicholas Lichefield, *The First Booke of the Historie*, etc. (1582), Prologue. *Cometh*. *Id.*, *ibid.*, fol. 127. *Deserveth*. Reginald Scot, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584), p. 49. *Causeth*. T. B., *The French Academie* (1586), p. 53 (ed. 1589). *Doth*. Bp. Gervase Babington, *A Profitable Exposition*, etc. (1588), p. 31 (ed. 1615). *Hath, doth, cometh*. Robert Parke, *Historie of . . . China*, etc. (1588), pp. 21, 317, 327. *Doth, hath*. Shakespeare, *Merchant of Venice*, Act III, Scene II; *Winter's Tale*, Act I, Scene I.

The third person plural *doth*, employed protactically, lingered on at least to the middle of the seventeenth century.

“How *doth* our eies see,” etc. Rev. Dr. Thomas Wright, *The Passions of the Minde in Generall* (1601), p. 304 (ed. 1621).

“How *doth* grammarians hack and slash for the genitive case in Jupiter!” Sir Thomas Browne, *Religio Medici* (1643), p. 136 (ed. 1645).

“How ill *doth* green thoughts suit with gray heads!” Rev. Dr. Thomas Fuller, *A Pisgah-sight of Palestine* (ed. 1650), Books IV, V, p. 58.

<sup>14</sup> In Isaiah, VIII, 6, the Jacobean revisers put, after “people,” “*refuseth . . . and rejoyce*.” Euphony may have prompted this kind of irregularity, alike with them and with some of their precursors. Coverdale, Matthew, and Cranmer have “*refuseth . . . and put their delite*”; while the reading of the Genevan version is “*hathe refused . . . and rejoyce*.” In the sixteenth century, and even later, writers at times indulged in the like of “*refuseth . . . and rejoyce*,” considering one exhibition of the longer termination as enough for both verbs.

<sup>15</sup> *The Plainest Directions for the True Writing of English*, etc. (1649), p. 60.

Elsewhere he gives *coats* and *quoteth*, *boughs* and *boweth*, *clawes* and *claweth* *choose* and *cheweth*, etc., etc., as alike in sound.

If, conversely, the terminal *-s* was heard as *-th*, Ascham's “you *lettes*” was one with the less unexpected “you *letteth*.” See the end of note 5 *supra*, and note 13.

write them thus, *leadeth* it, *maketh* it, *noteth* it," for example, "wee say *lead's* it, *make's* it, *note's* it."

In the sphere of philology, as elsewhere, the cogency of facts being greater than that of intuitions, the foregoing evidences of usage will not, as estimated by those who value scientific truth, have been collected superfluously.

FITZEDWARD HALL.

#### IV.—STUDIES IN PINDARIC SYNTAX.

##### I.—THE CONDITIONAL SENTENCE IN PINDAR.

In this study of the conditional sentence in Pindar, no attempt will be made to discuss at length the general subject of the hypothetical period. While there is much less tendency to cast-iron rule, and the genesis of the hypothesis has been sought with a large measure of success in the original *parataxis*, yet scholars still hold, and rightly hold, to certain leading types of conditional sentences. We are still obliged to use formulae that are left over from earlier methods. Transparent form and evident etymology would relieve us of many syntactical problems, such, for instance, as torment us in the theory of the cases. And so a convincing resolution of *ei* would be a great gain for the study of the hypothetical sentence. Curtius's parallelism with 'wenn' may please the Germans, the parallelism with 'so' would seem to commend itself to German and English alike; but no one is thoroughly satisfied with these. Lange, it is true, has given the particle a happy name: *ei* is an adhibitive as *μή* is a prohibitive. 'Adhibitive' will serve, but only because it is so vague. *ἄν* and *κείν* have not yet come to rest. Every now and then some one arises who finds a vital distinction between them and promulgates a yard-long definition for these perplexing particles; others are content to decline any definition and simply note how they behave in combination. But, while much remains unsettled, the lines of research are clearly marked; and it is not time wasted to ascertain the forms in which such a genius as Pindar has cast his suppositions. Those who deny or despise the literary result will at least appreciate the grammatical statistic or the historic growth.

For convenience' sake the four leading forms of the conditional will be designated as 'logical,' 'anticipatory,' 'ideal,' and 'unreal.' 'Logical' is an old designation; 'unreal' in the form *irrealis* for the condition 'contrary to fact' has become very popular among the Germans of late. The 'ideal' is sometimes called the 'potential.' The *ἐάν* conditional lacks a distinctive name, and I have designated it as the 'anticipatory' conditional, for reasons to be assigned below.



These four forms are crystallizations from a much larger number, just as the modern English hypothesis in its poverty exhibits a striking contrast to the floating wealth of the Shakespearean condition. In Pindar we find that the crystallization has been substantially effected, that his feeling of the conditional is essentially at one with that of the standard language. Only at one remarkable point does he show the influence of the earlier stage.

I. 1. The Logical Condition states the elements in question. It is used of that which can be brought to the standard of fact; but that standard may be for or against the truth of the postulate. All that the logical condition asserts is the inexorable connexion of the two members of the sentence. It is the favorite condition in argument. It is the favorite condition when one wishes to be or seem fair, the favorite condition when one is sure of the premiss. So it is often a *pro forma* condition, just as *si quidem* approaches *quia*; but so long as the negative continues to be μή, the conditional and the causal do not coincide. It is little used in epic poetry, much in dramatic, much in lyric. I have elsewhere shown how clearly it is differentiated in one of its forms, *ei* w. fut. ind., from *ἐάν* w. the subj.<sup>1</sup> In prose it is largely argumentative or semi-causal.<sup>2</sup>

2. The Logical Condition, like every other form of the conditional sentence, is particular or generic according to the character of the apodosis. Hence, when it has its apodosis in the present it has a double meaning, which adapts it admirably to personal argument, especially when the form *ἐἰ τις* is used, which may point either to a definite or to an indefinite person. But as the *ἐάν* conditional with a present indicative apodosis is regularly generic, it is not without reason that the *ἐάν* form should be preferred when distinctly generic action is to be expressed. Just as the conative element is not so distinct in the present as in the imperfect, simply because the present has the double function of a present of continuance (durative present) and a present of attainment (aoristic present), so the *ἐάν* conditional is more distinctly the generic conditional. All this is true of the crystallized language of prose. When we turn to poetry we find

<sup>1</sup> On *ei* with the fut. ind. and *ἐάν* with the subj. in the Tragic Poets (Transactions of the American Philological Association, 1876), from which paper such phrases as may suit the present purpose will be borrowed.

<sup>2</sup> In a recent edition of Xenophon's Anabasis, by Mr. Pretor, the editor, commenting on 4. 1, excludes the logical condition from the chief forms of the conditional proposition, which the beginner is reminded 'to master once for all.' An editor of Pindar could not afford to treat the logical condition so cavalierly.

that Homer prefers the subjunctive for generic relations, and in this respect Pindar follows him. This brings us to

II. The Anticipatory Condition, which is the name I have given to what is also called the *ἐάν* condition. For this form of the condition we want a word that will harmonize present and future. Anticipation is not expectation, though it is loosely used for expectation. Anticipation treats the future as if it were a present, and so we find an analogue for the protasis of this form in the imperative, which gives us a convenient paratactic representative, although it really represents historically and adequately only *εἰ* with the subj., not *ἐάν* with the subj.

The division of the anticipatory sentence into particular and generic was first made by Bäumlein (1846).<sup>1</sup> The anticipatory condition is particular or generic according to the character of the apodosis (see my Latin Gr. §596 note), just as any other conditional sentence. Only in Greek the present indicative is regularly generic when associated with *ἐάν* in the protasis, as the *praesens propheticum* is so rare as not to count. If we look at the anticipatory sentence historically we shall see that it is a fusion of at least two Homeric sets, *εἰ* with the subjunctive, which seems to have been the original generic, and the *εἰ* κε, ἥν set, which seems to have been an original particular. In Attic poetry *εἰ* with the subjunctive is occasionally found with a different tone from the older *εἰ* with the subjunctive, and with a decided leaning to the effect of the future indicative or, in the aorist, to the Lat. *si* with fut. perf. of the older period. In Pindar the generic *εἰ* with the subjunctive alone is used. Pindar does not object to *ὅς* *ἄν* or *ὅταν*, but there is no *εἰ* *ἄν*, nor *εἰ* κε.

III. The Ideal Condition seems to have been developed out of the wish, just as the anticipatory was developed out of the demand. Perhaps 'ideal' is not a very good word, but it may serve to reconcile the two notions of desire and thought. In the ideal condition there is still discernible the old optative notion. There is often a

<sup>1</sup> See Gr. Modi, s. 208, and School Grammar (first ed. 1856) clearly enough §§ 606, 615, 619. I owed my first acquaintance with Bäumlein's Griech. Modi to my teacher, Prof. Franz, of Berlin, who gave us, in his *Schola Graeca* (1850), the leading principles of Bäumlein's book in Greek, and, while the world has doubtless moved beyond Bäumlein, still I consider myself to owe a debt to an author who first gave an impulse to my grammatical studies. The distinction, the importance of which Bäumlein himself did not recognize fully, has passed into the school grammars such as Koch's (§ 114), and is familiar to all English-speaking Hellenists through the grammatical works of Professor Goodwin, who came to his results independently.

wish for or against. As you may use an imperative in irony, so you may use an optative of what you dread. It is the general condition of illustration. It is the condition of fancy,<sup>1</sup> and the word 'fancy' itself in its shifting significance may enable us to understand the Greek optative. The great riddle of the optative remains to be solved—the relation which it bears to the subjunctive, a relation so intimate that it is said to stand for the subjunctive after historical tenses. The *oratio obliqua* optative for the indicative is a comparatively late growth. It came in through the interrogative sentence, thanks to a weakening of the feeling for the moods. But the 'optative for the subjunctive' after historical tenses is familiar enough in the earliest period. Are we to accept Kühner's view and call the optative the subjunctive of the historical tenses in superficial conformity with the peculiar condition of the moods in Latin? Few would accept that now. Or are we to recognize a peculiar propriety in this shifting of demand for the future to dream for the past?<sup>2</sup>

As in the anticipatory, so in the ideal condition, we may have the classification into particular and generic. The generic optative after past tenses corresponds to the generic subjunctive after principal tenses. It was a mistake to call this optative a 'frequentative' optative, as if it were fundamentally different from the generic subjunctive. In both instances the frequentative idea lay in the notion of rule contained in the leading verb.

IV. The Unreal Condition, 'the hypothesis contrary to fact,' seems to be related to the hopeless wish, as the ideal condition to the wish pure and simple. Even Lange in his admirable treatise on *ei* with the optative has given himself the trouble of discriminating between the possibilities and impossibilities of the action of the optative. The only impossibility that language recognizes here is futurelessness. A wish may be madly impossible, but if it belongs to the domain of the future it is optative. Now the hopeless wish is hopeless because it is futureless; and while it may seem strange to turn the familiar statement round and derive the unreal condition from the hopeless wish rather than the hopeless wish from an incomplete unreal condition, be it remembered that the shifting of the point of view, the dramatic change of persons, is of the essence of

<sup>1</sup> 'Mood of the imagination' is what Lange prefers, and 'imagination' covers a great deal; but the imagination is made to work by hope and fear.

<sup>2</sup> Delbrück calls this 'Modusverschiebung,' 'eine Errungenschaft des Griechischen.' (Conj. u. Opt. s. 83.)

the situation. In the logical condition, in the anticipatory, opposing propositions are made in rapid succession. There is no reason why the wish should have been the wish of the speaker. The universe is full of wishes and wishers.

These four chief forms of the conditional sentence are all represented in Pindar, the logical, the anticipatory, the ideal, and unreal.

In Pindar the Logical Conditions far outnumber, indeed almost double, all the others put together. It is largely a mere *pro forma* condition. Occasionally generic, it almost always has in view a particular illustration of the principle involved. The *νῖς* of the *ἀντιπῖς* is the victor, the victor's enemy, the victor's encomiast, and doubtless, sometimes, when it seems to us indefinite, it had a special point. This is part of the plastic character of the Pindaric style. His prepositions put before us, as the prepositions of no other Greek poet, the actual place, and so his suppositions are taken largely from concrete instances. Sometimes the reality which he has before him is so fair that it seems for a moment a dream, and he passes over into the optative (I 4 (5), 15; cf. O 6, 4), but his delight is in the sharp, clear-cut indicative. The logical condition may be generic, but it must be remembered that the generic rose out of the individual. So the generic article presents us with the model individual. So the gnomic aorist brings up a typical act of the past, which, being typical, is good for all time. Pindar goes back to the original conception. Under his generic indicative we feel the individual. The purely generic with him takes the subjunctive, but he does not use it much. True, there is moralizing enough, else Pindar were not Greek, but it is moralizing with sharp, personal application. There is a smile, a frown, a flout, under almost every *νῖς* of the logical condition. But it would be a mistake to narrow this form to the particular. The very delight of it is the double edge, the transparent riddle.

To specify. Of 48 logical conditions in Pindar, 19 refer to the victor either in terms, O 6, 77; P 1, 87. 90; 3, 80; N 2, 6; 3, 19; 4, 79; or with more reserve under cover of a *νῖς* or the like, O 2, 62; 5, 23; 11 (10), 5; 14, 7; P 3, 80. 103; 11, 55; 12, 28; N 11, 13; I 3 (4), 1; 4 (5), 22; 5 (6), 10; 8 refer to the poet or his Muse expressly, O 1, 3. 19; 8, 55; 9, 26; P 11, 41; N 7, 69. 75; 9, 28; to an enemy three, P 2, 58; 8, 73; I 1, 66. Adjuration takes the logical form as a matter of course, O 1, 77; I 5 (6), 42; and akin is *ἐν* = *ἐν*, O 3, 42.

Of the generic sentences not included in the exhibit given above, some may be referred without difficulty to specific realization. So O 1, 66 has reference to Tantalus, and the others might easily be disposed of, if we were to allow ourselves the latitude of interpretation indulged in by some commentators. But there is no gain in denying the generic. Let O 14, 7; P 4, 145; I 6 (7), 43 be generic. What we have gained for Pindar is his conception of this relation. It is not so much that of a class as of a type, and so it was in the beginning, as I have said. So it was with the generic article, so it was with the gnomic aorist. The 'any one' was 'some one,' the ideal second person, a true 'thou.'

I now give a list of the logical conditions<sup>1</sup> in Pindar arranged according to the verb of the protasis. The protasis precedes in the vast majority of instances. Where it is subsecutive I have indicated the fact by *s*.

*Protasis.**Apodosis.*

## Present:

O 1, 3	Imv.
66	Pres. ind.
77	Imv.
2, 62 ( <i>οἶδεν</i> = pres.) <i>s</i> . <sup>2</sup>	Pres. ind.
3, 42	Pres. ind.
5, 23	Imv. subj.
9, 26 <i>s</i> .	Fut. ind.
11 (10), 5 ( <i>πράσσει</i> ) <sup>3</sup>	Pres. ind.
P 1, 87	Pres. ind.
90	Imv.
2, 58	Pres. ind.
3, 80	"
85 <i>s</i> .	"
103	"
4, 145 (others <i>πέλη</i> )	"
8, 73 ( <i>πέπασται</i> = pres.)	"
9, 50	Fut. ind.
N 4, 79	Imv.
5, 50	"
7, 69 <i>s</i> .	Fut. or fut. w. <i>ἄν</i> .

<sup>1</sup> I have not included the corrupt *εἰ . . . κατάκειται* I 1, 41.

<sup>2</sup> Condition an afterthought, a saving clause, according to the usual interpretation.

<sup>3</sup> So with Christ for *πράσσει* (Hartung *πράσση*).

<i>Protasis.</i>	<i>Apodosis.</i>
Present:	
N 7, 86	Opt. w. κε.
10, 83	Pres. ind.
85	Opt. w. κε.
I 1, 67	Pres. ind.
3 (4), 1	"
5 (6), 10	"
6 (7), 43	"
Fr. VII, 4, 9 <sup>1</sup>	"
No verb, present to be supplied:	
O 14, 7 s.	Pres. ind.
P 9, 93	Inv.
12, 28	Pres. ind.
N 9, 28	"
Future (?):	
O 7, 1	Aor. ind. (paradigmatic).
N 11, 13	Inv.
Perfect:	
N 2, 6 s.	Pres. ind.
5, 19	Opt. in an inv. sense.
I 4 (5), 22	Inv.
Imperfect:	
N 7, 74	Pres. ind.
Aorist:	
O 1, 19 s.	Inv.
55	Impf.
6, 77	Pres. ind.
8, 54	Inv.
P 11, 41	Pres. ind.
55 s.	"
N 3, 19	"
7, 75	"
11, 13	Inv.
I 5 (6), 42	Pres. ind.

Pindar like Homer has no great love for *ei* with the future indicative. True, there is a clear fut. ind. in Fr. VII, 4, 15 as is shown both by the combination with the present and by the minatory character, but the other examples are, to say the least, uncanny. Where *παπαμύσσει* stands (Bgk. *προαμύσσει*) we should expect the present, N 11,

<sup>1</sup> To these may be added N 4, 36 *καίπερ* (*καίτερ*) *ἔχει*.

13; *παραμένσεται* (subj.) and *ἐπιδείξῃ* might pass, or, by transposition, *ἄλλους παραμένσάτο μορφῇ*. I find no difficulty in considering *δωρήσεται* a subjunctive, and can see no valid reason for asserting, as commentators do, that Pindar does not use the so-called short form (see Stier, *Curt. Stud.* 2, 137; Gust. Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 528, s. 402. To me *αὐδάσομεν*, O 1, 7, which is combined with an imperative, is a subjunctive, and *βάσομεν*, O 6, 24, which is combined with a subjunctive, is a subjunctive, and *δέξεται* in a generic relative sentence, Fr. X, 4, 2, is a subjunctive.

In Pindar the Anticipatory Condition appears only in the older form *εἰ* with the subj., and only in the generic sense. In Homer *εἰ* w. subj., *εἴ κε*, *αἶ κε*, *ἢν*, *εἰ ἂν* w. subj. all occur, the last mentioned rarely. That these forms were differentiated in pre-Homeric times is not unlikely, and there is a trace of such differentiation in Homer's preference for *εἰ* w. subj. in generic conditions and in conditions within a comparison (comp. *ὥς δ' ὅτε* w. subj.)<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I have purposely expressed myself with reserve. To exclude *ἂν* (*κέν*) from all generic sentences in Homer, as has been done, seems to require too much sleight of interpretation. The questionable conditional sentences may be very few, but the temporal and relative sentences are numerous. Bäumlein, who says (s. 221): *es ist doch bemerkenswerth dass Homer αἰ κε, εἰ κε u. εἰ ἂν [he means εἰ ἂν] nur bei der Voraussetzung der Verwirklichung einzelner Fälle, nicht aber bei allgemeinen Annahmen zu gebrauchen scheint*, accepts the generic for *ὅτε κε*, Z 225, θ 242, λ 218, ν 180, *ὅπποτε κε* Δ 40, γ 237, *ὅτ' ἂν* B 397, I 101, λ 18, *ὥς δτ' ἂν* K 5, Δ 269, M 41 [?], O 80, 170, P 520, ε 394, κ 410 [? comp. M 41], χ 468, ψ 233, *ὅπποτ' ἂν* O 209, λ 17. But at this point Bäumlein gives up the analysis into particular and generic as unessential and as not always practicable. Of the other examples which he gives *εὖτ' ἂν* ρ 320, 323 would be considered by most persons generic, and so *ἐπεὶ κε* B 475, θ 554 and *ἐπὶν* θ 553, κ 411, λ 192. Under the relative he gives for *ὅς κε* A 139, 218, B 231, 346, 367, 391, Γ 354, Δ 306, Z 228, β 128, δ 29, 196, ζ 28, ι 59, 202 [?], θ 586, κ 22, 327, 434 [?] for *δοτὶς κε* A 294, 527, Γ 279, γ 355, θ 549 [?], λ 147, ζ 445; for *ὅς ἂν* O 348, τ 332, φ 294. Some of these passages are doubtless open to objection, but the number of those in which the use would correspond exactly to the Attic use of *δν* and the subj. might be increased. In his *Homeric Grammar*, which is certain to have a marked effect on studies of this kind in England, Mr. Monro excludes *ἂν* and *κέν* from all references to frequent and indefinite occasions. It has been seen that Bäumlein was exposed to the same temptation and withstood it. Mr. Monro acknowledges the existence of exceptions, but he says they are chiefly found (1) 'in clauses which restrict or qualify a general supposition already stated, and (2) where a distinction or contrast is implied.' It is tolerably evident that this cannot be called a good working rule, and Mr. Monro's prejudice against *ἂν* in a generic sentence is strikingly shown (p. 51) where he says that the use of *ὅτ' ἂν* in a simile is not Homeric, despite the string of examples cited above and those given in Leo Meyer's *AN* (s. 27), which he had

Of the first class, A 80 sqq.

κρείσσων γὰρ βασιλεύς, ὅτε χάσεται ἀνδρὶ χέρη·  
εἰ περ γὰρ τε χόλον γε καὶ αὐτῆμαρ καταπέψῃ  
ἀλλά τε καὶ μετόπισθεν ἔχει κότον κτέ.

comp. Δ 261, K 225, α 168, μ 96, ξ 373, π 98, 116.

Of the second class, A 116:

ἦ δ' εἰ πέρ τε τύχῃσι μάλα σχεδόν, οὐ δύναται σφιν  
χραιομεῖν κτέ.

comp. φ 576, X 191.

This use of *εἰ* with the subj. as the original and normal form for the generic conditional, accounts for the fact, otherwise unexplained, that in standard Greek *εἰάν* or *ἤν*, when transferred to the past, 'becomes,' in common parlance, *εἰ* with the opt., in apparent contravention of the rule that *άν* in *oratio recta* always reappears in *oratio obliqua*. So *ὅταν* w. subj., *ἐπειδάν* and the rest 'become' *ὅτε*, *ἐπειδή* and the rest with the opt., the truth being that *εἰ*, *ὅτε*, *ἐπειδή* and the rest with the subj. are the old forms which have naturally a corresponding *εἰ*, *ὅτε*, *ἐπειδή* and the rest with the opt., and this transfer to *oratio obliqua* was settled before *εἰάν*, *ὅταν*, *ἐπειδάν*, etc. became fixtures. The occasional emergence of *εἰάν*, *ὅταν* and the like with the optative may be due in part to a rebellion against a misunderstood tradition. *εἰ* with the subj. is sometimes found in prose as a conditional form, but it is always or almost always open to suspicion. *εἰ* w. subj. occurs more frequently in Attic poetry, but confusion with the opt., *e. g.* *τύχῃ* with *τύχοι*, often lies so near as to suggest a slip on the part of the scribe. In the few passages that are unimpeachable it would seem that a singular upturning has taken place. In Homer *εἰ* with the subj. is as colorless as *εἰάν* with the subj. in prose; whereas, as I hinted on another occasion, *εἰ* with the subj. in Attic approaches in tone the harshness of *εἰ* with the fut. ind. This is due in all likelihood to the exclusively imperative use of the pure subj. in Attic, a force which is made more sensible in this special case by the existence of the interrogative *εἰ* with the subj., so that we shall not go far wrong, if in the particular condition we make the significance of the Attic condi-

before him: In Pindar I would note in passing that *ὥς ὅτε* is commonly used without a verb, O 6, 2; P 11, 40; N 9, 16; I 5 (6), 1. When it takes a verb, it is in the indicative and not in the subj., N 8, 40.



tional *εἰ* with the subj. = *εἰ δεῖ* w. inf. However that may be, Pindar is Homeric in his use of *εἰ* w. subj.; non-Homeric in his exclusive use of it.

The examples are few :

O 6, 11: πολλοὶ δὲ μέμναι καλὸν εἴ τι ποναθῇ (generic).

P 4, 263 presents us with a specimen of *εἰ* with the subj. in comparison, if we follow the editors and not the MSS. Every one knows the allegorical subtlety of the passage, very different from the transparent disguise of the logical condition already cited. But the last word on this riddle has not been said.

P 4, 273: ἐπὶ χώρῃς αὐτὶς ἔσσαι δυσπαλὲς δὴ γίνεται, ἐξαπίνης | *εἰ μὴ* θεὸς ἀγεμόνεσσι κυβερνατὴρ γένηται (generic). The practical application follows.

N 7, 11: *εἰ δὲ τύχη* τις ἔρδων, μελίφρον' αἰτίαν ῥοαῖσι Μοισᾶν ἐνέβαλε. v. 14: ἔργοις δὲ καλοῖς ἴσοπτρον ἴσαμεν . . . *εἰ* εὐρηται ἄποινα μίχθων. The MSS have *εὐρηται* τις, Schmid read *εὐρη* τις.

N 9, 46: *εἰ γὰρ* ἄμκ κτεάνοις πολλοῖς ἐπίδοξον ἄρηται | κύδος, οὐκέτ' ἔστι πόρσω θνατὸν ἔτι σκοπιᾶς ἄλλας ἐφίψασθαι ποδοῖν. Bergk's reading *ἴστω* λαχὼν πρὸς δαιμόνων θαυμαστὸν ἔλθον, *εἰ*—ἄρηται does not change the character of the conditional.

I 3 (4), 58: τοῦτο γὰρ ἀθάνατον φωνᾶεν ἔρπει, | *εἴ* τις εὐ εἶπη τι.

I 4 (5), 12: δύο δέ τοι ζωᾶς ἥωτον μούνα ποιμαίνοντι τὸν ἄλπνιστον, . . . | *εἴ* τις εὐ πάσχων λόγον ἐσλὸν ἀκούῃ. As this is the only passage in which the pres. subj. occurs, a change to the aorist is suggested. It is very significant that the particular proposition follows in the opt., πάντ' ἔχεις, εἴ σε τούτων μοῖρ' ἐφίκοιτο καλῶν.

Fr. II 11, 5: *εἰ δὲ* τις ἀνθρώποισι θεόδοτος ἅτα | προστύχῃ, ταύταν σκόττει κρύπτειν ἔοικεν.

In exhibiting the Ideal Condition in Pindar I shall take up first the more regular forms with *εἰ* and opt. in the protasis, followed by opt. and *κέ* in apodosis; *κέ*, for Pindar does not use *ἄν* w. opt. in a formulated conditional sentence. No poet shows better how this condition originated than Pindar, and in some passages the editors have punctuated the members so as to indicate the growth. Still we must not forget that to Pindar himself the conditional sentence was sufficiently well articulated.

O 1, 111: *εἰ δὲ* μὴ ταχὺ λίποι (wish), | ἔτι γλυκυτέραν κεν ἔλπομαι . . . κλείζειν.

O 6, 4: *εἰ δ'* εἷ μὲν Ὀλύμπιονίκας . . . τίνα κεν φύγοι ὕμνον κείνος ἀνὴρ; | ἴστω γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ πεδίλῳ δαιμόνιον πόδ' ἔχων. A fair dream, too fair to come to pass, and yet it has come to pass. Comp. a similar

change of tone in Plat. Sympos. 175 E: εὖ ἂν ἔχοι . . . εἰ τοιοῦτον εἴη ἡ σοφία followed by εἰ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχει καὶ ἡ σοφία with a delightfully humorous change of tone, as if the fanciful supposition could be argued about.

P 3, 110: εἰ δέ μοι πλοῦτον θεὸς ἀβρὸν ὀρέξαι, | ἐλπιδ' ἔχω κλέος εὐρέσθαι κεν ὑψηλὸν πρόσω.

A loose-jointed condition is found:

P 1, 46: εἰ γὰρ ὁ πᾶς χρόνος . . . εὐθύνοι which wish is followed by ἡ κεν ἀμνάσειεν. Of such sentences there are many in Homer.

Those who recognize a kind of religious connexion between εἰ with the opt. in protasis and the opt. with ἂν (κέν) in the apodosis will not be pleased to see that the majority of Pindar's ideal conditions are 'irregular.' The fut. and the opt. with ἂν (κέν) are often interchangeable to our idiom. We have no pure future, and our translation of a Greek future is necessarily colored as much as our translation of a Greek opt. with ἂν. The large use of the opt. and ἂν in standard Greek is due, as I have repeatedly urged, to the greater temporal exactness and to the total negation conveyed by the aorist. So εἰ with opt. is followed by the future:

O 13, 105: εἰ δὲ δαίμων γενέθλιος ἔρποι, | Δι' τοῦτ' Ἐνυαλίφ τ' ἐκδόσωμεν πρῶσσειν. A verb of hoping precedes.

With present in the apodosis:

P 1, 81: καιρὸν εἰ φθέγγαιο . . . μείων ἔπεται μῶμος ἀνθρώπων (wish followed by an emphatic present 'is sure to ensue.')

P 8, 13: κέρδος δὲ φίλτατον, ἐκόντος εἴ τις ἐκ δόμων φέροι where φέρη is indeed possible. Still εἴ τις φέροι = φέρειν is an equation that solves many apparent irregularities even in Attic, and there is besides an element of wish. In like manner explain:

I 2, 33: οὐ γὰρ πάγος οὐδὲ προσάντης ἂ κέλευθος γίνεται, | εἴ τις εὐδόξῃς ἐς ἀνδρῶν ἄγοι τιμὰς Ἑλικωνιάδων. The opt. of wish follows in ἀκοντίσσαιμι.

I 4 (5), 14: πάντ' ἔχεις, | εἴ σε τούτων μοῖρ' ἐφίκοιτο καλῶν. Here ἔχεις may be considered an equivalent to a future as above. The wish is realized, but fact seems still to be fancy.

Of the ideal conditionals there remains for discussion:

N 7, 89: εἰ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ θεὸς ἂν ἔχοι (so the codices; some editors give ἀνέχοι, Bergk ἀλέγοι). Pindar does not use ἂν in the formulated conditional sentence (if we except ἂν ἐρεῖ N 7, 68), and while no Greek scholar can boggle at ἂν and the opt. in the protasis, if it makes a fair sense, the use of it here is suspicious. And then what does εἰ θεὸς ἂν ἔχοι mean? Neither ἀνέχοι nor ἀλέγοι is satisfactory,

and the passage must be left for the present among the puzzles of that difficult ode.

The following are the few Unreal Conditionals in Pindar:

O 12, 16: ἦ τοι καὶ τεὰ κεν . . . ἀκλεῆς τιμὰ κατεφυλλορόησε ποδῶν, | εἰ μὴ στάσις ἀντιάνειρα Κνωσίας σ' ἄμερσε πάτρας.

P 3, 73: εἰ κατέβαν ὑγίειαν ἄγων χρυσίαν . . . ἀστέρος οὐρανόιο φαμί τηλαυγέστερον κείνῳ φάος ἐξικόμαν κε βαθὺν πόντον περάσαις.

N 4, 13: εἰ δ' ἔτι ζυμενέϊ Τιμόκριτος ἀελίῳ | σὸς πατὴρ ἐθάλπεται, . . . ἅμα κε τῷδε μέλει κλιθεὶς ὕμνον κελάδῃσε καλλίηικον. (If he were living, he would have sounded forth.)

N 7, 24: εἰ γὰρ ἦν (it was not and is not possible) | ἔ (sc. δμῖλον ἀνδρῶν τὸν πλείστον) τὰν ἀλάθειαν ἰδέμεν, οὐ κεν ὅπλων χολωθεὶς | ὁ καρτερὸς Ἄϊας ἔπαξε διὰ φρενῶν | λευρὸν ξίφος.

Looser in structure with prominence of the original hopeless wish:

P 4, 43: εἰ γὰρ οἴκοι νιν βάλε (would that he had). . . . τετράτων παίδων κ' ἐπιγενομένων αἱμά Φοι κείναν λάβε σὺν Δαναοῖς εὐρείαν ἄπειρον.

P 3, 63: εἰ δὲ σῶφρων ἄντρον ἔναι' ἔτι Χείρων . . . λατῆρά τοί κεν νιν πίθον . . . παρασχεῖν.

In the sentence:

P 3, 1: ἤθελον Χείρωνά κε Φιλυρίδαν, | εἰ χρεὼν τοῦθ' ἀμετέρας ἀπὸ γλώσσας κοινὸν εὔξασθαι *Ἔξπος*, the apodosis of εἰ χρεὼν (sc. ἔστι) is the utterance itself, and the condition is logical = οὕτως εἴχομαι, εἰ χρὴ εὔξασθαι.

I have now completed the survey of the Pindaric conditional sentence. The predominance of the logical hypothesis is its most striking feature, but not the only thing worthy of note. The narrowing of epic licence is of itself a matter of importance. The Homer that Pindar knew did not sway his syntax in this great class of sentences. Pindar is simple, clear, cold. All the coloring and shading of the ever fluctuating Homeric conditional, which is all things to all circumstances, is replaced by simple formulae. There is, of course, some play of fancy in the ideal conditional; Pindar is a poet and a great poet, but he is not an eagle nor a river, and works quietly and consciously for the most part, even if he does not compose lyric sermons with seven or eight heads, more or less, according to the Terpendrian νόμος.

II.—ON *AN* AND *KEN* IN PINDAR.

As the particles *αν* and *κεν* are so largely used in certain classes of conditional sentences, I have thought it best to complete this exhibit by a conspectus of Pindar's use of them. Some scholars suppose that *αν* and *κεν* have exactly the same function and are differentiated by dialect only, *κεν* (*κά*) belonging to the Aeolic (Doric) dialect, *αν* to the Ionic, the dominant occurrence of *κεν* in Homer being explained by the adoption of a large number of Aeolic forms, or, according to a more adventurous hypothesis, by the transfusion of an older Homer from an Aeolic original.<sup>1</sup> Others have maintained that they are not only etymologically but functionally different, and many attempts have been made to formulate that difference, from Sommer down. Most of these experiments are briefly stated in Ebeling's *Lexicon Homericum* s. v. *κε*. Sommer's essay I know only from Bäumlein's discussion of it (*Untersuchungen über die griechischen Modi*, p. 63). The samples there given show that it is an eloquent production, which sets forth the consequences of a reckless substitution of *αν* for *κε* in appalling language. "Substitute *αν* for *κε* in Homer," he cries, "and you produce a form of thought that is by no means in harmony with the simplicity, freedom, and liveliness of the epic language, with its vigorous sensuousness, its passion, its confident bragging, its honest good nature, and its constant quasi-gesticulation." Substitute *αν* for *κε* and you sickly o'er the speech of Homer with the pale cast of thought, you introduce the abstract notion of conditionality, you utterly debase the uncorrupted simplicity of the good old Epic. In fact, a history of Greek literature might be based on these momentous particles. So the Attics discarded *κε*; they were colder, more subtle, more calculating than the Dorians. So Herodotus, renegade Dorian that he was, renounced a particle dear to the Doric dialect and set the seal to his apostasy. But while the metaphysics of fifty years ago may provoke a smile, it is not at all certain that much progress has been made in the differentiation, and many of the formulae that have been used since Sommer's time

<sup>1</sup> In the *Sitzungsberichte der K. bayer. Akademie Philol. Classe*, 1880, Heft 1, s. 73, v. Christ still follows Pott and Benfey in considering *αν* as a dialectal variety of *κε*, an acephalous or akappous *κάν*, which he regards as proved by the Arcadian inscription cited in Cauer's *Delectus* 117. Gustav Meyer on the other hand (*Gr. Gr.* s. 26) says that, as the inscription has *αν* everywhere (so, for instance, *δ' αν*), we must read *κάν*, not *κάν*, and goes on to show, by the help of the potent *nasalis sonans*, that *κάν* and *κεν* (*κέν*) must have been different originally.

are no better, even if they are more intelligible than his. The comparative grammarians, to whom we ethnic grammarians look for light, give us very little help and leave us to our own devices. Delbrück<sup>1</sup> maintains that *ἄν* and *κέν* are etymologically absolutely

<sup>1</sup> Delbrück first enunciates his view thus (Conj. u. Opt. p. 23): *κέν* und *ἄν* haben nicht die Macht, den Gebrauch des Modus zu modificiren, sondern sind sprachliche Zeichen des modificirten Gebrauches; and again where he treats the matter at greater length he says (p. 90): sie begleiten den Conjunctiv u. Opt. durch alle inneren Wandlungen, aber sie erzeugen dieselben nicht. In other words, subjunctive and opt. may have the same signification with *ἄν* and *κέν* as without *ἄν* and *κέν*. Only in the course of time, by some mysterious process, the subj. attended by *ἄν* differentiates itself from the pure subj., opt. and *ἄν* from pure opt. '*Ἄν* and *κέν* of themselves point only to the 'ingress of the action.' But this does not explain how wish was turned into potentiality, demand into prediction; and indeed the abstention from explanation may be the wisest possible course. Only it has always seemed to me that Hermann himself did not draw the legitimate consequences from his own theory, neither have those who consider *ἄν* and *κέν* to be particular demonstratives—a view which brings them dangerously near to *γέ*—stretched that theory to its utmost. Hermann makes *ἄν* with the opt. further from reality than the pure opt. This is contradicted by the whole tenor of the language and is in contravention of his own principle of conditionality. Condition a wish at any point and you remove it from the realm of wish to the realm of thought. It becomes something calculable, something that can be asserted. It moves into the sphere of the indicative. Narrow the subj., the opt., to a case or class of cases, and the subjunctive, the opt., cease to be absolute. If this view is true, we shall have to consider *ἄν* and *κέν* as something more than mere attendants on subj. and opt. Nor will the theory of attendance satisfy the conditions in the case of *ἄν* with the indicative. '*Ἄν* (*κέν*) is necessary for the unreal, for the ideal, indicative aor. That it is not necessary for the unreal imperfect lies in the durative character of the tense. Those who maintain that *ἄν* when combined with the subj. 'belongs to' the leading particle or the relative, are really maintaining that the *ἄν* of the subjunctive belongs to the apodosis, a position which is utterly untenable. That it ceased to be felt, that it became a mere formula is clear enough; but Pindar's usage, arbitrary as it may seem, is at least suggestive. The large use of subj. with *ἄν* in the temporal sentence, from which the future indicative is practically excluded in prose except in a narrow class, is to my mind due to the necessity felt for a sharper future, for a future which should show the relativity of the clauses more distinctly than the future indicative could do. Whatever difference there may have been between the subj. and the subj. with *ἄν* was effaced in the interest of exact temporal relation. The relative followed, then the conditional, with traces enough in poetry of the old pure subjunctive usage. In the same way the optative with *ἄν* gave the color to the future relation, which was denied to the future tense by its subjunctive affinities; it gave the exactness of duration, attainment, ingress which could only be found in the modal spheres of present, second aorist and first aorist. English has gone a similar way but has gone further. 'Will' and 'shall' have virtually crowded out the future from the principal sentence except where the will is the deed.

different, *κέν* being the Sanskrit *kam* (so that this 'familiar beast' of a particle ultimately 'signifies *love*'), while *άν* has no foreign parallel; but he comes to the conclusion that neither the parallel with *kam* nor the etymology is of any avail. Leo Meyer—to cite authorities not mentioned in the *Lexicon Homericum*—has convinced himself that *άν*, so far from having no foreign parallel, is identical with Latin *an* and Gothic *an*. In other words, he has gone back to Bopp's view, and a simple demonstrative is wrested into an alternative. It would have been safer to have kept *άν* back on remoter ground, for the Latin *an* itself is often a simple 'then.' In a recent treatise Dr. Thiemann (*Grundzüge der homerischen Modussyntax*, p. 56) sums up his investigation thus: "By the particle *κε* the speaker points to himself so far as there is a reference of his own will or his own representation (*Vorstellung*) to the action; by the particle *άν* the speaker points to special circumstances which may lie beyond his calculation, but which are intended to serve as a ground or modification of the thought." That is to me nothing but the old tune of *άν* objective, *κέν* subjective; nothing but Casseilmann's *κέν* ad cogitationem eius qui loquatur, *άν* ad rem ipsam referri, nothing but Sommer's bragging *κέν* and his calculating *άν*. We do not advance an inch.

Mr. Monro in his recently published *Homeric Grammar*, which is doubtless more accessible to my readers than the various monographs cited in the *Lexicon Homericum*, after committing himself to the view that the primary use of *άν* and *κέν* is to show that the speaker is thinking of particular instances or occasions, devotes a section to 'the difference of *άν* and *κέν*,' and notices the greater frequency of *κέν*, the preference for *άν* in negative clauses, the rare use of *άν* with the relative, the employment of *κέν* both in protasis and apodosis, whereas *άν* is especially used in the second of two parallel or connected clauses, and the indications of the use of *άν* as a more emphatic particle than *κέν*, and sums up thus: "The general effect of these differences of usage between the two particles seems to be that *άν* is used either in an *adversative* sense—with a second or opposed alternative—or when greater *emphasis* has to be expressed." *Κέν* is approximately 'then,' 'in that case,' *κέν*—*κέν* 'in one case,' 'in another case,' *άν* 'then indeed,' 'then rather,' 'even in that case.' Mr. Monro also calls attention to the difference of the accent, a point which Lange had emphasized before him. The enclisis of *κέν* seems to me to indicate that *κέν* had passed through the stages which *άν* had not yet wholly completed, when we first become

acquainted with Greek. Lange's parallel of *ἄν* with *εἰς* and *κί* with *τίς* is peculiarly suggestive in view of the Germanic treatment of 'einer' and 'one.'

The degradation of *ἄν* from an original demonstrative 'that,' 'other,' or what not, may be fairly paralleled by the fortunes of the demonstrative *τέως*. *Τέως*, 'so long,' originally a strong demonstrative correlative of *ἔως* is used comparatively seldom with an expressed term. The limit is often brought in as an afterthought, suggested, implied, left vague. *Τέως* is often practically 'for a while,' 'for the time being.' This is just the way that *ἄν* behaves. Now it has a definite reference, now it is indefinite. Sometimes the reference is supplied by the context, sometimes by the opposite. But we can still divine its history. Not so with *κέν*. *Κέν* has passed through all the stages that *ἄν* was to traverse.

But whatever difference of etymology or function there may have been, in Pindar's use there is little vestige of the original diversity. What little trace there is, however, will best appear upon exhibition of the use.

The occurrences of *κέν* that I find recorded are thirty-three:

1. O 1, 84: *τά κε τίς ἀνώνυμον γῆρας . . . ἔψοι μάταν.*
2. O 1, 111: *εἰ δὲ μὴ ταχὺ λίποι, ἔτι γλυκυτέραν κεν ἔλπομαι . . . κλείξειν.*
3. O 6, 4: *εἰ δ' εἷη μὲν Ὀλυμπιονίκας . . . τίνα κεν φύγοι ὕμνον.*
4. O 8, 82: *ἐνέποι κεν Καλλιμάχῳ.*
5. O 10 (11), 20: *θίξαις δέ κε φύντ' ἀρετῇ ποτὶ | πελώριον ὀρμάσαι κλέος.*
6. O 12, 13: *ἦτοι καὶ τεὰ κεν . . . ἀκλεῆς τιμὰ κατεφυλλορόησε ποδῶν, | εἰ μὴ στάσις . . . σ' ἄμερσε πάτρας.*
7. P 1, 45: *εἰ γὰρ δ' πᾶς χρόνος ἄλβον . . . εὐθύνοι . . . ἦ κεν ἀμνάσειεν.*
8. P 1, 69: *σύν τοι τίν κεν ἀγῆτηρ ἀνὴρ . . . δάμνῃ . . . τράποι . . . ἐς ἡσυχίαν.*
9. P 3, 1: *ἦθελον Χείρωνά κε Φιλυρίδαν.*
- 10, 11. P 3, 63: *εἰ δὲ σῶφρων αἴτρον ἔναι' ἔτι Χείρων . . . λατῆρά τοι κέν νιν πίθον καὶ νῦν . . . παρασχεῖν καὶ κεν ἐν ναυσὶν μολόν.*
12. P 3, 73: *εἰ κατέβαν ὑγίειαν ἀγων . . . ἀστέρος . . . τηλαυγέστερον κείνῳ φάος ἐξικόμαν κε.*
13. P 3, 110: *εἰ δέ μοι πλοῖτον θεὸς ἄβρὸν ὀρέξαι, ἔλπιδ' ἔχω κλέος εὐρέσθαι κεν ὑψηλὸν πρόσω.*
14. P 4, 43: *εἰ γὰρ οἶκος νιν βάλε πὰρ χθόνιον | "Αἶδα στόμα . . . τετράτων παίδων κ' ἐπιγενομένων αἶμα . . . κείναν λάβε σὺν Δαναοῖς εὐρείαν ἄπειρον.*
15. P 4, 50: *νῦν . . . εὐρίσσει . . . γένος, οἱ κεν . . . τέκωνται . . . δεσπότην.*
16. P 4, 293: *εἴχεται . . . οἶκον ἰδεῖν . . . καὶ κε μυθήσαις ὅποιαν Ἀρκεσίλῃ | εὖρε παγὰν ἀμβροσίαν ἐπέων.*
17. P 7, 20: *φαντί γε μὰν οὕτω κεν ἀνδρὶ παρμονίμαν | θάλλοισαν εὐδαιμονίαν | τὰ καὶ τὰ φέρεσθαι.*
18. P 10, 61: *τῶν δ' ἕκαστος ὀρούει, τυχὼν κεν ἀρπαλίαν σχέθοι φροντίδα.*
19. N 4, 7: *ῥῆμα δ' ἔργμάτων χρονιώτερον βιοτεύει, δ τι κε . . . γλώσσαι φρενὸς ἐξέλκει (ἐξέλῃ) βαθείας.*
20. N 4, 13: *εἰ δ' ἔτι λαμνέει Τιμόκριτος ἀέλῃ | σὺς πατὴρ ἐθάλπετο . . . θάμα κε τῷδε μέλει κλυδίς*

ὕμνον κελάδησε καλλίνικον. 21. N 4, 30: ἀπειρομάχας ἐὼν κε φανείη λόγον  
ὁ μὴ συνείς. 22. N 4, 93: οἶον αἰνέων κε Μελησίαν ἔριδα στρέφοι. 23. N  
6, 72: δελφῖνι κεν τάχος εἰκάσοιμι Μελησίαν. 24. N 7, 25: εἰ γὰρ ἦν |  
τὰν ἀλάθειαν ἰδέμεν, οὐ κεν ὅπλων χολωθεῖς | ὁ καρτερός Αἴας ἔπαξε διὰ φρενῶν  
λευρὸν ξίφος. 25. N 7, 86: εἰ δὲ δεύεται | ἀνδρὸς ἀνὴρ τι, φαῖμέν κε γείτον'  
ἔμμεναι . . . χάρμα πάντων ἐπάξιον. 26. N 7, 89: εἰ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ θεὸς ἀνέχοι, |  
ἐν τίν κ' ἐθέλοι . . . εὐτυχῶς ναίειν. 27. N 9, 34: Χρομίω κεν ὑπασπίζων  
. . . ἔκρινας ἂν κίνδυνον. 28. N 10, 39: ἀξιοθείην κεν, ἐὼν Θρασύκλου . . .  
ξύγγονος, Ἄργεϊ μὴ κρύπτειν ὀμμάτων. 29. N 10, 87: εἰ δὲ καστηγήτου  
πέρη | μάρτυσαι . . . ἥμισυ μὲν κε πνέοις. 30. I 4 (5), 48: καὶ νῦν . . .  
μαρτυρήσαι κεν πόλις. 31. I 5 (6), 72: φαίης κέ νιν . . . ἔμμεν Ναξίαν . . .  
ἀκόνα. 32. I 7 (8), 45: ἐρατὸν λύοι κεν χαλινὸν ὑφ' ἥρωι παρθεσίας. 33.  
Fr. IX, 3, 2: ἐν ξυνῶν κεν εἴη . . . γλυκερὸν κέντρον.

As to Mood and Tense:

Indic. Imperf. 9	I
Aor. 6, 10, 11, 12, 14, 20, 24, 27	8
Opt. Pres. 1, 4, 22, 23, 26, 29, 32, 33	8
Aor. <sup>1</sup> 3, 5, 7, 8, 16, 18, 21, 25, 28, 30, 31	11
Subj. Aor. 15, 19 (schol.)	2
Inf. Pres. 17	I
Aor. 13	I
Fut. 2	I
	<hr/>
	33

As to Character:

The classification of these examples is not easy. Most of them occur in conditional complexes. So 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 18, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29. Few of them are regularly formulated; for though Pindar is familiar with the formula, he still retains the sense of the origin. Clearly formulated are 2, 3, 6, 13, 24, 25, 26, 29, but some are loose-jointed—a wish followed at a distance by a thought, 7, 10, 11, 12, 14, 20—one, 16, involves a wish, the rest have the protasis involved in a participle, 5, 18, 21, 22, 27, 28, or a demonstrative 17, or a modifier as *σὺν τίν* 8. There is one Homeric *οἷ κεν* with the subj. as an exact future 15, one generic relative if we trust the scholia 19. The rest of the thirty-three are potentials and there is nothing gained by forcing them into the conditional formula. So 1, 4, 9, 23, 30, 31, 32, 33. It may be worth

<sup>1</sup> It may be well to add that *φαίμεν* (N 7, 87), *φαίης* (I 5 (6), 72), and *σκέθοι* (P 10, 61, comp. I 4, 72), are counted as aorists.



noticing that there is no negative expressed except 25 (N 7, 25), but a negative is implied 1 (O 1, 84), 3 (O 6, 6).

Formulated conditionals	8
Half formulated	6
Involved	9
Relative conditional (generic)	1
With subj. as exact future	1
Potential	8

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33

\**Ἄν* occurs:

1. O 2, 18: ἀποίητον οὐδ' ἂν χρόνος . . . δύναίτο θέμεν . . . τέλος. 2. O 2, 20: λάβα δὲ πότμῃ σὺν εὐδαίμονι γένοιτ' ἂν. 3. O 2, 110: τίς ἂν φράσαι δύναίτο. 4. O 6, 67: εὐτ' ἂν . . . Ἑρακλῆς . . . κτίσῃ. 5. O 7, 42: ὥς ἂν θεῶ κτίσαιεν. 6. O 8, 62: κείνα δὲ κείνος ἂν εἴποι | ἔργα περαιτέρων ἄλλων. 7. O 9, 30: πῶς ἂν . . . Ἑρακλῆς σκύταλον τίναζε. 8. O 13, 46: οὐκ ἂν εἰδείην λέγειν. 9. O 13, 103: τότ' ἂν φαίην σαφές. 10. P 1, 100: ὅς ἂν ἐγκύρῃ καὶ ἔλῃ . . . στέφανον δίδεκεται. 11. P 3, 106: εὐτ' ἂν . . . ἐπιβρίσῃ (Mommсен after the schol.), ἐπιβρίσαις ἔπηται (Bergk). 12. P 4, 76: εὐτ' ἂν . . . μόλῃ. 13. P 5, 65: δίδωσί τε Μοῖσαν οἷς ἂν ἐθέλῃ. 14. P 9, 119: εἶπε δ' ἐν μέσσοις ἀπάγεσθαι, ὅς ἂν πρῶτος βορῶν | ἀμφὶ Φοῖ ψαύσειε πέπλοις. 15. P 10, 23: ὕμνητός οὖτος ἀνὴρ γίνεται σοφοῖς, ὅς ἂν . . . τὰ μέγιστ' ἀέθλων ἔλῃ. 16. P 10, 29: οὕτε περὶς ἰὼν ἂν εὖροις (the old codices have no ἂν). 17. N 4, 91: τὰ δ' αὐτὸς ἂν τις ἴδῃ, ἔλπεται τις ἕκαστος ἐξοχώτατα φάσθαι. 18. N 7, 68: μαθὼν δὲ τις ἂν ἐρεῖ. 19. N 7, 89: εἰ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ θεὸς ἂν ἔχοι (so the best MSS), ἀνέχοι Thiersch, Boeckh, Mommсен, ἀλέγοι Bergk. 20. N 9, 35: ἔκρινας ἂν κίνδυνον, according to some, resumption of preceding κέν, really preposition. 21. N 11, 26: ναὶ μὰ γὰρ ὄρκον, ἐμὴν δόξαν . . . κάλλιον ἂν δηριώντων ἐνόστησ' ἀντιπάλων. 22. Fr. IX 2, 10: τάκομαι εὐτ' ἂν ἴδω.

Add to these the passages which have coalesced with *ὅτε* as *ὅταν*: 23. O 2, 23: πῆμα θνάσκει . . . ὅταν θεοῦ Μοῖρα πέμψῃ (v. l. *πέμψῃ*)' κτέ. 24. O 10 (11), 91: ὅταν . . . εἰς Ἀῖδα σταθμὸν ἀνὴρ ἵκηται . . . ἔπορε . . . βραχύ τι τερπνόν. 25. O 13, 80: κελήσατό νιν ὅταν . . . καρταίποδ' ἀναρῇ . . . θίμεν βομών. 26. P 2, 11: ἐπὶ γὰρ . . . Ἑρμῆς τίθῃσι κόσμον, ξεστὸν ὅταν δίφρον καταζευγνῇ. 27. P 5, 2: ὁ πλοῦτος εὐρυσθενῆς, ὅταν τις . . . αὐτὸν ἀνάγῃ πολύ-

<sup>1</sup> The durative tenses of *πέμπειν* are often found where novices would expect the aorist. *Πέμπειν* does not convey the idea of detachment as 'send' does. Still *πέμψῃ* here has good warrant.

φιλον ἐπέταν. 28. P 8, 96: ὅταν αἶγλα διόσδοτος ἔλθῃ, λαμπρὸν φέγγος  
ἐπεστιν ἀνδρῶν. 29. N 1, 67: ὅταν θεοὶ . . . ἀντιάζωσιν . . . πεφύρσεσθαι  
κόμαν ἔνεπεν. 30. I 2, 47: ταῦτα . . . ἀπόνειμον, ὅταν ξείνων ἐμὸν . . . ἔλθῃ.  
"Αν has coalesced with ὅπότε: 31. P 1, 4: πείθονται δ' αἰδοὶ σάμασιν,  
. . . ὅπότεν . . . ἀμβολὰς τεύχῃς. 32. P 8, 8: τὸ δ', ὅπότεν τις . . . κῶτον  
ἐνελάσῃ . . . τιθεῖς ὕβριν ἐν ἄντλῃ.<sup>1</sup>

But this number is to be reduced to 30 by excluding 19 and 20. Nor is 18 thoroughly satisfactory, for while the future with ἄν is not to be scouted so furiously as has been done of late, ἀνερεῖ lies near. 'Any one is welcome to trumpet it.' In 14 ἄν may be ἀνά and ἀναθορών would give color to the picture. Imagine part at least of the unexpectant youths seated. Still the opt. and ἄν can be used in the protasis, and is more frequently used in the protasis of generic relative sentences than might be supposed. In Pindar it is not likely that the construction has shifted from δε ἄν—ψαύσῃ to δε ἄν—ψαύσειε, which would be a convenient explanation for prose.

As to Mood and Tense:

Ind. Aor. 7, 20 (?), 21	3 (2)
Fut. 18	1
Opt. Pres. 1, 3, 8 (Perf. = Pres.), 19 (?)	4 (3)
Aor. 2, 5, 6, 9 (φαῖν = aor.), 14 (?), 16	6
Subj. Pres. 13, 25, 26, 27, 29, 31	6
Aor. 4, 10, 12, 15, 17, 22, 24, 28, 30, 32	10
Pres. or Aor. according to reading 11, 23	2
	<hr/> 32 (30)

As to Character:

Formulated Conditional 19 (?)	1 (0)
Virtual Condition 16, 18, 20 (?), 21	4 (3)
Potential (positive) 2, 5 (= imper.), 6, 9	4
(negative) 1, 3 (equiv.), 7 (equiv.), 8	4
Relative (generic) 10, 13, 14, 15, 17 <sup>2</sup>	5

<sup>1</sup> ἄν τεκεῖν I 7 (8), 33 has no MS warrant, and is unlikely after πεπρωμένον ἦν.

<sup>2</sup> Generic relatives without ἄν occur O 3, 11 (ὥ τιμι . . . βάλλῃ); O 6, 75 (οἷς . . . ποιεστέσῃ); O 8, 10 (ὥ τιμι . . . ἐσπῆται γέρας); O 8, 23 (ὃ τι βέπη Bergk); N 3, 71 (ὡν τις . . . γένηται); N 9, 44 (οἷ . . . γένηνται); I 1 50 (ὃς . . . ἀρηται); I 6 (7), 19 (ὃ τι μὴ σοφίας ἄωτον ἀκρον ἱκῆται); to which I would add Fr. X 4, 2 (οἷσι . . . δέξεται = δέξεται). Nearly all aorists.

## Temporal (whenever)

Pres. of a single time, definite person 25, 29, 30	3
general of a definite person 23, 31	2
person and time general 27, 28	2
Aor. of a single time, definite person 4, 12	2
general of a definite person 22, 26	2
person and time general 24, 32	2
Doubtful 11 (general)	1

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 32 (30)

A comparison of these tables shows that  $\tilde{\alpha}\nu$  has gained on  $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ , if we take Homer as a standard. In the Iliad according to Hinrichs' count (see Monro's Homeric Grammar, p. 265),  $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  stands to  $\tilde{\alpha}\nu$  as 4 : 1. In Pindar they nearly balance. In the formulated condition (with  $\epsilon\iota$ )  $\tilde{\alpha}\nu$  is not used at all by Pindar either in protasis or in apodosis, although from its supposed demonstrative nature we should expect it at a time when the conditional must have assumed sharper formulae. Yet at this point Pindar parts company with Homer, or rather, as we have seen, he makes an exclusive rule where Homer only shows preference. There is no  $\tilde{\alpha}\nu$  in either protasis or apodosis, there is no  $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  in protasis. So we have a decided narrowing. Even in so-called virtual conditions,  $\tilde{\alpha}\nu$  is little used by Pindar. So where the participle readily suggests the protasis as in 16 (P 10, 29),  $\iota\omega\nu \tilde{\alpha}\nu \epsilon\ddot{\upsilon}\rho\omicron\iota\varsigma$ , Bergk writes  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\chi' \epsilon\ddot{\upsilon}\rho\omicron\iota\varsigma$ , the old MSS having no  $\tilde{\alpha}\nu$ . 18 (N 7, 68) and 20 (N 9, 32) have been discussed already. This leaves 21 (N 11, 24) where  $\epsilon\mu\acute{\alpha}\nu \delta\acute{\iota}\xi\alpha\nu$  prepares us for a potential. Of course it may be maintained that even in Pindar  $\tilde{\alpha}\nu$  is only a sign and not a cause of the altered use of the mood, as we find the potential opt. without  $\tilde{\alpha}\nu$ , O 11 (10), 21, where Hartung dares to write  $\delta\iota\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\xi\alpha\nu\tau' \tilde{\alpha}\nu \eta\theta\omicron\varsigma$  despite digamma. P 4, 110:  $\iota\kappa\omicron\iota\mu\alpha\nu$  rests on conjecture, though the conjecture seems inevitable. Still I think it will appear that  $\tilde{\alpha}\nu$  following  $-\alpha\nu$  has often been omitted, not only by accident but on purpose, the delicate ears of poet and rhetorician hating the cacophony. N 5, 20 and P 11, 50 are not stringent, and the famous O 3, 45:  $\sigma\tilde{\theta} \nu\iota\nu \delta\iota\acute{\omega}\xi\omega \kappa\epsilon\upsilon\omega\delta\varsigma \epsilon\iota\eta\nu$  is to be explained by the imperative optative. 'Set me down an empty fool!' (if I do).

The preference of  $\tilde{\alpha}\nu$  for the negative as compared with  $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  comes out, but not startlingly. Mr. Monro accounts for this preference thus: 'When we speak of an event as not happening in certain circumstances we almost necessarily think of the *opposite* circumstances,

those in which it will happen; as οὐκ ἂν τοι χραίσμῃ κιθάρις, the lyre will not avail (viz. in battle, whatever it may do elsewhere).’ This is essentially Leo Meyer’s view. According to this doctrine *ἄν* would produce the effect of a reserve as *γέ* does. But surely this is not the effect of the negative opt. with *ἄν*, which is often made to sweep away every trace of reserve. At least this is what it comes to in Attic. The opt. with *ἄν* gives the warmth of personal conviction and the potential subjunctive has the like force in Latin, as is shown by the striking passage in Livy where *possit* is combined with *potest* (29, 18): *nostras iniurias nec potest nec possit alius ulcisci quam vos*, in which on any theory *nec possit* intensifies *nec potest*. The metaphysics of a suggested opposite will not help us to the conception. See the numerous passages in Greek where the negated aor. opt. and *ἄν* is coupled with the future positive. Andok. 1, 4: οὐτ’ ἂν ὑπομείναιμι οὐχίσομαι τε φεύγων—Ar. Ach. 404: οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἀπέλθοιμ’ ἀλλὰ κόψω τὴν θύραν—Isokr. 15, 260: ἐγὼ δ’ οὐδὲν ἂν εἴποιμι τοιοῦτον ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἀληθείαις χρήσομαι περὶ αὐτοῦ—Isai. 6, 23: οὐκ ἂν ἐτι γένοιτο—φανήσονται δὲ—καὶ ἔσονται. So with neg. fut. (the difference being one of total negation and persistent negation), Eur. I. A. 310: οὐκ ἂν μεθείμην—οὐδ’ ἔγωγ’ ἀφήσομαι—Hdt. 9, 111: οὔτε ἂν τοι δοίην θυγατέρα τὴν ἐμὴν γῆμαι οὔτε ἐκείνη πλεῖνα χρόνον συνοικήσεις. But it is needless to multiply Attic examples, as the usage is doubtless more or less familiar, and it may be considered historically unjustifiable to cite Attic usage on such a matter. And yet it seems to me that in so common a combination as οὐκ ἄν with the opt. there can be no break in the tradition. It meant the same thing in the Homeric period, whenever that period was, that it meant in Attic. I have gone through the passages cited in the Lexicon Homericum, s. v. οὐ (an imperfect list, to be sure), and have examined them. Pres. opt. w. *ἄν*, A 271, 301, B 250, Z 129, [141 om.], Θ 210, 444, 517, Ξ 335, Υ 134, [Φ 358 omitted], Ω 297, δ 78, η 293, θ 239, λ 380, π 85, 318, 400, ρ 387, σ 414, τ 107, 348 (falsely recorded 342), υ 135, 322. Aor. opt. with *ἄν*, Γ 66, 223, Δ 223 (falsely recorded 283), Ε 32, 85, Ζ 522, Θ 21, 451, Κ 204, Ν 289, Ξ 126, 247, Ο 40, Ρ 489, Φ 462, Ω 565, γ’ 227, δ 347, ι 241, ο 321, ρ 138, 268, 497, υ 392, χ 325, ω 435. The effect of warm, personal negation, so to speak, is the same as in Attic. Whatever restrictive idea is noticeable comes not from *ἄν* but from *γέ* (e. g. Z 129, Φ 358), or from the position of the word to which the restriction applies (e. g. A 271, Ν 289). The aorist preponderates apparently not so much as in Attic, owing to the recurrence of the same verbs, so especially *ἐθέλωμι* (Z 141, Θ 210, Γ 444, Υ 134,

II 318, 400), but still it preponderates, and it is safe to say, as Leo Meyer acknowledges, that the Homeric οὐκ ἄν with the opt. has to all intents and purposes reached the ordinary prose usage. However we get at it, through demonstrative, through alternative, if ἄν with the negated opt. is equivalent to 'in any case,' we get what must have been essentially the effect. That ἄν is preferred to κέν with the negative is clear; but if we exclude metrical considerations we must rest content with the tendency of the negative to the stronger of two forms. The negative prefers ἄν to κέν, as it prefers the total negation of the aorist to the persistent opposition of the present optative. Nor is it unworthy of note that where ἄν is repeated in the standard language, it is repeated largely with negatives or equivalents.

B. L. GILDERSLEEVE.

## V.—ON A PROBABLE ERROR IN PLUTARCH.

PER. C. 23.

When Clisthenes had succeeded in introducing his reforms in the constitution, his rival Isagoras could hope to overcome him only by invoking the aid of the Spartan King Cleomenes. This aid Cleomenes first rendered by sending a herald and demanding the expulsion of the accursed—*τοὺς ἐναγέας*—that is, the family of the Alcmaeonidae, to which Clisthenes belonged, who were supposed to be tainted with guilt in consequence of the destruction of Cylon and his followers by Megacles, the great-grandfather of Clisthenes. Clisthenes retired at once; and Cleomenes arriving soon after with a small force, found himself master of the city. The senate, however, as constituted by Clisthenes, refused to be dissolved and make way for a new body of three hundred oligarchs whom Cleomenes desired to take charge of the government; and after a short siege Cleomenes and Isagoras were forced to abandon the Acropolis and retire to Sparta. Cleomenes then resolved to invade Attica with a competent force; and summoned allies from the various states of Peloponnesus. At the same time he arranged by negotiation a plan for a simultaneous invasion of Attica by the Boeotians and the Chalcidians of Euboea. As soon as these preparations were made the Peloponnesian force advanced under the command of the two kings, Cleomenes and Demaratus, as far as Eleusis. But Cleomenes had hitherto kept the purpose of the expedition concealed from his Peloponnesian allies. When it came to be known, as there was no unfriendly feeling towards Athens among them, it caused much dissatisfaction; and the Corinthians set the example of withdrawing their contingent. Demaratus too, for some unspecified reason, renounced the undertaking; and these defections caused the whole army to dissolve and return to their homes. But the Boeotians and Chalcidians endeavored to carry out their part of the plan. The Boeotians occupied Oenoe and Hysiae on the Attic frontier near Plataea; and the Chalcidians crossed the Euripus and began to devastate the eastern part of Attica. Invaded thus on all sides, the Athenians at first resolved to concentrate their forces to withstand the

Peloponnesian attack on the side of Eleusis, leaving the Boeotians and Chalcidians to be dealt with later. But as soon as the breaking up of the Peloponnesian army relieved them from danger in that quarter, they marched instantly towards the Euripus, to prevent the junction of the Chalcidians with the Boeotians, intending to attack the Chalcidians first. The rapid arrival, however, of the Boeotians compelled them to alter their scheme; and an engagement was brought on at once, in which the Boeotians were completely defeated, losing 700 prisoners. On the same day the Athenians crossed over to Euboea, and gained another decisive victory over the Chalcidians, taking many prisoners. The date of these events is not quite certain. Thirlwall places them in 508, a writer in Smith's dictionary in 506. Clinton does not mention them at all.

We pass now to the year 445. The Athenian power in continental Greece had just received a fatal blow in the defeat of Tolmides at Coronea. This event, however, increased the reputation of Pericles; as it was well known that he had urged Tolmides to delay his expedition till a larger force could be collected. Grote thus states the circumstances to which attention is directed: "The calamitous consequences of this defeat came upon Athens in thick and rapid succession. The united exiles, having carried their point in Boeotia, proceeded to expel the philo-Athenian government both from Phokis and Lokris, and to carry the flame of revolt into Euboea. To this important island Pericles himself proceeded forthwith; but before he had time to complete the reconquest he was summoned home by news of a still more formidable character. The Megarians had revolted from Athens . . . As if to make the Athenians at once sensible how seriously this disaster affected them, by throwing open the road over Geraneia, Plistoanax, king of Sparta, was announced as already on his march for an invasion of Attica. He did indeed conduct an army, of mixed Lacedaemonians and Peloponnesian allies, into Attica, as far as the neighborhood of Eleusis and the Thriasian plain. He was a very young man, so that a Spartan of mature years, Kleandrides, had been attached to him by the Ephors as adjutant and counsellor. Pericles, it is said, persuaded both the one and the other by means of large bribes to evacuate Attica without advancing to Athens . . . So soon as the Lacedaemonians had retired from Attica, Pericles returned with his forces to Euboea and reconquered the island completely."

It is to be noticed that there are several circumstances of similarity in these two narratives. In each we have Athens compelled to struggle at once with enemies on both sides; in each we have a Peloponnesian army under a Spartan king advancing as far as Eleusis and then retreating without striking a blow; in each we have an expedition against Euboea suddenly arrested in order to meet a more pressing emergency and then resumed with complete success.

Herodotus (V 77) tells us that when the Chalcidians were defeated the Athenians settled four thousand of their own citizens as *Kleruchs* on the lands of the Chalcidian nobles, who bore the name of *ἵπποβοται*. In speaking of the results of the expedition of Pericles, Thucydides (I 114) says that he reduced the whole island, receiving the submission of the greater part, but driving out the people of Hestiaea from their territory and occupying it with Athenian settlers. Plutarch (Per. 23) explains that the reason of this severity to the Hestiaeans was that they had taken an Athenian ship and put the crew to death.

I come now to the point in which I think it probable that Plutarch has made a mistake. After telling us (Per. 23) that Pericles crossed over to Euboea with 50 ships and 5000 hoplites and reduced the cities, he says: "And those of the Chalcidians who were called *hippobotae*, pre-eminent in wealth and reputation, he drove out: *Χαλκιδέων μὲν τοὺς ἱπποβότας λεγομένους πλοῦτῳ καὶ δόξῃ διαφέροντας ἐξέβαλεν*. In their accounts of these proceedings Thirlwall, Grote, and Curtius take this statement from Plutarch. Thirlwall indeed uses the expression that these nobles 'were again deprived of their estates,' showing that he bore in mind the account in Herodotus of what had occurred some fifty years previously. But neither Grote nor Curtius makes any reference to the earlier expulsion of these same *hippobotae*. I think it probable that Plutarch was misled by the similarity of the circumstances of the two expeditions which I have pointed out, to join together their results and attribute them to the later expedition of which he gives an account. It may of course be said that in the interval that elapsed between these defeats the nobles of Chalcis had possibly succeeded in regaining their estates and re-establishing their influence. But of this there is no evidence; and it is in the highest degree improbable. The Athenians, we are told, sent 4000 of their own citizens to occupy these lands. We hear of them again as still in possession of them at the time of the battle of Marathon in



490. Herodotus (VI 100) tells us that before Datis and Artaphernes reached Euboea, the people of Eretria, knowing that they were to be attacked, sent to Athens and begged for assistance. The Athenians, we are told, did not reject their petition, but assigned as their auxiliaries the 4000 who as cleruchs were occupying the lands of the Chalcidian hippobotae. But these men found that owing to internal divisions and probable treason the Eretrians had no chance of successfully resisting the Persians—*τῶν Ἑρετριέων ἦν ἄρα οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς βούλευμα*—and accordingly they acted on the advice of a certain Aeschines, *ἐὼν τῶν Ἑρετριέων τὰ πρῶτα*, and crossed over to Oropus and so saved themselves. The Persians took Eretria by treason, carried off the inhabitants, and without spending more time in Euboea went at once to the plain of Marathon. Of course one may believe, if he chooses, that these Athenian cleruchs did not return, after the defeat of the Persians, to their estates, which they had been occupying for some sixteen or eighteen years. But this seems to me exceedingly unlikely. We are not told that the Persians in any way devastated the territory of Chalcis during their stay in Euboea; and there could have been no reason why the Athenian settlers should not return to their farms as soon as the danger of the Persian invasion was past. Boeckh (Publ. Ec. I, p. 557; E. T., p. 548) speaks of the retreat of these cleruchs before the battle of Marathon—to Athens, he says; but Herodotus says to Oropus—and is convinced that they returned and resumed possession of their lands. It is true that on the same page he says, following the statement of Plutarch, that hippobotae were again found by Pericles in Chalcis and expelled by him. But he does not attempt to show how, if, as he believes, the Athenian cleruchs were still in possession of their lands, there could have been room for another set of hippobotae to exist there of sufficient importance to be specially mentioned as dispossessed. During the whole period intervening between the battle of Marathon and the defeat of Tolmides at Coronea the Athenian power had been steadily augmenting; and it is hard to believe that, when such a large body of Athenian citizens was permanently settled presumably on the best lands of the Lelantian plain, any considerable number of the old nobility could have succeeded in establishing themselves. When we add to this inherent improbability the silence of Thucydides as to any such expulsion of hippobotae, the probability is greatly increased that Plutarch has fallen into an error, perhaps led to it in the way I have suggested. Indeed the words

of Thucydides have more weight than is due to simple silence. For he says τὴν μὲν ἄλλην ὁμολογία κατεστήσαντο Ἑστιαίᾳς δὲ ἐξοκίσαντες αὐτοὶ τὴν γῆν ἔσχον. These words imply that the only part of the island treated with exceptional severity was the district of Hestiaea. If Thucydides had been aware of any such expulsion of the landholding class from Chalcis, as our historians assume on the authority of that passage of Plutarch, I do not think he could have expressed himself in this way.<sup>1</sup>

C. D. MORRIS.

<sup>1</sup> The conclusion arrived at above is strongly confirmed by the opening words of the inscription (C. I. A. I Suppl. p. 10, Hicks p. 33) which records the arrangements made by the Athenians with the Chalcidians immediately after the reduction of Euboea by Pericles. The Athenian βουλὴ and δικασταὶ are to swear—οὐκ ἐξελεύσεται Χαλκιδεὺς ἐκ Χαλκίδος οὐδὲ τὴν πόλιν ἀνάστατον ποιήσει. This decree would be an intolerable mockery if, just before it was passed, the most eminent class of the Chalcidians had been expelled.

## NOTES.

### A PECULIARITY OF KELTIC (IRISH) RITUAL.

In a previous article entitled *Keltic and Germanic* (see Journal I 442) I took the liberty of saying: "One example of specifically Irish usages occurs in the *Leabhar Breac*. The MS was written in the XIVth century, according to O'Curry; but the contents are of high antiquity. They are chiefly tracts on ecclesiastical subjects. Among others is a commentary on the canon of the mass, in which the commentator evidently presupposes a commingling of the elements in the chalice by pouring the wine upon the water. This is reversing the usual process, and the monkish symbolic interpretation put upon it is that the blood of Christ, the higher and more precious element, came down from above to the lower and grosser element of man and the world. Smith's Dictionary of Christian Antiquities (*sub* 'Elements') mentions no instance of pouring the wine on the water."

The above statement was advanced by me at that time with some misgivings. Not having the text of the *Leabhar Breac* at hand, I was trusting to my recollections of what Mr. Hennessy had said to me one afternoon in the library of the R. I. A.; and unrecorded recollections, as every one knows, are anything but infallible. The latest number of Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, XXVI, Heft 5, pp. 497-519, contains an article by Whitley Stokes, which throws much light on this very subject, and seems to corroborate my once hazardous statement. The article is upon the Irish passages in the Stowe Missal. In it Mr. Stokes gives the text, with translation and notes, of an Irish tract on the ceremonies of the mass, which Mr. Warren has omitted from his edition of the Latin part of the Stowe Missal in his *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, Oxford, 1881, p. 199. Mr. Stokes gives also the text and translation of the *Leabhar Breac* treatise.

The translation of the Stowe-Missal treatise runs thus:

"The Altar is the figure of the persecution which causes them [*scil.* the Christians] sufferings.

"The Chalice, it is the figure of the Church which was set and founded on the persecution and on the martyrdom of the prophets and others.

"Water, first, into the chalice, and this is chanted thereat: *Peto te Pater, deprecor te Fili, obsecro te Spiritus Sancte*, to-wit, the figure of the people that was poured forth into the Church.

"The Host, then, upon the altar, to-wit, the turtle-dove. This is chanted thereat, to-wit, *Jesus Christus, Alpha et Omega, hoc est principium et finis*. A figure of Christ's body which was set in the linen sheet of Mary's womb.

"Wine then for water into the chalice, to-wit, Christ's Godhead or his Manhood, and for the people at the time of (His) begetting; this is chanted thereat, *Remittit Pater, indulget Filius, miseretur Spiritus Sanctus*," etc., etc.

It has seemed to me advisable to give the passage entire, for the sake of clearness, although the precise point involved is contained in the fifth clause, that beginning with "Wine then for water," etc., etc.

Mr. Stokes renders the Irish *fin iarum arhuisque hicaelech* (which in normal spelling would be *ar uisce i caelech*) by "wine then *for* water into the chalice." This rendering is not acceptable, for the reason that it fails to bring out the author's evident meaning. In the first clause, the altar is made to symbolize persecution. Then the chalice is made to stand for the Church as a divine organization. Third, the water poured into the chalice symbolizes mankind gathered into the Church. Next, the host symbolizes Christ's body in the womb. And finally the pouring of wine *upon* the water signifies the divine nature of Christ *added* to humanity. I do not see how we can help rendering the Irish preposition *ar* in this context by "upon." True, the usual meaning of *ar* in Old and Middle Irish is "for, before." Thus Windisch, in the dictionary to his Texts, p. 368, renders it by *vor, für, wegen; ante, prae, pro, propter*. But, p. 370 under No. 4, he gives several phrases in which *ar* has the force of the German *zu, hinzu*, "in addition to," e. g. *déc ar mili* = 1012, word for word in Latin *decem ad mille*, and *a cach ar cach ló* (láthe), "from each to each day," i. e. from day to day. There is, therefore, some lexical warrant for treating *ar* in our passage as "to," and thus letting the author inculcate good Catholic doctrine, however extravagant his symbolism may sound to us. If we adopt Mr. Stokes's rendering, we shall have to imagine the water as poured out of the chalice to make

way for the wine, *i. e.* the elect turned out of the Church, and Christ's humanity supplanted by his divinity!

Concerning the Leabhar-Breac treatise, it will be only necessary to remark that it corresponds very closely to the former, so closely in fact as to imply some direct connection between the two. And, in this particular passage, the wording is identical; the Leabhar Breac merely adding the definite article *ar in usce*, "for (?) the water."

J. M. HART.

### THE DIALECT OF ASSOS.

Until the past summer the excavations at Assos have brought to light no inscriptions composed in any but the common dialect. Recently, however, there have been found several older bits containing specimens of the language of the country. This turns out, as might have been expected, to be nothing else than the Aeolic of Lesbos. A brief notice of these inscriptions, in advance of their publication in the papers of the Archaeological Society, may not be out of place here. The longest reads as follows:

... ξξ (?), ἀ σκευέα ἔσσι δαμόσια ἐπὶ ἀγορανόμῳ Μεγιστία Σω[γ]ενε[ί]ω·  
 ἡμμέδιμνοι χάλκιοι τρεῖς, [ῆ]μῖεκτα ἔννεα, διχοίνικα δέ[κ]α, χοίνικες ἑπτα, τρί-  
 χοα [χ]άλκια τέσσαρα, ἡμίχοον, ἀλ[λο] τρ[ί]χοον χώναν ἔχον. στά[θ]μα χά[λ]-  
 κ[ι]α· τῶλᾱτα τρι[α] . . . π[ι]εντάμνασ[ν], . . .

Especially interesting is the form *ἔσσι* for *εἰσί*; this throws light on a doubtful point (see Meister, Griech. Dial. i, p. 171, note 2), and is to be restored (instead of *ἐντι* or *εἰσι*) for the impossible *ΕΣΤΙ* in Conze's long inscription of Eresos.

Two fragments, with only parts of lines, contain the characteristic forms *στράταγοι*, *τᾶς βόλλας*, *Ἀνόδικος Κλεοκράτ[εος]*, *ἀπέδωκαν*, *ἀγρεόμενοι*, . . . *αχον* *Ἀνοδίκει[ον]*, *ἀγγελλάτω*, *ψάφισμα*; datives in *-οισι*, accusatives in *-οις*, etc.

Of a number of brief epitaphs I note these: *Ἀλέκτρα Λαριχία*, *Ἀσίνω* *Ἀνοδικία*, *Ἀϊκλείδας Λαρίχω*, *Λάριχος* *Ἀϊκλείδα*, *Ἀμενάνμενος Λαρίχω*, *Ἀδία* *Ἡροῖδα*.

The name *Ἀνόδικος*<sup>1</sup> (= *Πραξίδικος*?) is a new one, and seems to

<sup>1</sup> *Ἀνόδοκος* = *Ἀναξίδικος* would be tempting if it were not for the *ο* in *Ἀνο*. So *Ἀνακλῆς* runs with *Ἀναξικλῆς* rather than *Ἀνάκλητος* to which it is usually referred. *Ἀναγόρα*, the name of one of Sappho's friends (Suidas), has been crowded out by the *Ἀνακτορία* of Maximus Tyrius (see Swinburne's *Ἀνακτορία*), but *Ἀναγόρα* = *Ἀναξαγόρα* would have its masculine in *Ἀναξαγόρας*. *Ἀνακρέων*, if compounded with *ἀνά*, 'up,' would be the only one of its group to be so compounded according to Fick (Personennamen, s. 121). *Βασιλοδίκη*, which is found C. I. G. 2448, 3, is a fellow to *Ἀναξιδίκη*.

have been a favorite in Assos. 'Αμεννάμενος (that is 'Αμεινάμενος) and 'Αικλείδας are also new, if I am not mistaken. Lesbian inscriptions have *āi* for *dei*. Observe also the patronymic adjectives in *-eios*.

FREDERIC D. ALLEN.

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"OCCLUDE."

Our American dictionaries without exception, I think, give the verb "*occlude*" as an obsolete word, citing no later example of its use than the writings of Sir Thomas Browne. Upon turning to Calhoun's *Speeches*, Vol. II, p. 105 (1814), I read: "There was scarcely a port in Europe, which at the beginning of our restrictive system, was not *occluded* to British commerce."

HENRY E. SHEPHERD.

## REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

**Die Akkadische Sprache:** Vortrag gehalten auf dem fünften internationalen Orientalisten-Congresse in Berlin, von PAUL HAUPT, mit dem Keilschrifttexte des fünfspaltigen Vocabulars K. 4225, so wie zweier Fragmente der babylonischen Sintflutherzählung, und einem Anhang von O. DONNER über die Verwandtschaft des Sumerisch-Akkadischen mit den ural-altaischen Sprachen. Berlin: Asher u. Co. 1883.

Dr. Haupt's earlier works on the pre-Semitic language of Chaldaea were written chiefly for cuneiformists. His paper, read before the Oriental Congress of 1881, presented the results of Akkadian research in a succinct and popular form, and was intended for linguists generally. It is now reprinted separately, with important additions that are indicated in the title, and with many further notes and references. A review of this essay will be more intelligible after a brief survey of the other works of the author upon which this is largely based.

Akkadian studies were first set upon a sure footing by the publication in 1879 of Dr. Haupt's "Sumerische Familiengesetze," a work which contained at the same time the best contribution yet made to the comparative phonology of the Semitic languages on the basis of an analysis of the Assyrian forms occurring in the bilingual texts cited in the book.<sup>1</sup> Here for the first time a true scientific method was employed, every reading of an Akkadian sign or sign-group, and every proposed rendering being rigorously verified from the vocabularies of the Assyrian scholars themselves, or from the coherent texts. Thus the field was marked out plainly once for all, and it is a proof of the sureness of Dr. Haupt's methods and the accuracy of his deductions that, after more than three years of continued work and progress, very little that was stated for the first time in the "Familiengesetze" stands in need of correction.

The next most important advance in this young science was the fixing of the two main dialects of the Proto-Chaldaean language. Sayce and Lenormant had already divined that the first two columns in the so-called "Trilingual Tablet" in II Rawl. 31 represented not two different languages, but divergent forms of the same language. The detailed evidence of relationship, however, and the proof that the new dialect was much more than a mere local variation, were given by Dr. Haupt in his paper published in the *Götting. Nachrichten* in Nov. 1880: "Ueber einen Dialekt der sumerischen Sprache." In this paper the leading phonetic changes were formulated and verified, and at the same time a list was given of the coherent texts published in the fourth volume of the "Cuneiform Inscriptions," which were composed in the two dialects respectively.

The author's next work, "Akkadische und sumerische Keilschrifttexte" (autographed in 4to), is the most elaborate and important he has yet published.

<sup>1</sup> The Assyrian portion of this work has already been noticed in this Journal by Prof. Francis Brown in his article, "Recent work in Assyriology," Vol. II, p. 227.

The first three parts appeared in 1881. Part I is introductory, containing a "Schrifttafel" of Assyrian syllabic values, a "Zeichensammlung" of 887 ideograms with their Akkadian and Assyrian cuneiform interpretation, an Akkado-Assyrian, and a Sumerio-Akkado-Assyrian cuneiform vocabulary. Parts II and III contain a selection of Akkadian and Sumerian texts respectively, edited with scrupulous accuracy, and many of them published for the first time. Part IV appeared in the spring of 1882; it contains an outline of Akkadian grammar, an Akkadian glossary, with notes upon the "Schrifttafel" and upon a part of the "Zeichensammlung." The fifth and last part will complete the proof passages for the "Zeichensammlung" and the vocabularies, and explain some of the more difficult passages in the texts. It is announced to appear shortly. This great work, which stands upon the highest level yet reached by Assyriological scholarship, is an invaluable repository of facts and data, and will probably always remain the sure foundation of Akkadian philology.

After these successive discoveries and publications, Dr. Haupt feels himself justified in calling the attention of philologists generally to the peculiarities of this important language. It will only be possible here to refer to those points which seem to be of the greatest importance for linguistic science.

The pre-Semitic language of Babylonia seems to have had two main literary dialects. Only two, at least, have been recognized in the documents that have come down to us. The names given to these are taken from the twofold division of the country indicated in the ordinary Assyrian appellation "Shumer (the Biblical Shinar) and Akkad." Before the dialects were definitely fixed, the term Akkadian was generally applied to the language in England and France, and the term Sumerian in Germany. Since that scientific event most scholars have followed Dr. Haupt in regarding the main dialect, or that in which most of the vocabularies and coherent texts are written, as the language of "Akkad" or Upper Babylonia, and the special idiom indicated by the technical term *eme sal*, or "Woman's Language," in the so-called "Trilingual Lists," as that of Shumer or Lower Babylonia.<sup>1</sup> Provisionally, it will perhaps be best to designate the whole language as Akkadian, after the main dialect; but it is unfortunate that no name has been generally adopted that would be perfectly unambiguous.

Some of the phonetic changes that mark the dialects are peculiarly interesting. For example, a Sumerian *m* appears as *g* in many corresponding Akkadian words. This is to be explained from the fact that *m* in Akkadian generally tended to the sound of *v* and was later so pronounced, and then we have the same change as that which is so striking in Persian and in the Romanic form

<sup>1</sup> It should be observed that the opposite view is stoutly maintained by the Munich Assyriologist, Fritz Hommel, who holds that the main dialect was spoken in Lower Babylonia and should therefore be called Sumerian, while the other dialect was the idiom of Upper Babylonia, and is therefore the true Akkadian. This theory he has advocated in various journals, and has finally maintained systematically in his work just issued, "Die vorsemitischen Culturen in Aegypten und Babylonien," Leipzig, 1883, p. 290 ff. His ingenious arguments can hardly be regarded as decisive, since the geographical references in the respective texts yet published are too meagre to base a sure inference upon. The final settlement of the question, however, as viewed from all sides, cannot long be delayed.

As to the general character of the literature of the two dialects respectively, it may be noted that the Akkadian documents, or those of the main dialect, abound in incantations and magical formulae, while the Sumerian consist chiefly of penitential psalms and prayers, unequalled for depth of religious feeling by anything in recorded ancient experience outside of the Bible.



of certain Teutonic words (*e. g. wise:guise*). Sumerian *b* between vowels also becomes *g* in Akkadian, showing that there it too had the sound of *v*. The vowel *e* also appears regularly in some Sumerian words in which we find *u* in Akkadian. Other changes are more sporadic, such as that of Sum. *d* to Akk. *g*, of *l* to *n*, and the startling but sufficiently attested correspondence between Sum. *ṣ* and Akk. *n*. It should further be noticed that the changes of some sounds are not quite constant. Sumerian *ṣ* becomes *s* in at least one clear case (Sum. *ṣi* "life" = Akk. *si*); and Sumerian *e* sometimes appears in Akkadian as *a* instead of *u*. For example, the three forms *ma*, *me*, *mu* all mean "to speak." Dr. Haupt regards *ma* or *md* in this case as the original form, from which, on the one side, *mu* arose through *\*mo*, and, on the other, *me* was differentiated. But it is perhaps somewhat hazardous to attempt the solution of Akkadian vocalic problems until something is known of the accentuation, which must have played a great part in the determination of vowel sounds in this simple and primitive type of language, since the same influence is now being proved to have controlled the vocalism even of Indo-European. Consonantal changes are perhaps more amenable to treatment; but even here there is evidently much that is puzzling. It may be expected, however, that the discovery of many more new texts in both dialects will enlarge our means of studying some of the most interesting problems of comparative phonology. The differences between the two dialects are not radical, they are phonetic and syntactical rather than formal, and their divergence is apt to be exaggerated from the difference in the modes of writing them. The Assyrian scholars in copying from Sumerian originals, which as well as the Akk. texts were written ideographically, were obliged to indicate to their contemporaries the Sum. pronunciation of those words that varied from the Akk. standard by writing them phonetically,<sup>1</sup> and thus the general appearance of a Sum. text differs strikingly from that of the more common Akk. documents.

The Sumero-Akkadian is tolerably rich in sounds. The vowels are *a*, *i*, *e*, *u*, which had probably both long and short values. It is also rich in sibilants, had simple *l* and *r* and the Arabic *gh*. The hard sounds *k*, *t*, *p*, *s* were not permitted at the end of words, and *r* was very rare at the beginning.

The structural type is agglutination of the simplest kind. The "roots," or rather the undetermined words, were perhaps originally monosyllabic. Nearly all, at least, are of but one syllable now, and the few dissyllables and trisyllables are clearly secondaries. In the monosyllabic simple words concurrent consonants are not admitted, and thus the language is singularly melodious. Vowel-harmony also prevails in certain combinations, but is not thoroughgoing.

As in all other languages there was originally no distinction in *form* between the noun and the verb. This is proved by the fact that they exist in precisely the same forms with precisely the same adjuncts, only that in later times a distinction was made by putting personal signs before the verb, while pronominal suffixes of nouns remained at the end. In the Sumerian dialect, however, which bears in general the stamp of greater antiquity, there is a postpositive conjuga-

<sup>1</sup> A common example will make this clearer. Akk. *dinger*, "God" = Sum. *dimmer*. In transcribing an ordinary Akk. text an ideogram for "God" would be read *dinger*. If the ideogram were used in a copy of a Sum. text it might be read in the same way, and so the scribes wrote out the Sum. word in syllable signs: *dim-me-ir*, to preclude mistakes.

tion, so that, for example, the same combination<sup>1</sup> might mean "his speech," "this speech," "he spoke." The differences in meaning were of course indicated by the accentuation, which is unknown to us.

For derivative nouns there are special prefixes, forming nouns of action, generalized terms, abstracts and nomina loci. There are also adjuncts to express different uses (*quasi* voices) of the verb, most of which are also prefixed. A "root," whether used as noun, verb, or adjective, may also be reduplicated to mark repetition or intensity, yielding plurals, collectives, frequentatives, or superlatives. The noun has no distinction of gender, number, or case, though *sal*, the ideogram for "female," is sometimes added to mark the feminine. The plural suffix *me* occurs only with names of gods and demons. The genitive relation is indicated by suffixed particles which were originally locative nouns, and the dative by suffixed *ra*, originally a verb-noun "go."

In the verb there are two tenses, a present and an imperfect, the latter being the earlier, as in the Semitic languages. So the "root" without change stands for the imperfect, while the present either reduplicates it or adds *e*. The plural of the imperfect is indicated by an appended *es*, while the present for the same purpose adds *ne* or *neš*, the latter being itself the plural of the substantive verb *me*.<sup>2</sup>

The pronominal object is regularly *incorporated* between the personal sign and the "root." The subject and object stand before the verb, but the object is usually represented again by an incorporated pronoun. The adjective constantly follows its noun; but there is evidence to show that this order, like that of the prepositive (ordinary) conjugation, is the reverse of the original. In some compound ideograms, for example, the attributive sign comes first.

The following phrase (IV R. 4, 1-4b; cf. *Familiengesetze*, p. 57, n. 4) will give a general notion of the structure of an Akkadian sentence:

*ġu-dim ki-damald-ġu ġa-ba-nib-RIRI ġu-ġaga-dingerāna-ġu ġen-ġin-ġigi* (= "bird-like place-wide-to may-he-him-flee hands-gracious-his-god-to may-he-them-return"): "Like a bird to a wide place may he flee to him; into the gracious hands of his god may he (into them) return."

Of the two autographed cuneiform documents prefixed to the work, general interest will attach to the new fragments of the Babylonian story of the Flood, which were discovered by Dr. Haupt in the British Museum in May, 1882. They are here accompanied by a translation (p. xli f.). They belong to the first column in IV R. 51, and are an important addition to the already published text, showing more clearly than ever that the last fragment published in col. I does not belong to this version of the Deluge story at all. The publication and explanation of these difficult fragments serve to supplement the translation (with transcription, commentary, and vocabulary) of the whole of the Deluge story made by Dr. Haupt for the second edition, just issued, of Schrader's "Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament." It is announced, moreover, on the cover of the work before us that Dr. Haupt has also in preparation an edition

<sup>1</sup> In this combination *dugd-ba*, *dug* is the "root," *d* the "vowel of prolongation," and *ba* the "pronominal element."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Familiengesetze*, p. 31: *me* meant properly "to name" ("speak") or "have a name." To the ancient Akkadians, then, an object only *existed* when it had a *name*. This is just what a sound philosophy of speech leads us to expect.

of all the fragments yet discovered of the great Nimrod Epos, to be treated in the same way as he has already treated the Deluge story, and that his "Outlines of Assyrian Grammar" will soon be published, written in English.

Appended to the treatise under review are a few specimens of Akkadian composition which cannot fail to awaken a deep literary as well as scientific interest. They suggest the importance of that literature of pre-Semitic Babylonia which, even as it is imperfectly represented in the discoveries hitherto made, furnishes the key to the whole civilization of Western Asia. Akkadian studies may, in fact, now be said to be directly or indirectly indispensable to the historian of human culture as well as to the comparative linguist. To the Semitic student, indeed, some knowledge of Akkadian is absolutely necessary, to enable him to trace the history of many of the most common and important terms in his whole vocabulary; and the proof is almost complete that the primitive Semites before their separation must have long had at least, the most intimate contact with the Sumero-Akkadian people. But many words also which have become the common property of the civilized world, must be traced to the same source. The names Euphrates and Tigris, for example, are no longer a puzzle, but are clearly Akkadian appellatives.<sup>1</sup> The modern words *cane*, *cannon*, *canon*, *canal* go back through the Phoenician *kaneh* to the Akkadian *gin* "a reed," from the root *gin* (*gr*) "to bend."<sup>2</sup> But we owe to the pre-Semitic Babylonians something more than familiar words with the ideas they stand for in the history of civilization. Whole sciences that have dominated the thought of men and changed the face of the world, are found to have had their beginnings and an astonishing development among these gifted and reflective people, before as well as after their amalgamation with the conquering Semites. For the comparative history of religion this new science is perhaps of the most significance, and it will be one of the most interesting and important problems of the future to trace the influence exerted upon still surviving faiths by the devout seers and psalmists of Sumer and Akkad.

The appendix by Prof. Donner is noteworthy chiefly because it will probably remain the last word upon the much-vexed question of the affinity of the Sumero-Akkadian and the Ural-Altaic idioms. During the earlier days of Akkadian research it was the fashion to regard Akkadian as an early representative of the Ural-Altaic. Dr. Haupt combated this theory in the *Familiengesetze*, and the careful review here given by the eminent Ural-Altaic specialist completely substantiates the opinion there expressed. The points hitherto relied upon to establish relationship are the vowel harmony that appears to a limited extent in Akkadian, and a similarity in certain postpositions and pronouns, as well, of course, as the agglutinative character of the two systems. Now that so many of the former readings and hypothetical Akkadian forms have been shown to be fanciful, the points of resemblance are seen to be fewer; but even if the old word and form lists had remained sure, the theory of relationship would probably not have held its ground. The wider our knowledge of languages becomes, the clearer it appears that agglutination and even vowel-harmony are not the exclusive characteristics of one family of speech or even of a few, but are rather types of expression which are found in all quarters of the earth; and the list of homo-

<sup>1</sup> Friedrich Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 169 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Hommel, . c. p. 407 f.

phonous postpositions has never been large enough for a safe induction in favor of affinity. The positive value of Prof. Donner's contribution lies mainly in the parallel illustrations he has given of the structural features of the Akkadian, drawn not merely from the Tartaric and Finnish languages, but also from various idioms of Africa, Polynesia, and southern Asia.

Two errors in the book, due to oversight, should be pointed out. On p. 11, line 5, *š*u should be read for *š*. In the Akkadian sentences, given in cuneiform characters, there should be inserted on p. 279, line 4, between *ša* and *munna*, the ideogram for *dinēra gale* "great God."

J. F. McC.

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Cyprian von Antiochien u. die deutsche Faustsage. THEODOR ZAHN. Erlangen : Deichert, 1882. Pp. iv, 153.

The need most sorely felt by all students of medieval literature is that of a comprehensive treatise upon the formation of Christian imaginative literature—to speak more in the concrete, upon the lives of the saints, and the Christian apocrypha. Edward Schröder, in his admirable review of Horstmann's *Allengl. Legenden, Neue Folge*, in the *Ans. f. d. Alterth.* VIII, p. 101 sqq., has laid down very plainly the lines upon which such a treatise should be planned. Profiting by the researches and generalizations contained in Rohde's *Der griechische Roman u. seine Vorläufer*, he has shown that the apocryphal Gospels, the Clementine Recognitions, and the early lives of the saints borrowed their literary form and structure, their style, their atmosphere, and many even of their incidents, from the late Greek prose romances of the neo-Platonic school. The wide reading and clear thinking that he has compressed here into eight or nine pages are truly remarkable. I can but express the wish that Schröder may find the opportunity of expanding these few pages into a treatise of as many hundred, thereby enabling us to survey the entire field of Christian imaginative literature from the second to the seventh century. This work once done, we shall the better understand the later medieval literature of the several European countries, and learn to separate what is distinctively Germanic or Celtic from what is due to the infiltration of Greco-Oriental themes and forms.

Meanwhile the next best gift that one can offer us is an exhaustive monograph upon the growth of some one legend in particular. This Zahn has undertaken in the present work. The only general fault that I can find in it is its occasional prolixity. Perhaps also the arrangement of topics might be improved. I should have liked it better, had the author begun with his translation of the Cyprian legend, and deferred his analysis of Calderon's *Magico*, and his remarks upon the Simon Magus tradition and the Empress Eudocia's version of Cyprian, to Section IV. By adopting such an arrangement he would have avoided much repetition.

In itself the Cyprian legend is both striking and attractive; and it is additionally interesting to us in having furnished the subject for Calderon's well-known drama *El Magico Prodigioso*, and in presenting many points of resemblance to the still more celebrated Faust legend. Zahn cannot be praised too highly for translating entire the three books of the *Vita Cypriani et Justinæ*. Few of us have the time or the patience to struggle through page after page of

monkish Latin or Greek, even if we are so lucky as to have access to the original texts; and no abstract of a story, however carefully made, will fill the place of the story itself. By way of appendix, Zahn has published, for the first time, the Greek text of Book I.

The story of Cyprian and Justina, in the final shape in which it was current in the middle ages, is divided into three books. The first tells of the magician Cyprian, and his unsuccessful attempts upon the virtue of Justina. In the second, Cyprian makes to the church a full confession of his magic arts and crimes, and implores forgiveness and spiritual guidance. Book third tells how Cyprian was eventually made bishop, and together with Justina suffered martyrdom for the faith. The first point that Zahn establishes is that all three books can not possibly be by the same author. Book second, or the Confession, stands by itself, is unmistakably different in style and character, whereas the first and third books are closely united; probably the writer of book III revised an earlier (now lost) version of book I and united the two. At any rate the story usually known in the early middle ages was that contained in these books I and III. The incorporation of book II in Latin MSS did not take place before the ninth century. What complicates the matter is the circumstance that Gregory of Nazianzus delivered, 379 A. D. (in Constantinople, as Zahn assumes) an oration upon Cyprian the saint and martyr which does not agree with our legend. The oration is evidently a panegyric upon the historic Cyprian of Carthage who suffered martyrdom in 258 A. D. The legend, on the contrary, makes Cyprian bishop of Antioch. This discrepancy is so glaring that we have to assume that Gregory could not have known the story which is told in books I and III. Yet he must have read either book II or some composition very much like it; possibly also something like, but not identical with, book I. How are we to account for the strange confusion of Antioch and Carthage, and the still stranger adornment of a well-known bishop with all the crimes and extravagances of a love-sick magician? <sup>1</sup> Zahn's hypothesis is ingenious, and—so far as I am a judge in such matters—satisfactory. It turns upon two points. First, that a local tradition of some pagan thaumaturgus who gave the early Christians much trouble, but was at last converted and received into the church, may have sprung up in or near Antioch. This thaumaturgus, whether originally named Cyprian or otherwise, never became bishop, never suffered martyrdom, consequently never attained to the distinction of a place on the calendar of saints. Saint's day, martyrdom, and the episcopal rank were the attributes of the historic Cyprian of Carthage, and the legend as we have it is, like so many other legends, the blending of history with local superstition.

Cyprian the magician (in distinction from the bishop) bears some resemblance to the Simon Magus of Cyprus who, according to Josephus, was employed by Felix to win the love of Drusilla. Zahn is disposed to recognize in the name Cyprian a word-formation from Cyprus. But there is a marked difference between Simon Magus of Cyprus (also the Simon Magus who figures in the book of Acts) and Cyprian. The two Simons are either Jews or Samaritans. Cyprian is a pagan. In fact he represents paganism in its final struggle with

<sup>1</sup> In Book II (Confession) Cyprian admits that he himself fell in love with the maiden whom he was seeking to gain for Aglaïdas. Zahn, p. 42. The same trait occurs in Calderon's *Magic*, Zahn, p. 4.

Christianity. His combination of philosophy and magic savors strongly of the neo-Platonism of Iamblichus. The underlying conception that he has attained his pre-eminence solely through the agency of the devil is, of course, not a neo-Platonic conception, but is the verdict of Christian condemnation. In the Cyprian legend, for the first time, we find broadly and clearly developed a Jewish-Christian belief which was subsequently to figure in all European literature, to wit, that a man could enter into a covenant with the devil, whereby the devil was to help him in obtaining all things in this life, and to receive him at death into the nether-world as a faithful servant and prince. Also that man and the devil might enter into a *sworn* covenant for a specific object. Finally, that even such a sworn covenant might be broken, with the help of God and the church. In the book of Confession the faithful reply to Cyprian that he may hope for pardon, inasmuch as he did everything in ignorance of the true faith.

Even this meagre outline of Zahn's argument will suggest to the reader the bearings of the Cyprian legend. We find the same conception underlying the story of Mary of Antioch and Anthemios, the story of the servant of Proterios, and in the story of Theophilus; not to speak of the influence of the Cyprian legend upon the legend of Margaret (Marina-Pelagia).

In the story of Mary of Antioch we read that Anthemios, who is already a Christian, falling in love with Mary, resorts to magic to win her. He even abjures Christ in writing, but is saved. In the story of the servant of Proterios the lover wins the maiden, after having made a written pact with the devil. Examples like these before us, we shall be prepared to agree with Zahn that the Theophilus legend is of no value. As Zahn observes trenchantly, the Theophilus legend is not an *old* legend, but comparatively late, and can not possibly be the original of Faustus. Not even the written pact with the devil is peculiar to it. Henceforth all commentators upon the Faust legend and upon Marlowe and Goethe will have to abandon Theophilus. Nevertheless the fact will still remain, that the use of blood in signing the pact with the devil, *e. g.* in Goethe's *Faust*, is to be traced to Ruteboeuf's *Theophile*.

Whether Zahn is warranted in looking upon Cyprian as the immediate original of Faustus may be questioned. The reviewer (Zarncke himself?) in the *Lit. Cent. Bl.* 1882, p. 716, rejects unqualifiedly all connection between the two. This, it seems to me, is going to the opposite extreme. The investigation will be much simplified if we lay aside at the outset all conceptions peculiar to Goethe's Faust, and restrict ourselves to the Faustus of the 16th century. Conceding that there was a historic personage of that name, known to Luther and Melancthon, may not the popular report of him, handed down to us in the Faust book, be the work of a writer who was familiar with the Cyprian legend and borrowed from it freely? Assuredly, in view of the facts adduced by Zahn pp. 11, 12, no one can venture to call the Faust book a *Volkssage*. In it Simon Magus and Helena are coupled together, and Helena, the phantom Helena of late Greek tradition, figures in the Clementine Recognitions, where also we find the names of Faustus, Faustinus, and Faustinianus. The author of the Faust book must have known something, however confusedly, of these early Christian superstitions. We can not, therefore, look upon Helena and Faustus as "inventions" of the 16th century, much less upon the legend itself as distinctively Protestant. The story is an old one, only the moral is changed.

Zahn has left undiscussed one feature of the Cyprian legend upon which I could wish much more light. The "action" of book I is as follows: A wealthy young man, name Aglaïdas, falls in love with Justina, who repulses his advances, replying that she is the "bride of Christ." Aglaïdas tries to carry her off by force. Baffled in this, he has recourse to the renowned magician Cyprian. The latter calls upon a "demon," who wishes to know why he is summoned. Cyprian tells him what is expected of him, and, to make sure of his capacities, inquires what he has already done. The demon answers: "I have abjured God. I have shaken the heavens and dragged down the angels from above. Eve I seduced, and I robbed Adam of paradise. Cain I taught to murder his brother. Thorns and thistles have sprung up for me. I established theatres and processions, adultery, and idolatry. I taught the children of Israel to make (golden) calves, and prompted to the crucifixion of Christ." But, despite all this boasting, the demon is baffled by Justina. Thereupon Cyprian calls up a second demon, still mightier. He also is baffled, and so in turn a third. This trait of a boasting enumeration of evil deeds we find in two other legends, which, like Justina, have for their object the laudation of perpetual virginity—namely, the legends of St. Juliana and St. Margaret. In both these legends a devil appears to the saint in prison, is overcome there by her, and thereupon is made to confess his wickednesses. The confessions resemble strongly in form and also in substance the boasting of Cyprian's demon.<sup>1</sup> In a third legend, that of St. Katharine, intimately allied with the other two, no such demon appears. Zahn makes it evident, p. 110-114, that the prototype of all such saints as Justina, Katharine, Margaret, etc., is to be found in Thecla of Iconium. The Thecla legend is among the very earliest, dating from the end of the first or beginning of the second century. It is undoubtedly the simplest and most primitive conception of virginal purity. It is free from the superheated rhetoric that mars later legends of a like character, and is also free from devils and witchcraft. The question, then, naturally arises: whence this (foreign) element in Juliana and Margaret? Is there any connection between them and Cyprian-Justina? Has one set of stories borrowed from the other, or is there a source common to both, and where are we to look for such a source? I propound a number of queries without being able to answer one of them. Yet I can not help suspecting that all the demonology in the secondary layer of Christian literature is a borrowing from Greek, possibly here and there from Syrian superstition. At any rate, the reader will perceive how impossible it is to progress safely in the study of Christian literature until we first establish certain *points de repère*.

J. M. HART.

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A Grammar of the Homeric Dialect, by D. B. MONRO. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1882. 8vo. pp. XXIV, 344.

Monro's grammar is on an entirely different plan from Ahrens's *Formenlehre*, with which our author in his preface virtually compares his work. It is not merely that Ahrens's grammar is old and treated only of the Homeric inflections. Ahrens's work was paedagogic quite as much as scientific; it was intended for

<sup>1</sup> See Einkenkel's pamphlet, *Ueber die Verfasser einiger neuangelsächsischer Schriften*, Leipzig, 1887, and its conclusion in the *Anglia*, V 91.

use in elementary instruction as well as to serve as a foundation for the historical, scientific treatment of Greek grammar. He distinctly claimed that it was not to be judged by a scientific standard. Thus, even in his second edition, Göttingen 1869, he gives without qualification the old view (which has been handed down by tradition to this day in most of our preparatory schools) of the *distraction* of contract verbs, explaining ὁράαν as formed by prefixing a short *a* to the second vowel of ὁράν, which was formed by contraction from ὁράειν. The work before us, on the other hand, is not meant for elementary instruction, although many a teacher will be so delighted with the clearness and completeness of many of the statistics and explanations that he will be tempted to give them to classes which are not ready for such "strong meat." Monro does not allow paedagogic scruples to interfere with his scientific statements, although he avoids the use of diacritic marks like γ, α', α'', etc.

The editions of Homer, on which the grammar is based, are those of Wolf (1804-1807), Bekker (1858), La Roche (1867-1876). Thus, the author disregards some of Nauck's peculiarities like Ἡρακλεεῖν, and does not mention the forms which Nauck prefers for the contract verbs, σοοῖς, σάβεσκον κτλ. He admits freely, however, the gen. sing. of the 2d decl. in -οο, prefers ἔσσ' (ἔσσι) to εἰς, and says that the loss of the final *ε* in the dat. plur. of the 1st and 2d decl. may, in the great majority of cases, be regarded as due to elision, as σοῖω' ἐτάροισιν for σοῖς ἐτάροισιν.

The author begins by analyzing the verb and classifying the endings and modifications of the stem, following with prudence the views of Johannes Schmidt, Brugman, and the rest, in the doctrine of "short forms" of the stem, the length of stems with *ε*, and the like. This division of the work ends with a chapter on the accentuation of the verb (pp. 1-56). He then passes to the discussion of nouns (adjectives and pronouns), their stems, suffixes and endings, and their formation. Under compound nouns is an article on Greek proper names which gives the gist of Fick's view (pp. 57-90). Then follows the use of the cases and numbers (pp. 91-122); of the prepositions, following for the most part Hoffmann and Tycho Mommsen (pp. 123-152); of the infinitive and participle (pp. 153-168); of the pronoun (pp. 168-193); of the moods (pp. 194-240); the particles (pp. 240-269); metre and quantity, including a careful discussion of the digamma (pp. 270-309). Appendixes follow: A, on the tenses with stems ending in *ā*; B, on *σ* in verbal stems; C, on *η* and *ει* in Homer; D, on the assimilated forms; and E, on the order of the particles and enclitic pronouns. Then follows a satisfactory group of indexes: I of Homeric forms, II of subjects, III of the chief passages referred to.

The book deserves and will receive the heartiest welcome. It shows deep and broad learning, most intimate acquaintance with the poems themselves, as well as with the best authorities on individual questions. In following these authorities, excellent and independent judgment is exercised. The statistics are full and seem to be trustworthy; the explanations of the origin and growth of forms and constructions are clear; the examples are generally well chosen and the translations are sometimes extremely felicitous. The author's definition of the so-called tmesis (which schoolboys still regard as a kind of surgical operation which Homer was allowed to perform under the general authority of "poetic license") and his genetic treatment of the uses of the prepositions, are very



happy. Teachers will welcome also his statement of final clauses with *ei*, where the "end aimed at is represented as a *supposition*, instead of being a direct purpose, as *ἤλυσθον, εἰ τινά μοι κτλ.*, 'I have come in the hope that you may tell,' etc." Perhaps it would have been better, however, if the author had not tried to explain so much. He makes refined distinctions where it is not easy to follow him, and sometimes where he seems doubtful himself. For instance, §299 *fg.*, he explains with Delbrück all the uses of the optative from the meaning of *wish*, with the manner of a man who is telling us just "how it really is," but in §317 he discusses again the original meaning of the mood, and ends in the tone of one who sees great difficulties in the way of the theory. Among the different steps which the optative takes, Monro puts "(b) a gentle or deferential imperative, conveying advice, suggestion, or the like." Among the untranslated examples under this head is Γ 406 *ἥσο παρ' αὐτὸν ἰούσα . . . μὴδ' ἐτι σοῖσι πόδεςσιν ἱποστρέψειας Ὀλύμπου*. If we should translate this by the phrase by which the preceding example is translated, it would read "Suppose you don't return to Olympus," which is hardly Helen's tone as she addresses Aphrodite.

Monro's distinction between *ὅς τις* and *ὅς τε* seems at least uncertain. He illustrates from ζ 286 *καὶ δ' ἄλλη νεμεσὺ ἢ τις τοιαῦτά γε ῥέζοι | ἦ τ' ἀέκῃτι φίλων κτλ.* "Here *ἦ τις* insists on the inclusion of all members of the class (*any one who* —), *ἦ τε* prepares us for the class characteristics (*one of the kind that* —)." He asserts that of the five relatives, *ὅς, ὁ, ὁ τε, ὅς, ὅς τε, ὅς τις*, "each has a distinct shade of meaning" (§266), but at the end of §270 we are told that the three forms of the conjunction *ὅς, ὁ τε, ὁ τε*, "do not differ perceptibly in meaning." For the present many lovers of Homer can cherish the same belief concerning the meaning of some of the forms of the relative pronoun.

The treatment of *κέν* and *δν* is interesting though not convincing in all points. Our author rejects the view that *κέν* is Aeolic on the ground that "a foreign or non-Ionic element in Homer in all probability is to be found if at all in isolated words and phrases." The primary use of *δν* and *κέν* is to show that the speaker is thinking of particular instances or occasions. The Homeric use of *τέ* is precisely the opposite. We are told that "the *κέν* marks the alternative"; in §275, *κέν* (in *ἐγὼ δέ κ' ὄγω Βρισηίδα κτλ.*, A 183) marks "that the speaker's threatened action is the counterpart of what is imposed upon him"; in §282, *κέν* shows reference to a future occasion; in §282, "the want of *δν* or *κέν* (in Γ 286 *ἦ τε . . . πέληται*) is doubtless owing to the vagueness of the future event contemplated." After many such explanations it is almost a surprise to be told that "in one or two places the use of *δν* is more difficult to explain."

The careful preparation of the book is evident on every page. Only here and there do we meet with manifest slips. *E. g.* it strikes us oddly to find on p. 49 *-ομεθον* given as the ending of the 1st dual, subj. mid., of the non-thematic stems; and p. 52 *-ομεθον* for the optative. *-μεθον* is given in the scheme of personal endings p. 3, but on p. 5 it is remarked that the 1st dual *-μεθον* occurs only in Ψ 485. On p. 63, *ἔλεος* is put among nouns with stems in *-εες*, although τὸ *ἔλεος* is found only in writings of the Alexandrine period or later, and the Homeric verb-forms do not indicate a stem *ἐλεες*. The assumption of such a stem for *ἐλεεινός* and *νηλεής* does not justify the placing of the noun in that class. On p. 119, as an example of a plural participle with a singular nominative and verb, we find *ἐκίνηθεν δὲ φάλαγγες ἐλπόμενοι*. On p. 167, φ 115

οὐ κέ μοι ἀχνημένῳ τάδε δόματα πότνια μήτηρ | λείποι is translated "It would be no distress to me," etc., a translation which is grammatically correct, but which probably would not be defended by the author. It is a slip similar to that made by Wagner in his edition of the *Phaedo*, where on 91 B ἦττον . . . ἀηδὴς εἶσομαι ὀδυρόμενος, he thinks it very strange that no editor should have seen that a μή or an ἦ had dropt out before ὀδυρόμενος. Curious also is the translation on p. 227 of Σ 464 αἶ γάρ μιν θανάτω δυσχεὲς ὧδε δυνάμην κτλ., "As surely as I wish I could save him from death," for "Would that I could as surely save him from death as furnish him this armor." A careless use of an example is found on p. 252; the enclitic τοί is "especially used where a speaker wishes to imply that he is saying as little as possible, as II. 4, 405 ἡμεῖς τοι πατέρων μὲν γ' ἀμείνονες ἐνχόμεθ' εἶναι." Other uses of examples might be criticised as p. 265: "The use of κέν to mark contrast may be seen in II. 11, 408 οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι κακοὶ μὲν ἀποίχονται πολέμοιο | δὲ δέ κ' ἀριστέρουσι κτλ.," where the principal mark of the contrast surely lies in the μὲν and δέ. On p. 214 we are told that the subjunctive is used without *δν* or *κέν* in Σ 135 where Thetis tells her son not to enter the battle πρίν γ' ἐμὲ . . . ἰδῆναι, "because it is not meant to refer to a particular occasion when the condition will be fulfilled"; but the occasion is particular enough even though the time is left indefinite.

As an example of the comitative use of the instrumental dative is introduced Thuc. I 81 τῇ γῇ δουλεύσαι, with a reference to Mr. Riddell and his *Digest of Platonic Idioms*. This example is so very uncertain (or downright unlikely) that we can ascribe its introduction only to the author's affection for Mr. Riddell, to whose memory this work is inscribed and whose *Digest* seems to have been the source of more guidance and inspiration to Mr. Monro than to most American scholars.

To the examples under §122, *γεπαίρετος* might well be added.

Misprints are few and generally not troublesome. On p. 113, l. 1, 226 should be read for 736. The name of the editor of Herodian is twice printed as Lenz, instead of Lentz.

It would have been a convenience if, instead of repeating the heading "Homeric Grammar," on each left-hand page, a significant headline had been given. As it stands we have the same headlines "Homeric Grammar.—Clauses with *ei*," on pp. 210–211 and 232–233, with nothing to indicate that here subjunctive clauses and there optative clauses are discussed. But let it not seem trifling to make such criticisms on a book which will be both a luxury and a necessity to every scholar. We may congratulate ourselves on having in our own language a book which fills a gap which is felt by the Germans and the French.

T. D. S.

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Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache, von Dr. FRIEDRICH KLUGE, Privatdocent an der Universität Strassburg. Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner. I u. II Lieferungen.

The want of a trustworthy and handy Etymological Dictionary of the German language has long been felt. Grimm's dictionary is a storehouse of information in a historical point of view, nor is it at all defective in the etymological part; but for the general reader Grimm is too expensive, and requires too long a search to

find the information sought. The interest taken in linguistic research, in the origin and history of words, has become so great that even the general reader is now beginning to turn his attention to the subject, and demands a convenient and suitable apparatus to assist him in quenching this thirst for more knowledge. This it is often difficult to find, as many of the would-be etymological dictionaries for the people are anything but safe guides through the labyrinth of etymologies. The name of the author is here a sufficient guaranty against botch-work. Dr. Kluge has already shown, by a number of grammatical essays on the Teutonic languages, that he has a thorough and competent knowledge of the subject, which especially fits him for this undertaking. The clearness and perspicuity of his method of presentation will render his work acceptable to all. The conciseness with which he treats every word is another invaluable advantage to the general reader, and an additional recommendation of the book. With such mastery has the author concealed his severe labor that it is likely to escape detection by any one except a specialist. Undoubted etymologies are separated from the doubtful ones; his conjectures, though based upon the received canons of phonetic change in the Indo-European languages, are given strictly as such and never insisted upon. The word is traced as far back as possible, the forms in the Teutonic and cognate languages are given as far as practicable, the criticisms are to the point and reliable. That Dr. Kluge has profited by the labors of his predecessors is quite natural and commendable. Fick's *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen* is invaluable in work of this kind, and Dr. Kluge has fully availed himself of this storehouse of etymological research. Other authorities have also been judiciously used and we receive the benefit of the latest researches upon the subject. Nor has Dr. Kluge been content to give us merely what others have brought to light. He has himself investigated, and not without success; often he throws light upon the history of a word which has hitherto refused to be explained. He has not attempted, nor could it be expected that he should attempt, to solve every etymological problem, and often one may turn away disappointed from the book, but this is rather a recommendation than otherwise. For there are words which mock all attempts at a solution of the problem of their etymologies. On many points also one might incline to differ, and yet one always feels that the thoughtful considerations of a ripe scholar are before him.

A careful introduction will be needed to explain his procedure in many cases, for instance the employment of the phonetic character *z* for *s* sonans. In citing roots he has also been inconsequent; once he gives *terf*, at another time *trf* or *trp*.

*Bastard* he considers a word of Celtic origin, that has come to us through French intermediation. This is going back to the old derivation of the word and would probably satisfy its signification much better, but it certainly does not explain many of the expressions found in writers of the age in which the word first began to be used, such as *filz de bast*, *fille de bast*, *he were a bast ibore* for *he was bigetin o bast*, etc., which would seem to prove that the word should be divided *bast-ard* and not *bas-tard*. As unsatisfactory as the derivation from *bast* 'pack-saddle,' and the suffix *ard* is, it would at least explain these forms much more satisfactorily. There seems no completely satisfactory solution of the problem, whichever derivation one may adopt.

The etymology of the word *batsen* is again involved in controversy. Weigand, and after him Kluge, derives it from the modern *bätz*, *pets*, Mid. H. Ger. *bets*, the nickname for 'bear,' the coat of arms of Bern, which was imprinted upon the coin of this Canton. As it was originally a Swiss coin and more often found in Switzerland and along the Rhine, this seems the most plausible derivation yet offered. The proposed derivation from It. *batersone*, an imprint of St. John the Baptist's figure, does not give more satisfaction. *Backen* 'to bake,' then 'a mass baked together,' is also hardly probable, although the spelling *bacse*, Mid. Lat. *bacio*, *bacius*, then *bactnus*, might favor such a derivation. It seems difficult to hit upon an unobjectionable derivation, and the word will probably never be satisfactorily explained. As it signifies a small coin it most probably comes from a root having the primary signification of 'small.' In the Romance languages (cf. Diez Etym. Dict. p. 251) we find Sp. *pito*, a small pointed piece of wood, O. Fr. *pité*, the name of a very small coin, Henneq. *péte*, trifle, Comask *pít*, little, etc. From the many examples of this root quoted by Diez, he infers an old indigenous stem *pít*, originally signifying something pointed and small, and that the root is to be found in the Kymb. *pid* 'point.' The Mod. Fr. *petit*, New Provençal *pisít*, Wall. *piti*, English *petty*, is only an enlargement of this root by the addition of the suffix *-it*. The Eng. *pet* in *pet lamb*, etc., is from the same root. It is possible that this root, which was employed in the bordering lands to denote a small coin, has furnished the Swiss cantons the name for this coin.

*Behuf* m. aus mhd. *behuof* m. 'Geschäft, Zweck, Förderliches'; Wz. *haf* in *heben*. We should have liked more on this word. The root is undoubtedly *haf*, but *behuf* certainly does not belong to those words derived from this root which *heben* represents. Goth. *hafjan*, *hōf*, *hafans*, Ice. *hefja*, *hōf*, *hafnans*, Lat. *capere*, *cepi*, *captum*, Greek *κᾰπᾰν*, probably have the common root *kap*. But this root either had two primary significations, or there were originally two cognate roots which became confounded at any early date. The first signifies 'to hold fast,' 'to retain,' 'to seize,' and the second seems to have developed itself from the signification which the middle voice of the first would naturally have, 'to restrain or moderate,' 'to hold fast for one's self,' 'to make serviceable,' then 'to be necessary.'

That the Goth. *hafjan*, Ice. *hefja*, is in any way allied to Goth. *haben*, Ice. *hafa*, in that one is the strong verb from the root *haf*, and the other the weak verb from the same root, is as improbable as that their corresponding Latin equivalents, *habere* and *capere*, are related to each other. The Ice. *hafa* does indeed pass into the sense of *to aim at*, *to hit*, which, as we shall immediately see, is one of the meanings of the Ice. verb *hafa*, and this undoubtedly belongs to the second meaning of our root *haf*. But this can only be the result of a later confusion of meanings on account of some slight similarity of forms. In *behuf*, however, we have a signification derived from the root *haf* as given under number 2 above, and to which Ice. *hafa* (*hoefa*), (1) 'to hit,' (2) 'to fit,' (3) 'to behave,' 'to be meet,' *hof* n. 'moderation,' 'measure,' Eng. 'behave,' 'behoof,' etc., belong. The Goth. *ga-hōbbaini*, 'temperance,' 'self-restraint,' the German *hufe*, *hube*, 'a measured quantity of land,' are from the same root.

*Bigott* adj., erst nhd., entlehnt aus frz. *bigot*, aber an Gott graphisch angelehnt. Kluge here wisely dodges the whole question. Not much more can be said, it

is true, in regard to this difficult word, but an expression of opinion would have been in place.

*Brise* f. 'leiser Wind,' aus gleichbed. engl. *breuse*? (woher auch frz. *brise*). The opposite is probably true, the Eng. *breese* coming from French *brise* (cf. Skeat, p. 76, and Diez, p. 66).

The two numbers reach *kehlen* and we are promised the completion of the work in seven or eight numbers. We do not doubt that the author will be able to bring his work within the prescribed compass, if he observes the brevity which so far has characterized the work. The whole is not to cost more than twelve marks and will thus be within the reach of a wide class of students. The fact that German type is employed indicates that it is intended for a wide circulation. We shall wait impatiently for its completion.

S. P.

Altenglische Legenden. Neue Folge. Mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen. Herausgegeben von C. HORSTMANN. Heilbronn: Gebr. Henninger, 1881. Barbour's des schottischen National-dichters Legendensammlung nebst den Fragmenten seines Trojanerkrieges. Zum ersten mal herausgegeben und kritisch bearbeitet von C. HORSTMANN. I Band. Heilbronn, Gebr. Henninger, 1881; II Band, 1882.

In 1875 Horstmann first published his *Altenglische Legenden*, and in 1878 his *Sammlung Altenglischer Legenden*, which have now been greatly enlarged by his *Altenglische Legenden*, neue Folge. This work is provided with a general introduction, which treats of the meaning and position of the Legend, the first part showing the introduction and reading of the Legends as part of the daily church service, at first in the monasteries and later in the parochial churches, where, being read in the vernacular, they supplied the place of sermons and homilies. The second part shows the origin and development of the Legends from the Martyrologies, to which the Lives, at first authentic, were gradually added, and then these were so increased by the introduction of the unauthentic and the miraculous, and by additions to their number, that every day in the year was provided with its saint's life. Starting from the Martyrology of Eusebius, worked over by Jerome (as is thought), rewritten for the English church by Beda, though preserved only in the form given to it by Florus, added to by Rabanus Maurus, Ado, Usuardus, Notker (†912), and others, the list at last contained in outline the legends of all the saints of the church. These, increased by the Lives and by didactic additions, were collected in one whole by Wolfhard, about the beginning of the 10th century; Aelfric's Anglo-Saxon collection, about the end of that century, presupposes a Latin original. But the increased worship of saints in the 13th century gave occasion for the great work of Jacobus a Voragine, archbishop of Genoa 1292-98, the *Legenda aurea sive Historia lombardica*, which took the place of all preceding collections, "und als goldenes Volksbuch sich im Fluge die Welt eroberte." Jacobus united all the material accessible to him, and presented a collection of Legends as complete as possible, a sort of final edition. The older Old-English collections of Legends, while proceeding from Latin originals, do not depend on the *Legenda*

*Aurea*, but the later collections, as Barbour's and others, are mostly translated word for word from that work. The older collections, however, show an exact agreement with it even in the most minute particulars. Here follows a special introduction of a hundred pages on the Old-English collections of Legends, in which six such collections are enumerated and the various manuscripts of these most carefully described.

The Legends form an important division of Old-English literature, which is chiefly of a religious tone and is written for the moral and spiritual edification of the people. Soon after the conversion of England this Christian poetry took the place of the heathen national epic poetry. [The Christian influence is seen already in the heathen "Beowulf."] The four legends of Cynewulf, Guthlac, Juliana, Andrew, and Helena, belong to the flourishing period of Anglo-Saxon poetry, the second half of the eighth century. To the tenth century belong the Menology, the Blickling Homilies, those of Aelfric, and his *Passiones martyrum*, the first collection of Old-English Legends (soon to be published by Professor Skeat for the Early English Text Society), and a little later the Homilies of Archbishop Wulfstan, only one of which has yet been published. During the reign of Norman influence the Homilies were still read and copied, the Ormulum, the Ancren Riwe, and the contemporary Legends, S. Marherete, Juliane, and Katerine, were produced. Others are found during the thirteenth century which, while showing French influence, preserve their national, epic, Germanic character. The later legends are written under the influence of the French romantic poetry, and as pure poetry are inferior to those mentioned above. They are composed by monkish poets for the service of the church and for reading in sermons, hence poetic style yielded to practical ends.

The limits of this notice permit a mere mention of the six collections. I. The first of these is the *South-English* collection, composed in Gloucestershire in the last quarter of the 13th century, probably by the monks of the abbey of Gloucester, but not all by Robert of Gloucester, to whom it has been attributed. II. The *North-English* collection of Homilies and Legends. Although the North withheld itself from French influence longer than the South, still this influence finally penetrated there, and in the beginning of the 14th century the North was the chief seat of English literature; here more attention was paid to poetic form, and verse and rime were handled with greater skill. The *Cursor Mundi*, a compendium of biblical history, with additions from the apocrypha, and the legends, is the first principal work of this kind. Soon after arose the northern cycle of Homilies. The original collection comprised merely the *Dominicalia evangelia*, or the Gospels for the Sundays of the church-year, with those for Christmas, Epiphany, Easter-Monday, Whit-Monday, Ascension, the Purification and the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, paraphrased, expounded according to the Fathers, and accompanied by an edifying legendary tale. This collection was based on the Missal of the Diocese of Durham. Next comes the collection of the *Vernon MS*, written about 1375 in the Southern dialect, comprising the *Dominicalia* of the northern cycle and a series of later Homilies, originally composed in the Southern dialect. Lastly comes the collection of Homilies and Legends in *MSS Harl. 4196* and *Cotton. Tiberius E VII*, the first of which belongs to the middle of the 14th century and the second is a little earlier. This new collection absorbed the old and added a large number of

new pieces, and it is this which Horstmann prints in full, containing thirty-four legends, and an appendix, Alexius, from other MSS. III. *Barbour's* Scotch collection forms the third, contained in only one MS, Camb. Univ. Libr. Gg II, 6, composed about 1380-90. English saints are excluded from the work, and its source is the *Legenda aurea*, with some omissions and additions. Horstmann's *Altenglische Legenden* contains but one legend, that of *S. Machor* or *Moris* from this collection, the other forty-nine being published in the separate work mentioned above. IV. The *Festial* of John Myrk, a prose collection, in the dialect of Shropshire, forms the next important work. Myrk was a Canon of the monastery of Lilleshul; his Instructions for Parish Priests have already (1868) been published by the Early English Text Society. He wrote this work about the year 1400, and tells us in his Prologue: "I haue drawe this treti sewyng ow't of *legenda aurea* with more addyng-to." He has worked very freely, and his additions are from the *Gesta Romanorum* and English sources. It was first printed by Caxton, 1483, and Horstmann gives eighteen editions printed between 1483 and 1532, a strong proof of its popularity. He prints as an example the Sermon on the Festival of S. Alkmund, from the oldest MS, Cotton. Claudius A II. V. Osborn Bokenam's *Lives of Saints*, 1443-46, contains twenty-seven lives of female saints. It exists in but one MS, Arundel 327, and was printed for the Roxburghe Club in 1835. The author was a "doctor of dyuynite, frere Austyn of the Conuent of Stokclare" in Suffolk, and used the *Legenda aurea* as his source. VI. Lastly, we have the Old-English translation of the *Legenda aurea*, made in 1438, and published twice by Caxton, 1484 and 1487, with many additions. It was probably written by different hands, and translated from the French, not directly from the Latin, as a note to one of the four MSS asserts.

Besides the above-mentioned thirty-four legends from MSS Harl. 4196 and Cotton. Tiberius E VII, with one from Barbour's collection, Horstmann publishes twenty-three single legends, extending from A. D. 1290 to 1430, and one, St. Eustas, by John Partridge, as late as 1566, with an appendix containing four others. We thus have at hand a collection of sixty-three legends, belonging chiefly to the fourteenth century, with a very complete introduction, to which this summary has done but scant justice. It supplies valuable texts for the study of the religious literature of that century, and for the further prosecution of the grammatical and metrical investigations already instituted by Dr. Morris, Professor Skeat, and other editors of the Early English Text Society's publications.

Barbour's collection has already been mentioned above. Horstmann's introduction to the first volume describes its relation to the *Legenda aurea* and the sources of those portions not taken from that work. Barbour's independent additions often show his personality, especially his merciful and conciliatory disposition. The object of the work, as of other such collections, was a religious one, the spiritual edification of the laity.

Vol. I contains twenty-six legends, and Vol. II twenty-three, together with two fragments of Barbour's *Sege of Troye*, one from the beginning (596 lines), and the other from the end (3118 lines). The source of Barbour's work is Guido da Colonna's *Historiae destructionis Troiae*, and the corresponding Latin text is printed by Horstmann at the foot of each page. The

fragments are contained in two MSS of Lydgate's Troy-Book, and form the beginning and the conclusion of that work. They are written in riming iambic couplets of four feet.

JAMES M. GARNETT.

Terentiana. Quaestiones cum specimine Lexici, scripsit Dr. EDMUNDU HAULER. Vindobonae apud Hoelderum, 1882. Pp. 47.

The subject of Latin lexicography has come prominently to the foreground within the last decade, and such is the present activity of scholars in this field that the outlook for the future is very hopeful. The special lexicon of Merguet to the Orations of Cicero, which has already reached the letter Q, and the Lexicon Taciteum of Gerber and Greef, are models of their kind, and in point of fullness and detail of arrangement leave little to be desired. According to recent announcements of Teubner we shall soon have a Lexicon Lucretianum with full citation of passages by Dr. J. Woltjer of Amsterdam, and Dr. Hauler presents us here with what promises to be a very complete lexicon to Terence. A Plautus lexicon can hardly be begun until all the plays have been critically edited. A pressing desideratum which ought to be supplied in the near future is a special lexicon to the letters of Cicero. The indefatigable Dr. Georges, who has just entered on his seventy-seventh year, deserves the lasting gratitude of scholars for the conscientious way in which he has utilized the special monographs on different authors for the improvement of his dictionary. Not, however, until we have complete special lexica to the authors of different periods, and indices to the Inscriptions, can we expect a Latin dictionary which shall in any way adequately represent the wealth of the Latin language.

The editor of a special lexicon to any author must be something more than a mere index-maker. He must enter into the spirit of his author, know his syntax, and have at least a fair acquaintance with the usage of contemporary and preceding writers. Dr. Hauler has wisely given us some evidence of his fitness for the task which he has undertaken by his judicious treatment of several *quaestiones* connected with the text of Terence.

In Eun. v. 267, where Umpfenbach reads

*Set Parmenonem ante ostium †Thaidis tristem video,*

he proposes *huius* (or *eius*) *stare* for *Thaidis*. He reviews the various emendations hitherto proposed (omitting, however, to mention that of Sievers in Acta Soc. Phil. Lips. Vol. II, p. 79 to read *Thatnis* for *Thaidis*), and shows that Bentley was on the right track in proposing to read *opperiri*, which verb, however, does not suit the meaning as well as *stare*. *Thaidis* was a gloss for *huius* which afterwards crept into the text. *Statur* in Parmeno's reply, v. 271, supports *stare*. Dr. Hauler will doubtless not be displeased to learn that Bentley in effect anticipated his proposal. On the margin of Bentley's private copy of his 1726 edition of Terence, now preserved in the British Museum under number 833 K. 13 (see Vol. III of this Journal, p. 61 f.), I find *stare eius*, while *opperiri* is underscored as no longer satisfying Bentley. The order *stare eius* was no doubt adopted by Bentley to give the verse the regular caesura. I must not omit to mention that before the verse he has also written *iam stare*. In confirmation



of his conjecture Dr. Hauler might have added that in the similar verse Hec. 428:

*Sed Pdmphilum ipsum video stare ante ostium,*

*stare* is actually omitted by the Bembinus; also that Eugraphius in Eun. II 2, 37 (268) says "Integra nobis sunt omnia, si quidem adversarii *ante ostium stantes*, propterea frigide agunt."

In Phormio v. 863 where recent editors read *adprehendit* on the authority of the Calliopian recension, Dr. Hauler makes it probable that *reprehendit*, the reading of the Bembinus (first-hand), is to be retained. It is certainly strongly supported by the alliteration,

*Pōne reprehendit pallio, resupinat, respiciō rogo,*

and by Epid. I 1, 1: *Quis properantem me reprehendit pallio?* cf. also Trin. 624, Mil. 60. Curiously enough here too Bentley had written on the margin Epid. I 1, 1, as though contemplating the change to *reprehendit*, although he appears not to have known the reading of the Bembinus. The reading *adprehendit* is doubtless due to the fact that when the Calliopian recension was made, *adprehendere* was the verb commonly used in this connection. So the Vulgate has *apprehendens pallium* (cf. Haut. 509 with the Schol. Bemb. cited by Hauler, and Amph. 1116 where B. has *phendit*, but EF *apprehendit*).

Dr. Hauler is equally cogent in his defence of *percepit*, the reading of the Bembine in Hec. 363. The verse should stand

*Partim quae perspexi his oculis, partim percepit auribus,*

and furnishes a good example of alliteration. Dr. Hauler might have noted that in Cas. V 2, 5,

*Est operae pretium auribus percipere,*

Geppert's P has *accipere*. Later usage no doubt favored *accipere*. Cicero, Philip. VIII 28, has "non dico animo ferre, verum *auribus accipere* potuistis?" and Servius, in his commentary to Aen. IV 359, explains *his auribus hausi* by *accepit*. In Phormio v. 82 Arruntius Celsus furnishes very good warrant for reading *ardere coepit* instead of *amare*, and this reading Dr. Hauler defends against the authority of the MSS.

He next discusses the form of the voc. of Greek nouns having the nom. in *ēs*, and criticises Umpfenbach and Fleckeisen for uniformly reading *Laches* and *Chremes*, often against the distinct testimony of the MSS and of Priscian, in favor of *Lache*, *Chreme*. As a result of his investigation he finds that both *Chremes* and *Chreme* are used indifferently at the close of a verse, and within the verse before *ni* and *t*, while before *a*, *qu*, *i*, *cons*, *Chremes* occurs; before *p*, *s*, *v*, *c* only the form *Chreme*. In my collation of the cod. Dunelmensis (Bentley's 'codex vetustissimus') I find *Chreme* in vv. 550, 574, 868, 895, 906, 930, 945, and *Chremes* in vv. 241, 561, 917, 946. This may help to explain Bentley's preference for *Chreme*. He only admits the form *Chremes* in Eun. 535, 743, and Haut. 1052. Subsequently, however, I find that he admitted it in And. 945 (V 4, 42), where according to his marginal notes he would also read *Pasibulast*. CH. *ipsa ea'st*, with a reference to Ph. V 1, 11. The remainder of Dr. Hauler's dissertation is taken up with a discussion of some peculiar forms of *ὑποορτέλετρον* in Early Latin, and

an exposition of words borrowed from the Greek found in Terence, with such data as are ascertainable in regard to their introduction into the Latin language. These sections cannot be so readily summarized. The *Prolegomena ad Lexicon Terentianum*, pp. 27-35, set forth the principles which are to govern him in the use of editions, the mention of various readings, the orthography and other matters. The plan is so well conceived, and the few specimen pages of A (closing with the word *acus*) are so thoroughly good, that we can only wish that everything will prove favorable to the speedy execution of his design, so that we may have ere long a *Lexicon Terentianum* worthy of the name.

M. WARREN.

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Deutsche Litteraturdenkmale des 18 Jahrh. in Neudrucken herausgeg. von  
BERNHARD SEUFFERT. Heilbronn: Gebr. Henninger. 1882.

6. *Hermann* von C. M. Wieland.

It is not very long since Germanistic Philology began to investigate the German language, after the Reformation, with a care similar to that given to the older forms of the language. The poets of the 18th century especially, who represent to us the last stage of the German language, had long been neglected. This may have been due partly to the practice of measuring them merely with reference to their aesthetic and literary value, partly to the fact that they stood too near us to be judged with an historical eye. But this time has now passed. And as it seems that a total reformation in the method of writing the history of literature will soon be necessary, we desire to have those specimens of literature before our eyes, which have so far been very rare.

The new print of Wieland's "*Hermann*" forms the 6th number in the series of this laudable enterprise, conducted by B. Seuffert, which seems to continue Braune's *Neudrucke des 16 u. 17 Jahrh.* The selection of the pieces that have appeared so far shows taste and discrimination, and we are glad to have Wieland's "*Hermann*" now for the first time printed in full from the manuscript of the poet. It belongs to that kind of patriotic poetry which was introduced by Klopstock. The preface to our edition, although written with care, is in the usual dry style of such introductions, and forgets to point out the great patriotic movement among the young poets of the last century, how in the midst of great political misery they dreamed of a German fatherland, and how their aspirations were finally crowned with the events of 1871. To this movement, essentially the opposition of German thought and sentiment to French influence, we owe the best of Herder's and Goethe's youthful productions, and in this historic light alone does Wieland's "*Hermann*" receive its value. The poem shows us the future qualities of Wieland's poetry already "in nuce," although he was still a very dependent disciple of Klopstock. This dependence, as well as the difference of Wieland's and Klopstock's style and language, could also have been set forth to better advantage in the introduction.

If we are allowed to make a suggestion we would like to see also Karl Philipp Moritz: *Ueber die bildende Nachahmung des Schönen*, Braunschweig, 1788, in this series.

JULIUS GORBEL.

Petronii Satirae et Liber Priapeorum. Tertium edidit FRANCISCUS BÜCHELER. Adiectae sunt Varronis et Senecae Satirae Simi esque reliquiae. Berlin, 1882.

This admirable work of the great Bonn scholar has now attained a completeness which makes it perfect in its kind. The second edition had supplemented the work of Petronius and the Priapea by Bücheler's reading the fragments, mainly contained in Nonius, of Varro's Menippean Satires; to the third issue he now most judiciously adds his edition of Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis*, the fragments of Sisenna's Milesian stories, the *Leges Conuiviales* given at the end of the *Querolus* (a most trying piece of Latin), and the *Testamentum porcelli* which, according to Jerome (Pref. to his commentary on Isaiah) was repeated in the schools of his time by crowds of giggling boys. A more entertaining book it would be impossible to mention in the whole range of Latin literature; the name of Bücheler is alone a sufficient voucher for the care with which each part has been edited. The only thing wanting is that impossibility, a good explanatory commentary.

R. ELLIS.

## REPORTS.

Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Paedagogik. FLECKEISEN u. MASIUS.  
1881.

V.

44. Pp. 289-305. O. Crusius of Dresden reviews Tümpel's Ares und Aphrodite (Jahrbücher, Supplementband, 1880). Of late it has been assumed that the connection of these divinities was merely the result of poetic caprice. Tümpel follows a hint from Overbeck and maintains the true national and religious significance of the union, devoting to the long-neglected problem a searching investigation which is thought to have settled the main points of the question. Neither in ancient poetry nor in any work of art of the best period is there any hint of a connection between Ares and the armed Uranian Aphrodite. It is conjectured that the original companion of Ares was one of the Greek goddesses who guarded the citadel of Boeotian Thebes; and that she, changed to Aphrodite under Semitic influence, gave occasion for the union of Ares and Aphrodite. Demeter, Athena, Erinys, who had a common altar at Thebes, are identified by T. with the trinity of Aphrodites of the Cadmean citadel—Urania, Pandemus, Apostrophia (introduced in Rome as Venus *Verticordia*). The name *Urania* may have given the first impulse to the assignment of different moral characters to the three forms. The identity of the Erinys (corresponding to the Athenian Enyo) with Aphrodite Apostrophia is thought to be established by Tümpel, who assigns her as mate to Ares, as Demeter-Aphrodite had been convincingly assigned to Hermes by H. D. Müller. This Aonian couple of Ares and Erinys was the original of Ares and Aphrodite. The Gordian knot of the descent of Ares is cut by T. who recognizes him as a primitive Greek god, and insists that the belief in the god's Thracian origin arose from the warlike nature of the Thracians.

The essay is considered a valuable contribution to the history of Greek religions. It illustrates well Müller's law, that the divinities of the Greek people were generally united in pairs or groups.

45. Pp. 305-307. A. Schultz of Hirschberg, *à propos* of Roscher's die Gorgonen, etc., interprets the story of Melanippus and Comaetho ("fiery locks"), Paus. VII 19. The one is the dark thundercloud, the other the gleaming lightning. Their love is only a different form of the story of Poseidon's love for Medusa.

46. Pp. 308-309. R. Schneider of Duisburg, from MS lexicon (of Moschopolus?) of the XIVth century, in the Munich library, communicates a page of extracts which are interesting for their citations from the Greek poets.

47. Pp. 309-310. R. Löbbach of Mayence (see Am. Journ. Phil. I 376) returns to "der goldene Schnitt" of the hexameter, iambic trimeter, Sapphic verse, etc. As the iambic trimeter consists of 18 *morae*, of which 7 precede and

11 follow the penthemimeral (the most usual) caesura, we have the proportion 18:11::11:7. In the hexameter we have to assume that the caesural pause occupies two *morae*. Then the verse consists of 26 *morae*, of which 16 (counting the pause) precede the hephthemimeral caesura and 10 follow it. Then 26:16::16:10 (approximately). A hexameter verse with trithemimeral, penthemimeral, and hephthemimeral pauses will have divisions of 6, 4, 6, 10 *morae*. Then 16:10::10:6; 10:6::6:4.

48. Pp. 311-320. F. Kiel of Hannover treats of the truce of 423 B. C., Thuc. IV 118. The document is divided into four parts. The first concerns the use of the temple and oracle at Delphi, and was prepared at Athens as is shown by the present *δοκεῖ* distinguished from the *έδοξε* of §4. The second article, concerning the punishment of temple robbers, was added at the wish of the Athenians, but probably had been discussed in Sparta. The third and fourth articles, beginning *τάδε έδοξε κτλ.*, concerning the line of demarcation between the two parties during the truce, and arranging for possible changes in the conditions and for the continuance of the truce—these articles had been voted in Sparta in the form in which Thucydides gives them. The Phocians took no part in the truce because they disliked the interference of the first articles with their state. The Boeotians perhaps did not want a truce and may have objected to the second article.

49. P. 320. H. Schütz of Potsdam proposes four emendations to the Histories of Tacitus.

50. Pp. 321-326. E. Rohde of Tübingen on the date of the composition of the Theaetetus of Plato. He refers the "25 ancestors leading to Heracles," Theaet. 175 a, to either Agesilaus of Sparta or Philip of Macedon, who are shown by their genealogical trees to be of that degree of descent from Heracles. Philip seems to have received his first "encomium" from Isocrates, and though the Xenophontine Agesilaus (beginning *τοῖς προγόνους . . . πόσος άρ' Έρακλέους έγένετο*) might well be hit by Plato's words, the Evagoras of Isocrates (not earlier than 374 B. C.) was the first prose encomium on a contemporary. If encomia on Agesilaus († 361-360 B. C.) are referred to by the Theaet., then this dialogue was composed after that time, but surely it was written after 374 B. C. Plato is not hitting Isocrates but the Encomiasts who followed Isocrates. But the Theaetetus was earlier than the Sophistes and Politicus and also the Philebus. The later composition of the Philebus is shown by the concession without argument of the *δόξαι ψευδεῖς*, 36 cd, which presupposes the argument of the Theaetetus, as the rapid conclusions of the Phaedo concerning the *άνάμνησις* of the act of learning are a distinct indication of the earlier composition of the Meno, where this argument is stated in full.

51. P. 326. H. Schütz of Potsdam proposes three emendations to Tacitus's Dialogus de Oratoribus; reading in §18 *nulla a parte*, and removing *magis* or *prae* from *qui prae Catone*, etc. in the same §. In §36 for *saperet* he would read *caperet*.

52. Pp. 327-335. E. Ziegeler of Bremen criticises Bernays' Lucian und die Kyniker, Berlin, 1879. Bernays idealized the *κνισμός*, and thus could hardly be a fair judge of Lucian, the zealous opponent of the cynics. This sentiment seems to lead Bernays to believe the Demonax not a work of Lucian. His

other arguments for this view are not convincing. Ziegeler still holds that Demonax was a historical personage, and considers the Demonax a genuine work of Lucian.

53. Pp. 335-336. T. Büttner-Wobst of Dresden would remove *ὄσαι τ' αὖ μοναρχίαι* from the text of Xenophon, *Cyrop.* I 1, §1. After the mention of the fall of the democracy we expect in an Athenian writer to find the oligarchy which took the place of the democracy in Athens. The succession 'democracy, monarchy, oligarchy, tyranny,' is strange; and *μοναρχία* is seldom used by Xenophon (we expect *βασιλεία*, cf. *Mem.* IV 6, §12, and *Ages.* I 4).

54. Pp. 337-356. Realistic notes on Horace, by O. Jäger of Cologne. Although Horace is the most popular of all ancient poets, next to Homer, so much has been read and written about him that it is hard to find our way to the poet himself, through what is external. The critical superstition that he cannot have written anything in bad taste or style also interferes with our judgment. These notes are intended to lead us to receive the impression which was made upon the first readers or hearers of the poems. In *Sat.* II 3, 305-326 in the rehearsal of the poet's faults, he is accused in a comic way of the very opposite of his real faults. *Car.* III 3 finds its explanation and true value when it is taken as a reference to a supposed desire of Augustus to remove the seat of the Roman empire to Alexandria or Troy. In general, Jäger thinks Horace a shrewd politician. The *sermones deorum* of *Car.* III 3, 71, are explained by *Sat.* II 6, 40 fg., and by the *deos* of v. 52. The inconsistencies of *Car.* III 27 are explained as arising from the poet's inability to resist the temptation to give a poetical picture of Europa. The Marsyas statue of *Sat.* I 6, 120 is shown by a relief found in Rome in Sept. '72, which agrees with some old coins, to be a Silenus with the wine-skin, but the connection shows that it was a rude old statue with the face contorted as if he had been flayed.

55. Pp. 357-360. Critical notes by K. Rossberg of Norden to the *Ægritudo Perdicæ*, published by Bährens in his *Unedited Latin Poems* (1877).

56. Pp. 361-364. Fr. Rühl of Königsberg on Alexander and his physician Philip. The various sources are examined, and it is shown that the story of Alexander's sickness, as caused by a bath in the Cydnus, and the incident of the physician, is a myth. The letter warning the king against his physician could not have come from Parmenio or Olympia.

57. Pp. 364-365. Carl Jacoby of Danzig urges the reading which Bentlëy proposed, *sic di voluere*, for *Hor. Car.* I 12, 31.

## VI.

59. Pp. 369-380. Review by J. Renner of Littau of Homers *Iliade* erklärt von Faesi; sechste Auflage von Franke, I-II, 1879-80. The editor's work is highly commended and a number of occasional remarks are made upon passages in books A-M.

60. Pp. 380-382. J. Sitzler of Tauberbischofsheim discusses *τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν κτλ.*, *Hom. a* 170. He considers this equivalent to *τίς τίνος ἐσσι* of *Simonides*, *Ep.* 154, and supports his view, among other arguments, by *Hom. Hy. Dem.* 113 *τίς πόθεν ἐσσι, γῆν, παλαιγενέων ἀνθρώπων*, which can hardly be 'from

what nation of ancient men art thou'; and by Hom.  $\Phi$  150, where after  $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma \pi\acute{o}\theta\epsilon\nu \epsilon\iota\varsigma \kappa\tau\lambda.$  follows the answer  $\tau\acute{\iota}\eta \gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\eta\nu \epsilon\pi\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\iota\nu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ . Thus the question concerns the *γενεή*, not the *πατρίς*. [We may compare also  $\tau\acute{o}\nu \delta\mu\acute{o}\theta\epsilon\nu$  of Eur. Orestes 486.]

61. Pp. 383-384. H. Eichler of Frankfort an der Oder, in Plato's Laches 196 *d* would strike out  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha$  before  $\upsilon\varsigma$ .

62. Pp. 385-391. R. Gropius of Weilburg praises Pulch *de Eudociae quod fertur Violario*. G. had himself cherished and sent to the Jahrbücher for publication views which were preoccupied by Pulch. It is shown that the *Violarium* was a literary fraud of the XVIth century. The basis of the work is the edition of Phavorinus published at Basle in 1538, and of Cornutus and Palaephatus, 1543. Gropius adds various comments to his statement of Pulch's views. [Pulch shows in Hermes XVII 177 fg. that the author of the *Violarium* was a clerk of the Library at Paris named Palaecappa.]

63. Pp. 391-392. Beloch of Rome would read  $\text{Ἰππονέας καὶ Μεδμαίους}$  for  $\text{Ἰππονέας καὶ Μελαίους}$  in Thuc. V 5, 3.

64. P. 392. R. Dressler of Bautzen would read in Stobaeus, Anthol. XLVI 67  $\alpha\iota\tau\acute{o}\varsigma \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega\nu \kappa\lambda\alpha\iota\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  for  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\iota\varsigma \kappa\alpha\iota \kappa\lambda\alpha\iota\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ .

65. Pp. 393-398. E. Rosenberg of Hirschberg calls attention to many Homeric reminiscences, especially in adjectives, in the poems of Horace.

66. Pp. 398-400. P. Stengel of Berlin on  $\text{Ἡρακλῆς Μῆλων}$ . He thinks the name was given to the hero first as protector of the flocks, and that the name afterwards brought him sacrifices of fruits. Stengel enumerates examples of offerings of *figures* of animals instead of the animals themselves.

67. Pp. 401-416. Baehrens of Groningen on Latin poets. The slave-name *Afer* which the poet Terence retained after his manumission, shows that he was known only as an African by birth. If anything had been known of the later story of his Carthaginian birth, he would have been *Poenus* or *Poenulus*. Baehrens offers emendations to Suetonius' life of Terence and to the Andria; then to Lucretius, Ovid and the Latin Anthology.

68. P. 416. G. Landgraf of Schweinfurt collects instances of *sic = tum, deinde*.

69. Pp. 417-420. Th. Plüss of Basle energetically maintains, against Lange, his view of the *sex suffragia*, that they were a later grouping of the 12 *centuriae*, each pair of *centuriae* having one vote.

70. Pp. 421-422. G. Heidtmann of Wesel conjectures *bis semis* for *bi denis*, Verg. Aen. I 381 (giving Aeneas the same number of ships as Ulysses); *facilem rectu* for *facilem victu*, I 445. In I 505, *media testudine* is explained as the middle of the *breadth*, not of the *length* of the temple roof. The temple had a vaulted roof, not a dome.

71. Pp. 423-425. A. Viertel of Königsberg shows the correctness of the old tradition that the MS of Tacitus' Annals came from Corvey to Italy not long before 1509, into the hands of Giovanni de' Medici, afterwards Leo X.

72. Pp. 426-428. Rohde of Tübingen gives a page from a rhetorical *ἀνέκδοτον* of the Brussels library, a commentary to Cicero *de inventione*.

73. Pp. 429-431. Rönsh of Lobenstein discusses the Latin adjectives in *-stus* and *-utus*.

74. Pp. 431-432. Dombart of Erlangen offers two emendations to Paulinus of Nola.

75. P. 432. E. Klussman in the *Genethliacus* of Claudius Mamertinus would read (c. 3, s. 104, 1 Baehrens) for *Herculistus*, *Hercules iste tuus*.

## VII.

(23.) Pp. 433-448. Christ of Munich continues his remarks on interpolations in Homer (see *Am. Jour. Phil.* III 261). How is the agreement between the Homeric and the Cyclic poems to be accounted for? Did the Cyclic poets follow the Homeric poems and the older lays of the Trojan cycle, or are the passages which seem to indicate this to be explained as later interpolations in the Homeric poems? Christ first takes up the clear case of Hom.  $\delta$  280 fg. (of the experiences in the wooden horse) where 280-284 give the old form of the story with the names of the *ἄριστοι* 'Αχαιῶν, Menelaus, Diomed, and Ulysses; in 285-289 follows the later form of the story as it was developed by the cyclic poets. So the passage  $\delta$  247-249 is ascribed to a desire for harmony with the Little Iliad, and  $\delta$   $\epsilon$ κτῇ, v. 248, is to be written  $\Delta$   $\epsilon$ κτῇ as it was in the cyclic poets. Of the dittography  $\lambda$  441-456, Christ agrees with Nauck, etc., in considering 444-453 the interpolated part, calling attention to the fact that it is not enough to remove 454-456, since 444 fg. do not harmonizé well with 441 fg. Γ 144 Αἰθρῇ Περσέος θυγάτηρ κτλ. was inserted under the influence of the Iliupersis and Little Iliad, in which without regard to chronological difficulties the Theseus legends were brought into connection with Troy. So Ω 29-30 (the judgment of Paris) are referred to an interpolator who brought into our text a reminiscence from the Cypria of Stasinus. C. also separates lines and passages which he believes to have come in under the influence of Hesiod or the Argonautic myths, as κ 137-139, μ 69-72 and 61-65; also μ 3-4, since not the Ulyssean but the Argonautic story had to do with the far East.

These are interpolations, but it is remarked that the verses in our text of Homer which presuppose well-developed myths of Heracles, Tlepolemus Meleager, Melampus, Theseus, are found only in the later parts of the Iliad and Odyssey.

76. P. 448. J. Golisch of Schweidnitz illustrates ἰν' αὐτοῦ, Soph. Trach. 145, by ἐνθάδ' αὐτοῦ, Soph. O. T. 78; αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖ, Thuc. VII 16, 1; αὐτοῦ κ' ἐνθα, Θ 20; ἐνθάδε κ' αὐτοῖ, ε 208.

77. Pp. 449-480. E. Hiller of Halle reviews Theognidis elegiae recog. Ziegler, 1880; and Theognidis reliquiae ed. Sitzler, 1880, and discusses many of the questions relating to the poet and his works which are thus introduced. Ziegler's edition is pronounced indispensable to any student of Theognis, while Sitzler's work is severely criticised.

78. Pp. 481-493. E. Petersen of Prague notices with high praise R. Schneider's die Geburt von Athena and J. Dürr's die Reisen des Kaiser's Hadrian, Abhandlungen des Arch-Ep. Seminars, Vienna, 1880-81.



79. Pp. 493-494. C. Lang of Offenburg offers conjectures to the text of Cornutus.

80. Pp. 495-496. A. Procksch of Eisenberg gives statistics concerning the position of *quisque* and *uterque* in Cicero (see Am. Jour. Philol. II 268, 533).

81. Pp. 497-507. C. Gneisse of Metz discusses Lucretius's use of *porro*, including questions of text criticism and exegesis.

82. Pp. 508-510. G. P. Weygoldt of Lörrach shows that the statement of the pseudo Plutarch that Diogenes considered the heart the seat of the soul, refers to the Stoic, and not, as has generally been understood, to Diogenes Apolloniates.

83. Pp. 511-512. Georges of Gotha presents a lexicographical and critical miscellany to Latin authors.

84. P. 512. O. Weise in Pliny Nat. Hist. XXI 111 would read *oiston* (οἰστόν) for *pistana*.

T. D. SEYMOUR.

# REVUE DE PHILOGIE. Vol. VI.

No. 2. April.

I. Pp. 112-148. Criticism of Greek texts at the *École des Hautes Études*. I. Sophocles: 154 emendations, submitted by "Y." These emendations may be classified into certain, probable, plausible, improbable, impossible. In the last two classes are found some that are entirely unnecessary. Without attempting to assign each to its class, I shall call attention to a few that are, from whatever cause, especially striking. In Ai. 523, γένοιτ' ἐθ' and Wecklein's conjecture πέλοιτ' ἐθ' or πέλοι πόθ' are condemned because "one can neither become nor cease to be *well born*" (*biem né, eúgenēs*), and the tame οὐκ ἂν λέγοιτ' ἐθ' is proposed. Here it is assumed that *eúgenēs* is always used in a literal sense, which is by no means the case; for while Aristotle teaches expressly that the difference between *γενναῖος* and *eúgenēs* is that the former *always* implies nobility of character as well as birth, *eúgenēs* certainly sometimes refers especially to character. The Lexica cite Antig. 38-9, Philoct. 8, 74, etc. In Eur. Frag. 345 and 514 we have a play upon the one meaning in *eúgeneia* and the other meaning in *eúgenēs*. Besides, even if this were not the case, the emendation would not be satisfactory. People could have no objection to calling one *eúgenēs* in a literal sense whatever he might do, πολλοὶ γὰρ δντες *eúgeneis* εἰσιν κακοί (Eur. Elect. 551). (2.) In Elect. 532-3, the double pleonasm is removed by writing οὐκ ἴσον καμῶν, ἐμοὶ | λήπας δ' ἔσπειρ', ὥσπερ ἡ τίκτουσ' ἐγώ. (3.) In Elect. 548, δ' is changed to τ' because "in δοκῶ μὲν the particle never corresponds to a following δέ." If this dogma is true the Greeks certainly could not be misled by δέ *copulative* following, as there was no danger of ambiguity. (4.) In Elect. 947, ᾗ is changed to δ τι because "ᾗ denotes the means," and the general sense does not call for this. It seems rather to denote the manner: 'how I shall act'; and this is about the same as 'what I shall do,' so

<sup>1</sup> Γενέσθαι means 'manifestation' as well as 'becoming.' Hdt. 8, 86: ἡσάν γε καὶ ἐγένοντο ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν μακρὰ ἀμείνονες αὐτοὶ ὄντων, where Krüger ἐγένοντο *bewiesen sich durch die That*.

that no change is necessary. (5.) Elect. 1139, λουτροῖς σ' ἐκόσμησ' : σ' not in the Laurent. if in any MS at all. Read λουτρῶ σ' (i. e. ΛΟΥΤΡΟΙΣ of the earliest MSS). (6.) Oed. R. 422, after the removal of λυμὴν from 420 it is proposed to read : *ὅν λυμὴν* at verse-end instead of *ὅν δόμοις*, with the remark that the elision is but one more example of the *εἶδος Σοφοκλείου*. But any one introducing into the text such an elision is expected at least to allude to the question whether the last syllable must not be long. (7.) Oed. R. 586 : read *ἀτρεστον εὔδειν*. (8.) Oed. R. 977 : for *ῶ* (Meineke οἷς, Blaydes οὐ) read *ὦν*. (9.) Oed. C. 45 : for γῆς it is proposed to read γ' ἐκ, and a very unnecessary apology offered for leaving the verse "without caesura." In fact it has three, any one of which would suffice according to Sophoclean usage. (10.) Oed. C. 1027 : for κτήματ' read 'κτημέν'. (11.) Trach. 159 : for οὐπω (Laurent. οὔπω) read οὔτω. (12.) Trach. 345 : for *χὼ λόγος σημαίνετω* is proposed *χὼ λόγος σὺς βαίνειτω* with the remark that *λόγος σοι βαίνειτω* would violate the Porsonic law. But even *λόγος σὺς βαίνειτω* has so few parallels that it is to be avoided,<sup>1</sup> as being improbable, in making emendations. (13.) Trach. 1062 : read *κάνανδρος*. (14.) Philoct. 76 : *ὥστ' εἰ με τόξον ἐγκρατὴς αἰσθήσεται, | δῶλα καὶ σὲ προσδιαφθερῶ ξυνών*. "Le futur *προσδιαφθερῶ* ne va pas à côté du parfait à sens présent (!) δῶλα. Il faut certainement (!) rétablir le présent *προσδιαφθείρω*." These are the exact words of the entire criticism. Comments are unnecessary. (15.) Philoct. 296 : . . . *εἶτα πῦρ ἂν οὐ παρῆν, | ἀλλ' ἐν πέτροισι πέτρον ἐκτρίβων μόλις | ἐφην' ἀφαντον φῶς*. Here it is proposed to read *εἰ μὴ 'ν* instead of *ἀλλ' ἐν* because "*εἶτα πῦρ ἂν οὐ παρῆν* parait appeler au second vers la particule *εἰ*." But it is well known that instead of an unreal protasis, the opposite fact may be stated. The grammars cite prose examples, in which *δέ* happens to be used instead of *ἀλλά*. In Soph. Antig. 260 ff. there is an instance somewhat expanded, no distinct *ἀλλά*-clause occurring. In Eur. Elect. 1031 we read : . . . *οὐδ' ἂν ἔκτανον πόσιν· | ἀλλ' ἤλθ' ἔχων μοι μινάδ' ἐνθεον κόρην, κτέ.* As this is not a question of dialect, Homeric examples are not inapposite : E 22-3 : *οὐδέ γάρ οὐδέ κεν αὐτὸς ὑπέκφυγε κῆρα μέλαιναν, | ἀλλ' Ἥφαιστος ἔρποντο σάωσε δὲ νυκτὶ καλύψας* (with which compare Δ 750-753, where *εἰ μὴ* is used). In the Odyssey, φ 128-9 : *καὶ νῦν κε δὴ ρ' ἐτάνυσσε βίη τὸ τέταρτον ἀνέλκων, | ἀλλ' Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀνένευε καὶ ἔσχεθεν ἱεμένον περ*. See also η 278-280, ι 79-80, μ 71-2, ξ 32-4. It is true that in tragedy examples are rare, but in the present case there was a special reason for introducing *ἀλλά* instead of *εἰ μὴ*, as the sentence occurs at the end of a series of general logical conditions in past time, with frequentative *ἂν* in the apodosis, and it was desirable to mark the distinction. (16.) Philoct. 748 : *πάταξον εἰς ἄκρον πόδα* is questioned, and *εἰ'* suggested because the use of *εἰς* with *πάτασσω* "est insolite." How many times ought it to occur, and what preposition ought to be used when we wish to speak of striking *into* something? (17.) In Philoct. 786 : *παπαι μάλ', ὦ ποῖς, οἷά μ' ἐργάσει κακὰ*, our emender proposes the fut. perf. *εἰργάσει*, which he prefers to Wecklein's *ἐργάζει*, because its sense is as appropriate and the form was more likely to be mistaken since it occurs nowhere else. But even if the MSS gave *εἰργάσει*, what would hinder any one from rejecting it as being "*insolite*"? It is a little curious, too, that the sentence "au lieu du futur *ἐργάζει* [sic], . . . W. a

<sup>1</sup> And the same thing is to be said of *ὁ λόγος σὺς*, which ought not to be emended into a text, despite *ὁ λυμὴν ἑμός*. So. Al. 573, and *ὁ γεννήτωρ ἑμός*. Eur. Hipp. 683, in both of which passages *ἑμός* is objective.

proposé ἐργάζει" escaped the proof-reader, and the error was probably in the emender's manuscript. As a matter of fact, no emendation seems to be necessary, as the simple future in a mere exclamation is quite admissible under the circumstances. (18.) Philoct. 1293: for ὡς read ὦ.

2. Pp. 148-155. Notes on the *Asinaria* of Plautus, by L. Havet. Seven passages emended. One of these (5, 2, 43-60) is elaborately discussed and rearranged. The article is worthy of attention.

3. Pp. 154-5. Various notes. (1.) Aristotle (ed. Spengel), p. 118, 1, 11: O. Riemann inserts λέγοντος after ἀγαπῶντος, and lower down condemns Spengel's cheap method of solving a difficulty by treating it as an "interpolation." Before ὁ λέγων he rejects ὡς and the comma preceding it. (2.) Plaut. Capt. 3, 5, 36 emended by E. Benoist so as to read: Dum pereas, nihil interdico aiant vivere. (3.) Pacuv. Iliona v. 198, E. Benoist publishes the emendation of Guyet, 'filium' for 'natum,' and compares Plaut. Cistel. 2, 1, 48, where 'natam' must take the place of 'filium.'

4. Pp. 156-160. Book notices, by Tournier, Thurot, Weil, Riemann.

5. *Revue des Revues*, pp. 1-96: Germany begun.

### No. 3. Aug.

1. Pp. 161-178. Biographical sketch of Charles Thurot (with portrait), by Émile Chatelain.

François-Charles-Eugène Thurot was born at Paris, Feb. 13, 1823, and died suddenly in that city, Jan. 17, 1882. Educated at Paris in the *Collège de Saint-Louis* and at the *École Normale supérieure*, he held positions successively (1844-7) in the colleges of Pau, Rheims, and Bordeaux. In 1848 he taught Pedagogy in the *École Normale*, and in 1849 went to Besançon as Professor of Rhetoric. In 1854 he was appointed Prof. of Ancient Literature at Clermont-Ferrand. It was here that he began to write on the works of Aristotle, for whom he had a peculiar veneration. His familiarity with that author has probably never been equalled in our times. In 1861 he became *Maitre de Conférences* at the *École Normale*. His distinctive characteristic was that he carefully distinguished what he knew accurately from what he knew approximately or vaguely, and he taught only what he knew accurately. According to F. de Coulanges, "he knew the three [sic] classic languages as our best grammarians know one of them." In 1869 appeared his great work: "Extraits de divers manuscrits latins pour servir à l'histoire des doctrines grammaticales au moyen âge." In 1871 he was appointed to direct the study of Latin Philology at the *École des Hautes Études*, a position which suited him exactly. Here he guided his pupils in the critical study of many Latin works, paying much attention to the principles of textual criticism. In 1871 he entered the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, where his services were of a high value.

In addition to numerous works of his own (of which one of the most important is that on French Pronunciation, 1881), he prepared and published posthumous works of his father, François Thurot. Because of his minute knowledge of the middle ages, he was made a member of the council for the organization of the *École des Chartes*. His health first failed in 1877, when he had an attack of hemiplegia. He never regained his full strength. On the 17th of January, 1882, after a day's work, when retiring for the night, he died suddenly.

In 1880 Thurot had become an officer of the Legion of Honor and in 1876 a member of the Munich Academy of Sciences. He was distinguished as much for his kindness as a teacher and for the interest he took in his pupils, not only while under him, but also in their subsequent life, as he was for scholarship and literary activity. A complete list of his works including Review Articles would require eight or ten pages.

2. Pp. 179-185. On a Greek parchment of Egyptian origin, by H. Weil. This parchment, which is much injured, once formed a leaf in a *book* (not a mere roll, or file of leaves). It contains in a fragmentary state the second parabasis of the *Birds* of Aristophanes. As far as it is legible it agrees in the main with the oldest MSS. In v. 1078, where ζώντ' ἀγάγη of the MSS has been changed to ζών τις ἀγάγη (ζών, acc. of ζῶς, attested only by grammarians), the parchment has ζώντ' ἀπαγάγη, which is, no doubt, the true reading. (Cf. ἀπαγωγή.) Demosthenes (against Aristocrates, §30) cites a law which permits one to kill murderers or bring them before the magistrate: ἀποκτείνειν καὶ ἀπάγειν, and in his oration against Timocrates he uses the expression ἀποκτείνειν καὶ ἀπαγαγεῖν. So in the *Birds* we have (1077) ἣν ἀποκτείνῃ τις and (1078) ἣν δὲ ζώντ' ἀπαγάγῃ. —In v. 1080, the word πᾶσι, which spoils the verse as it is in MSS, does not occur. —In v. 1069 there is evidence that in the parchment the word πάντα stood after δάκετα: a confirmation of Dissen's conjecture. The name of the principal person is Πεισθέταιρος according to the parchment. —Vv. 1063 ff., which are suspected, appear as in the MSS. The only variant is ἐφίζόμενα for ἐφεζόμενα. Weil proposes to divide the letters so as to read ἐφίζόμεν' ἃ καρπὸν ἀποβόσκειται, with ἀποβόσκονται understood in the clause introduced by οἱ. —V. 1119: ἀλλ' ὥς ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους, not ἀλλ' οὐκ as Dobree has proposed. —On πρηγορεύνας (v. 1113) the scholiasts make comments in which πρόλογος is treated as a synonym of πρηγορεῖν. But in the best MSS of Aristophanes and also of Suidas, who reproduces these scholia, προλόγους is read instead of προλόβους. Now the parchment confirms this reading; for among some marginal notes occurs the following: ΠΡΟΛΟΓΟΣ | ΗΤΩΝ ΟΡΝΙΘΩ | ΦΑΡΥΞ. If we examine closely the scholia just mentioned it will become evident that πρόλογος had this meaning. In the texts as at present punctuated we read: Πρηγορεῖνας: Δίδυμος τοὺς βρόγχοις τῶν ὀρνέων, κυρίως τοὺς λεγομένους προλόβους, οὗτοι συλλέγεται ἐν αὐτοῖς τὰ σιτία. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπων πρηγορεῖν πάλιν ὁ βρόγχος· ἐκάτερον δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ προαυροῖζειν ἐκεῖ τὴν τροφήν. The comma should be placed after κυρίως: and it is evident that προλόβους, i. e. προλόγους, is represented as being derived from πρό and λέγειν, and πρηγορεῖν (in the last clause) from πρό and ἀγείρειν. We must, therefore, assign πρόλογος a new meaning.

3. Pp. 185-7. On *Sed (diadema) attuleras domo, meditatum et cogitatum scelus* (Cic. Phil. II 34, 85), by J. Gantrelle. The remarks of G. on this passage, published in the *Revue de Philologie* V 1, having been unfavorably criticized by the *Blätter für das Bayer. Gymnasialwesen* (1882, No. 3), the author shows that the *Blätter* confounded two very different things: a noun in apposition with a whole clause without reference to its relation to other clauses, and a noun in apposition with part of a clause or a subordinate clause, and partaking of its construction. The examples cited from Cicero in the grammars belong to the latter category. He cites an example from Sallust (Letter of Mithr., ch. IV) similar to the one in question.

4. P. 187. On the quantity of *e* in 'tabe,' by L. Harant. Criticism of O. Riemann's emendation (*Rev. de Phil.* IV, p. 185) of the common reading of Liv. XXI 39, 2, in which he corrected 'illuvie tabeque' so as to remove the example of 'que' after *ē*. Harant maintains that *e* is *long* in 'tabe.'

5. Pp. 187-8. O. R. replies to the above (4), and claims that 'tabē' is the correct quantity everywhere with the single exception quoted by Harant: Lucr. I 806.

6. P. 188. L. Havet proposes to emend Quint. I 1, 30 by inserting 'bene notis' or something of the sort after 'ipsis syllabis.'

7. Pp. 189-192. Book notices, by E. C. and A. Fécamp.

8. *Revue des Revues*, pp. 97-224: Germany (finished), Austria, Belgium, Denmark, United States, France (begun).

M. W. HUMPHREYS.

#### MNEMOSYNE, Vol. X, Part II.

In pp. 113-121 of this part Cobet concludes his notes on Madvig's edition of Livy. On *XLIII* 13, 1, he writes: "in Codice est: *non sum nescius ab eadem negligentia*, QUA nihil deos portendere vulgo nunc credant, neque nuntiari admodum ulla prodigia in publicum neque in annales referri. Pro QUA Madvig substituit QUIA. Nolle factum. *Negligentia* est *contemptus deorum*, δεισιγῶρία καὶ περιφρόνησις τοῦ δαιμονίου. Bona pars hominum Livii aetate aut nullos esse deos credebant aut eos non curare quid ageret humanum genus. Livius igitur *impietatem* hanc esse dicere non ausus est sed leniore vocabulo *negligentiam* appellavit. Queritur Livius *eadem* negligentia neque *nova* prodigia in publicum nuntiari, neque *vetera* in annales referri. Illorum temporum historici Polybii exemplo has superstitiones aetatis nugas silentio praeteribant, Livius contra candidissimus mortalium bona fide credebant '*bovem foeminam locutam esse*.' Quid putemus Senatoribus animi futurum fuisse si quis istius modi prodigium in publicum nuntiasset?" On the dependence of Livy upon Polybius he writes: "Livy ubi ducem suum Polybium deserit in graves errores se implicare solet. Miscet diversa tempora et ordinem rerum gestarum perturbat." After illustrating this he proceeds: "in multo graviorem errorem Livius et semet ipsum et nos inducit in fingenda oratione, quam Astymedem in curia habuisse narrat. Toto coelo erat diversa ab ea oratione, quam re vera habuit. Astymedes, cui sua oratio satis placebat, scriptam eam in vulgus edidit. Polyb. XXX 4, ἐξέβαλε γὰρ ἔγγραπτον μετὰ ταῦτα ποιήσας τὴν σύνταξιν τῆς δικαιολογίας, ἣ τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν ἀναλαβάνοντων εἰς τὰς χεῖρας ἀποπικεῖ ἐφαίνετο καὶ ἀπίθανος. Maiorem enim orationis partem consumis criminando alios qui peius etiam de Romanis meriti tamen omnes veniam adepti essent. Polybius, qui ipsam orationem legerat, graviter Astymedem increpat. Livius, qui orationem non viderat (solent enim libelli huiusmodi cito interire) et Polybii immemor, longum et flebilem legati orationem de suo commentus est ad misericordiam Romanorum excitandam. Multa in ea oratione sunt pravi et vitiosi acuminis et supra modum exaggerata . . . Sed prorsus nihil horum in curia auditum est." At the end of the article Cobet notices some manifest imitations of Thucydides by Livy.

The next article (pp. 122-128) is by J. J. Hartman, entitled 'Euripidea.' He devotes his attention chiefly to the Iphigenia Aulidensis. In 521, for the

corrupt κοιδέν γ' ἀχρηστον οὐδὲ χρήσιμον παρόν, he proposes: ἀπόν γ' ἀχρηστον, comparing Suppl. 867 and Hippol. 1001. In 1433 παραδοκῶσιν σὴν ἐκεῖ παμονσίαν he suggests προθυμίαν. On 447-9 he writes: "Agamemnon hominum de plebe felicitatem praedicans, his verbis utitur:

καὶ γὰρ δακρύσαι βράδιος αὐτοῖς ἔχει  
ἀνολβά τ' εἰπεῖν, τῷ δὲ γενναίῳ φύσει  
ἅπαντα ταῦτα.

Multum in his versibus sudarunt critici. Probatur plerumque Musgravii conjectura, qui verba ἀνολβα et ἅπαντα locum inter se mutare jussit. Sed vehementer vereor ne ea multum proficiamus; quid enim sit ἀνολβα ταῦτα equidem non assequor. Malim, ne una quidem litera mutata, pro ταῦτα legere ταῦτά; videtur enim τῷ δὲ γενναίῳ φύσει ἅπαντα ταῦτά acerba breviloquentia dictum esse pro: viro nobili non licet ullos animi motus vultu vel voce prodere."

We have next, pp. 129-135, an article entitled *Observationes criticae in L. Annaei Senecae Dialogos et Epistolas*, by J. van der Vliet. On *ad Marc. de cons.* XI 4, he writes: "homo est corpus fragile et caducum 'precarii spiritus et male haerentis, quae parum repentinum audiet et improviso sonus auribus gravis excutit.' Est lectio sane corruptissima cod. A, ex qua Haasius haec effinxit: *qua partum repentinum auditus improviso sonus auribus gravis excutit.* Non opus est illius *partus repentini* ineptiam multis verbis demonstrare. Etiamsi Latine ita scribi posset, de *femini* tantum, neque de *homine* verum esset. Madvigius mirum in modum a solita prudentia et sagacitate aberrans, opem non a Deo ex machina, sed ab ipsa machina petivit. Scribit enim: *quem PETAURUM repentinum aut auditus ex improviso sonus auribus gravis excutit.* Addit explicandi causa: 'ea erat machina, quae subito exsurgens et sublata homines ostentabat periculosa arte se moventes, apte ad spectatorem ex inopinato percutiendum.' Suspisor ejusmodi machinam idem fuisse quod apud nostrates *κυβιστηγῆρες* et illi, qui quos ipsi vocant, ludos *Icarios* ludunt, appellare solent het zwevende rek, vel Gallice, le trapèze volant. Cuiuscunque modi illa machina fuerit, loco quoque nostro solita sua vice fungitur et lectorem ex inopinato percutit . . . Multo facilius et simplicius difficultas expediri posse videtur, si legerimus: *quem spectaculum repentinum aut auditus ex improviso sonus auribus gravis excutit.*"

In the next article, pp. 136-162, Naber continues his 'Euripidea.' On Hec. 246, ὥστ' ἐνθανεῖν γε σοῖς πέπλοις χεῖρ' ἐμήν, he writes: "etiamsi fuerit tunc Ulysses τεθνηκὸς δειλῶ, quam inaudita synecdoche est, si manum suam timore intermortuam dixerit, non se ipsum," and proposes to read ἐμβαλεῖν. In Hec. 836, εἰ μοι γένοιτο φθόγγος ἐν βραχίονι καὶ χερσὶ καὶ κόμαισι καὶ ποδῶν βάσει, he proposes κνήμασι. "κόμαισι ne Furiae quidem loqui possunt . . . Poterat Hecuba . . . manuum et pedum gesticulationibus fletum et animi dolorem significare." In Hec. 1155 he proposes κἀνδὸν Ὀρῆκιον for κάμακα Ὀρῆκιαν. In his notes on the Phoenissae he says: "mihī quidem Phoenissae ex duabus traegœdiis contaminata fuisse videtur, ut Thebani belli quasi historia spectatorem oculis subiceretur. Non urgeo quidem fabulam praeter solitum esse longam, nam est hoc argumentum nimis lubricum, sed illud contendo, post pulcrā τεῖχοςκοπίαν in fabulae exordio et post vs. 751: ὄνομα δ' ἐκάστων διατριβῇ πολλῇ λέγειν, quibus verbis Eteocles Euripideus ridet Aeschyli Septem . . . post hos

igitur versiculos contendo eundem poetam in eadem fabula longam nuntii ῥῆσιν inde a versu 1090, in qua septem ducum nomina et genus et insignia et fortia facta accurate describuntur, si ipse addiderit, inepte addidisse." On the Supplices he argues against Elmsley, who made out the chorus of fifteen by assuming that Jocasta was allowed two maids while each of the other six ladies had but one, that though Euripides often speaks of the seven leaders with their mothers, there were really only five present, as the corpses of Amphiarus and Polynices "neque afferri possunt neque afferuntur . . . ut quindecim choreutarum numerus expleatur, satis est credibile unamquamque matrem *binas* habuisse *θεραπείας*." In this article there are many interesting notes on these plays, and also on the Heraclidae and Hercules Furens.

Then follows an article (pp. 163-177) by van Herwerden on the Batrachomyomachia, the object of which is to show in opposition to Baumeister, who follows in the main the opinion of O. Müller, Bergk, and Bernhardt, that this poem cannot be attributed to Pigres the Carian, nearly a contemporary of the Persian war, but "esse pseudepigraphum et ante Alexandri Magni aetatem pangi neutiquam potuisse." In his examination he throws out of account the lines bracketed as spurious by the latest editor J. Draheim, and scrutinizes minutely the metre, the prosody, and the diction of the poem. On the employment of the metre he thinks "nihil concludi posse de aetate qua poeta vixit . . . quod aetate Alexandrina externam illam, ut ita dicam, artem a multis felicissimè cultam esse constat." But as to prosody "longe poeta noster discedit a veterum epicorum norma in frequenti vocalium correptione ante mutam cum liquida, quam illi nisi parcius et plerumque in certis quibusdam vocabulis admittere solebant." But the question is fully settled by the diction. His conclusion is: "vix igitur ullum exstat in Graecis litteris opus quod tot et tam manifesta serioris originis gerit quasi fronte inscripta indicia quam Batrachomyomachia, quod carmen spero fore ut nemo posthac ad veterem poetam Graecum auctorem auferat."

The next article (pp. 178-192) is by Cobet, and contains notes on Galen. He does not confine himself to passages which need correction, but cites many which are of interest on various accounts. "Saepe queritur Galenus corporum humanorum resecandi sibi copiam et facultatem non esse, quam ob rem simias et alias id genus bestias resecare satis habebat. Itaque operae pretium esse putavit narrare ea quae leguntur Tom. ii, p. 221: *ἐθεασάμεθα δὲ ποτε καὶ ληστοῦ σκελετὸν ἐν δρεὶ κείμενον ὀλίγον ἐξωτέρω τῆς ὁδοῦ, ὃν ἀπέκτεινε μὲν τις ὀδοιπóρος ἐπεχειροῦντα πρότερον ὁμοσε χωρίσας, οὐκ ἔμελλε δὲ θάψειν οὐδεὶς τῶν οἰκητόρων τῆς χώρας ἐκείνης, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ μίσους ἐπέχαιρον ἐσθιομένῳ τῷ σώματι πρὸς τῶν οἰωνῶν, οἷτινες ἐν ὁσπίν ἡμέραις αὐτοῦ καταφαγόντες τὰς σάρκας ἀπέλιπον ὡς εἰς διδασκαλίαν τῷ βουλιθέντι θεάσασθαι τὸν σκελετόν.*" "Admirabundus narrat Galenus Tom. iv, p. 361: *ἐναγχοῦς τις ἐν δακτυλῷ φαέθοντα διέγλυψεν ἐπὶ τεσσάρων ἰππων ὀχοῦμενον, ὃν ἐκάστου καὶ χαλινὸς καὶ στόματα καὶ οἱ πρόσθιοι τῶν ὀδόντων καὶ ποδῶν ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐδ' ἐωρῶντο τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ σμικρότητος εἰ μὴ περιστρέψαιμι τὸ θέαμα πρὸς αὐγὴν λαμπράν.* Myrmecides et Callicrates τέθριππα ἐποίησαν ὑπὸ μυίας καλυπτόμενα teste Aeliano V. II. i 17, ubi interpretes et alia attulerunt et Plinium H. N. xxxvi 4, 15: Myrmecides, cuius quadrigam cum agitatore cooperuit alis musca." A passage is quoted (Tom. v, p. 655) on the subject of Stichometry, from which it appears that "τὸς στίχους sive τὰ ἐπη *totidem constare syllabis, quot versus hexametρι conti-*

nent . . . et non litteras sed syllabas numerari solere." "Lepidum proverbium ex aliquo comico poeta sumtum solus nobis servavit Galenus Tom. v, p. 878: πρὸς ἀπάντων σχεδὸν ἀνθρώπων ᾄδεται· παχέα γαστήρ λεπτὸν οὐ τίκειται νδόν."<sup>1</sup>

The next article (pp. 193-210) is also by Cobet on Bekker's edition (1849) of Dio Cassius. A considerable number of the corrections proposed here are found already in the Teuhner edition, Dindorf, 1863. But the whole paper is full of interest. "Dio Cass. 38, 17. Cicero τριαχίλιους καὶ ἑπτακοσίους καὶ πεντήκοντα σταδίους ὑπὲρ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐξωρίσθη. Vertunt: '*ultra 468 millia.*' Mirificus sane numerus, sed quia Dioni ubique *mille passus* non sunt *octo stadia* sed *septem cum semisse* vertendum est *ultra quingentesimum lapidem* (500 × 7½ = 3750). Cicero ad Atticum III 4, in rogatione de perniciē mea quod correctum esse audieramus erat eiusmodi ut mihi *ultra quadringenta millia* liceret esse quum in priore rogatione *ultra quingentesimum lapidem* esset scriptum. Sic Dio pro *intra mille passus* dicere solet μέχρι ὁδοῦ ἡμισταδίου et ἐντὸς ὁδοῦ ἡμισταδίου Lib. 54, 6, 6, et pro *ultra centesimum ab Urbe lapidem* dixit Lib. 46, 44, 4, ὑπὲρ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑπτακοσίους σταδίους ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως." "Quam facile historiae fides mendacis et absurdis commentis corrumpi possit ostendit locus Dionis Cassii 45, 1, 2, de Atia, matre Augusti: ἡ Ἀτία, inquit, ΔΕΙΝΩΣ ἸΣΤΥΡΙΖΕΤΟ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος αὐτὸν (Augustum) κεκυηκέναι ὅτι καταδαρθούσά ποτε ἐν ναφ. αὐτοῦ δράκοντί τινι μίγνυσθαι. ἘΝΟΜΙΞΕΝ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῷ ἱκνουμένῳ χρόνῳ ἔτεκεν. Quis ad haec non firmiter credat ipsam Atiam sanctam matronam hoc absurdum commentum diserto suo testimonio confirmasse? Tamen nihil est minus verum et numquam Atia quidquam de his nugis inaudivit, nedum ipsa narravit. Dio in his omnibus nil nisi Suetonium Graece vertit idque satis negligenter. Suetonius in Augusto haec scripsit: '*in Asclepiadis Mendesii theologouμένων libris lego Atiam cum ad solemne Apollinis sacrum media nocte venisset posita in templo lectica OBDORMIVISSE draconemque repente irrepsisse ad eam paulloque post egressum illamque EXPERGEFACTAM quasi a concubitu mariti purificasse se, . . . Augustum natum mense decimo et ob hoc Apollinis filium existimatum.*' Optime Casaubonus ad h. l. '*oportet hominem (Asclepiadem) fuisse nugatorem magnum et, quod de Timaeo olim dictum, γρασουλῆλεκτραν ineptum qui ausus sit, fortasse solus, de Augusti conceptu fabulam anilem ut rem veram memoriae tradere.*' Quid igitur Dione facias qui de impostore Aegyptio verbum unum non facit, sed ipsam Atiam inducit δεινῶς ἰσχυριζομένην haec ita facta esse?"

The last article also in this number (pp. 211-224) is furnished by Cobet, ad *Appianum de bellis civilibus*. Room can be found for only a single extract. "Lib. iii 16, 41: Μάριος μὲν . . . ἀνῆρέθη· ἀνδροφόνους δὲ ἐκφύγειν Ὑπερίδες, et post pauca: Δέκιον τὴν ἐγγὺς Κελτικὴν ὙΠΕΡΟῤῥατε ἔχοντα. In omnibus libris ὑπερορᾶν et περιωρᾶν confundi solent. Non est tamen difficile distinguere, nam ὑπερορᾶν est *despicere, contemnere*, περιωρᾶν autem *sinere pati*. Itaque restituendum ἐκφύγειν ἙΠΕΙρίδες ἐλαβὶ passus es, et ἙΠΕΙΟῤῥατε ἔχοντα *habere sinitis*. Apud veteres (praeter Thucydidem [et Herodotum]) περιωρᾶν constanter cum participio componitur: apud sequiores promiscue cum participio aut infinitivo."

C. D. MORRIS.

<sup>1</sup> See Apostol. V 22a (Corpus Paroem. Graec. II 337) where von Leutsch has cited a number of sources. 'Senarius,' he adds, 'a poeta tragico profectus videtur, quum inter praeclara iragoediae antiquae praecepta collocatus apud Gregorium Naz. carm. iamb. 18, 588, inveniat. The verse has been a stock quotation for many years in the editions of Persius I, 57. B. L. G.



## CORRESPONDENCE.

### ON THE REV. L. F. MILLS' EDITION OF THE GĀTHĀS.

*Sir:* While abroad last summer I met in Tübingen the Rev. L. F. Mills, an American who has for many years been engaged upon important work on the Zoroastrian *Gāthās*. The *Gāthās* are the most archaic part of the Zend-Avesta, contained in that one of its four books, or rather collections, which is called *Yaçna*. They are hymns in metrical form, and seem to represent particularly that part of the Avesta material which was employed for liturgical purposes and was recited at sacrificial performances. In this sense the *Gāthās* are directly comparable with the mantra material of the Vedas. The form of their language is also one which in a general way holds the same position with reference to the rest of the Avesta (the 'younger Avesta') as that which is occupied by the mantras of the Veda with reference to the remaining Vedic language. But they are far less natural and simple than the Vedic hymns; they are philosophizing, moralizing compositions, unlike the Vedic hymns, which are fresh, natural prayers of simple-minded singers to a divinity through whose aid they wish to accomplish some plain practical purpose. The exegesis of the *Gāthās* is beset with the gravest difficulties, and the opinions as to the method by which they are to be investigated are very much divided; the differences of method depend largely upon the degree of importance which is attached to the native tradition, and to the extent to which the closely related Vedas (especially the Rig-Veda) of India are resorted to for light upon the language, the mythology and the thought of the *Gāthās*. Prof. Roth of Tübingen, who first freed the exegesis of the Veda from the trammels of native tradition, is the most prominent advocate of an exegesis of the *Gāthās* out of themselves, and with the help of the Veda, relegating the native Parsi tradition to a place of secondary importance. His pupil Geldner is the most active promulgator of his views.

Mr. Mills became interested in Zoroastrianism through philosophical and theological studies, and has spared neither time nor labor in the task which he has undertaken. His edition will include the text of the *Gāthās* in Avestan character and in transliteration; a verbatim Latin translation, and a free metrical English rendering; the transliterated Pahlavi version with critical notes and translation; Neriosengh's Sanskrit version in transliteration and translation, and the transliterated Persian Pahlavi, which he describes below. This is to be followed by an elaborate commentary, in which the opinions on every point, both native and European, will be reported; in addition to this there will be glossaries of the Pahlavi, Sanskrit and Persian words, and a complete Index Verborum to the *Gāthās* themselves, with references to the explanations of each word.

Mr. Mills has had in this work the aid of some of the most prominent Iranian scholars, and brings to his task, in addition to his long and close studies, very valuable new manuscript materials for the Pahlavi version. It seemed to me

that a more detailed statement of his methods and aims would interest the wider philological public of his native country, and accordingly he has sent at my request a statement, which is printed below in full; nothing but a communication to the American Oriental Society, at its meeting in Boston, May, 1881, has preceded this.

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD.

Being invited to make a communication on the particular branch of labor on which I have been for nearly eight years engaged, I experience some embarrassment. First, I am obliged to suppose that those who extend the invitation regard my work as practically in existence,<sup>1</sup> as containing the original matter claimed for it, and as having been reviewed previously to publication in a manner in which, in some respects at least, no subsequent revision will be likely, or possible, to be made of it. Secondly, as I desire to occupy only a limited space, I must beg of my readers to excuse abruptness, and above all to overlook any appearance of dogmatic assertion. The Gâthâs of Zarathushtra, as need hardly be said, once constituted, together with the remaining portions of the Avesta, an important force in general mental and religious development. They are not only impressive objects in history, but the actual source of the philosophical dualism, and of much else that is alive at the present<sup>2</sup> day. It is clear to the minds of many, most competent to form an opinion, that some of the most prominent, as well as beautiful, ideas in the Jewish and Christian scriptures find their origin in the Avesta, and were embodied in Jewish thought while Jerusalem was substantially 'a Persian city.' The Gnosis with its profound<sup>3</sup> suggestions is indebted to it, as is, to pass over centuries, modern philosophy. A critical knowledge of it is therefore essential to the history of theology. For the student of religion the interest is even greater. Here we have the purest pagan religion of antiquity, under the guidance of which multitudes of human beings have gone through life, and that during a period of, perhaps, 3000 years. As to 'puerilities,' that any observer should pause to notice, what is shared by every ancient religion is more wonderful than the 'puerilities' themselves! For philology the Avesta is all-important. Its language is nearer the Vedic than it is to the Sanskrit, and nearer the original Aryan, in some respects, than the Vedic is. On the Gâthâs, the oldest and most important part of the Avesta, good labor has been expended; but the subject has presented such enormous difficulties that no one work, covering all the ground, has ever been attempted. The Asiatic word for word translations upon which all others have been founded, although honest efforts, of course contain no extended philological discussions, nor have they themselves been rendered into any of the European languages till now. The ancient Pahlavi translation which, notwithstanding its seeming, or real, inaccuracies, is, for philosophy and the history of religion, a production in itself second in importance to its original only, has never been continuously translated into any European language further than

<sup>1</sup> The texts and translations, some 400 pages, will be nearly all in type by the time that this is read.

<sup>2</sup> I regard the prevailing philosophy, which recognizes the necessity and eternity of evil, as clearly dualism, except indeed where the evil is regarded as supreme.

<sup>3</sup> Compare the purer Gnostic systems.

to about one-fourth of its contents. One reason for this deficiency has been the supposed state of the text. It was even thought, and a leading writer expressed to me the opinion, that with the text as it was, 'one could not even begin.' (This was, however, hypercriticism.) Every prominent author mentions the need, while none now living has attempted to meet it further than to the extent which I have indicated. With Neriosangh's Sanskrit translation it is much the same case. It has never been translated in its entirety into any European language, while from ignorance of even such a fact as that it follows the Pahlavi, it has been in some cases wholly misread. Haug criticized it severely, treating it as an original rendering of the Gâthâs,<sup>1</sup> thereby subjecting himself to still severer criticism in his turn. The entire evidence of these ancient works, so far as it should have influenced many active writers, has therefore been practically lost. The ignorance is a darkness which may be felt. The laborers have been too few. They have imagined that because these ancient works are often inaccurate (as if any modern could escape *that* imputation!), therefore all their irrefutable indirect evidence might be safely laid aside. Such is not the opinion of the greatest of Sankritists. It is, as I have intimated, the convenient oversight of men who have had too much to do. They have left an enemy in their rear. To get a distinct conception as to what the Pahlavi translation really is, we must by no means select the obscure passages, expecting grammatical accuracy in them. We must count the number of times from the beginning in which the renderings have been justified by criticism. If the accuracy (as to the radical meanings) preponderates greatly, then without being so foolish as to follow the Pahlavi always, we must yet recognize that we are in the presence of something which we are obliged to respect, or else fall justly under the imputation of having done our work without mastering our materials.<sup>2</sup>

And such has been the unconscious decision of science. Where Haug rejected the Pahlavi (as rendered by Neriosangh, through whom alone he was, at the time of his writing, really acquainted with it) his successors have often rejected him, acquiescing in the hints or plain teachings of the Pahlavi, but alas! without knowing it. The ancient scholars had opportunities for knowing what the Gâthâs meant, which no subsequent scribe will ever be in possession of, and we shall continue to make sad work till we heed them, and learn how to sift out their truths from their errors.

As I am indulgently asked for some particulars as to my studies, let me entreat forbearance with the frequent but necessary use of the first person sin-

<sup>1</sup> This assertion is clearly true to me and beyond a doubt. See Haug's notes everywhere.

<sup>2</sup> In estimating the Pahlavi translation the following points are to be considered. The first and most obvious question is whether the translator had our text, or not. I regard it as far from certain that many of his, or their, supposed errors (for more than one man's work is doubtless in it) are not improvements instead of errors, being renderings of a truer text. But secondly, occasional, and even frequent individual errors must be freely admitted. They are often, however, due to an over-anxious veneration for a sacred text, and the desire to render every syllable; sometimes from a reason diametrically the opposite, that is, from carelessness; but neither of these defects, grave as they are, implies continual incapacity. Thirdly, it is plain from criticism that all the defects of the translators have not been able to destroy the general meaning; but then the general sense is all that we need. The Gâthic text affords the grammatical relation. Fourthly, it seems to me quite absurd to suppose this translation to be the product of original scholarship under the Sasanides. Its proper origin is very much more ancient.

gular. Having devoted three years to severe labor upon the Gnosis, and the Critical Philosophy, bringing a work on Kant to within a year of publication, I turned in the spring of 1875 to examine the Zoroastrian dualism which led to my present subject. After preliminary studies I made a first tentative translation, collecting the opinions of my predecessors, so far as they were then known to me, in the form of a commentary, and citing at length all the passages of the Avesta bearing upon the Gâthâs. This occupied about three years. Coming to Germany from Italy where I began on this branch of labor, I determined to translate the whole of the as yet untranslated Pahlavi. Experiencing the usual difficulties from the indefiniteness of the character, I sought counsel from a professor who, from the seriousness of the undertaking, referred me to Dr. West, the leading authority on Pahlavi. Writing to Dr. West on the introduction of Conte Prof. A. de Gubernatis, of Florence, I met with a reception which has proved as important for my pursuits as it was grateful to my feelings. Dr. West offered me the rich stores of his experience, and also, what was all-important, the materials for correcting the imperfections of the Copenhagen Manuscript as edited by Prof. von Spiegel. It seems that Dastur Jamaspji Minochiharji Jamaspasand lent to Dr. West, while living in the East, his most valuable, or rather invaluable, MS of the Yasna, which was written only twenty-two days after that now deposited in Copenhagen, brought to Europe from India by Rask in 1820. Dastur Jamaspji's MS is also by the same hand. It was written A. D. 1323. This precious document West carried with him "half over India." While it was in his possession it occurred to him to compare it with Spiegel's text from K's, which he had with him. He did so, and noted the differences in blue lead-pencil immediately over the letters concerned; this was in 1875. This volume so corrected he offered and lent to me in 1879. It was in my possession for a month, during which time I transcribed all its notes into my own copy of Spiegel, carefully reviewing them a second time. Encouraged by this, I examined the MSS bequeathed by Haug to the great Library in Munich, and obtained, from the courtesy of Prof. Dr. von Halm, the Chief Librarian, the loan of 12 b, a Pahlavi manuscript of the Yasna text in Persian characters with Persian interlinear translation. This was sent for my use to the Royal Public Library at Stuttgart. It is not positively known from what source precisely this MS was derived. It is thought that its original was one of the documents collected for the completion of Aspendiarji's Gujarati translation of the Yasna made in 1843. Aided by these two new sources of information, I began on my first translation and text of the Pahlavi, working over my Gâthâ translation continually. This accomplished, I began on Neriosangh's Sanskrit translation, which I had, as a matter of course, continually consulted and cited from the first. Now I determined to translate it, as no continuous translation of it existed, or exists, and as the fragments hitherto rendered, from their very nature as fragments, do not grapple with the chief difficulties. Those in Haug's Gâthâs may be regarded as substantially retracted by him. See the Essays, page 41. He there speaks of the 'bad transcript' which he had of Neriosangh. It was at this time, if I remember rightly, that I came to this town hoping to meet Prof. von Roth, but to my lasting regret he was absent. A translation of Neriosangh being accomplished with constant and literal comparison of the Pahlavi, I began a retranslation of the latter. In the meantime I became more and more struck

with the value of Haug's Persian MS. It corroborated West's notes of Dastur Jamaspi's MS to a remarkable degree, while at the same time it differed sufficiently often to show independence of origin. At length I concluded to decipher and edit the whole with glossary. It was at this time that I met Darmesteter in Paris, and I must express heartfelt acknowledgments for much kindly encouragement, and for the generous advice urgently given that I should print the text of Neriosangh as well as my translation of it. A kind word from de Harlez somewhat later, together with the presentation of his valuable work, is also gratefully acknowledged.

Having removed to Hannover, Prof. von Halm, with great liberality, allowed Haug's MS to follow me. I deciphered the whole save some forty words, which I referred to West. Of these he made out at least twenty without difficulty, some ten he abandoned, while the rest he read, for the most part, differently from the manner in which I have finally given them. Several interesting words, some of them not without difficulty, he made out originally and before me, I having sent him some nine verses for another purpose. This done, the translation of the Gâthâs was once more rewritten, and this time in Latin, as a word-for-word translation in English for the public eye is practically impossible. For the free metrical version (in English) I adopted a popular method, abjuring critical imitation of the Gâthâs for practical reasons. (I present exact imitations of rhythm together with amended text in the notes.) From 43-50 I use nearly the trishtubh rhythm, leaving off a syllable in the fifth, and from 47-50 (inclus.) in the fourth, line to improve the popular impression. That the Vedas have been compared should be understood without statement. A study has been made of them by a rough, hasty word-for-word translation of about five hundred of the shorter ones after the known authorities, together with a careful writing out of the principal Vedic verbal roots, stems and forms. Completing a third translation of the Pahlavi, and a second of Neriosangh, and desiring to forestall incompetent criticism, I visited West in the summer of 1880. With a kindness which I can never forget he gave me an entire month of his valuable time, reviewing my Pahlavi translation closely, and my Persian text somewhat. I may say that, aside from oversights, he agreed with my conclusions as much as one person could well agree with another while laboring independently on matter so difficult. I am, however, far from wishing to give the impression that either Dr. West, or other kind friends who have examined my work, are responsible for the individual opinions. Unanimity on the Avesta is never to be expected. Otherwise originality must be sacrificed.

There can hardly be said to be more than two or three individuals who have studied text, Pahlavi, Neriosangh, Persian and Gujrati together. The leading specialist in Pahlavi has been obliged to omit close labor on the Gâthic text, while some of the foremost writers on the Avesta have given next to no attention to the Pahlavi. Such is the 'state of Zend philology.' And such is the severity of the subject that it is by no means a disgraceful state. Let it be noted that each of the texts with which I have labored, except that of the Gâthâs, is in an irregular form. The Pahlavi is often turned out of its natural order by following the metrical original. Neriosangh's Sanskrit is the more puzzling from the same circumstance, and from being very bad in style, while the Persian is mixed, and has undefined pronouns like the Pahlavi. Nothing looks easier

than to read each of them off-hand, and nothing is more certain than such a reading will be erroneous. Travelling back to Hannover, I stopped at Erlangen, and was more fortunate than on a previous occasion, for I found Professor Spiegel there. Professor Spiegel received me with characteristic courtesy, and offered me his original copy of the Copenhagen MS of Neriosangh, which was made by him in 1845, he having gone to Copenhagen at the expense of the Bavarian Government for the purpose. It was afterwards compared by him with the chief Paris MS, and the results noted in red ink. I have therefore, through this generous loan, not the notes of a collation merely, but an actual copy of the chief manuscript entire, and this collated with the MS which occupies the second position. These I have carefully compared with Spiegel's published text, and, as was to be expected, beyond a very small number of the unavoidable oversights, I have been unable to improve upon it. I have, however, added many changes in brackets. Professor Spiegel likewise most kindly consented to look over my translation of Neriosangh. As he has had more opportunities for comprehending that writer than most others, I was particularly gratified both at his reading my MSS, and at the too indulgent result. Finally, when I had some 300 pages in type in May of this year, I visited Professor Justi in Marburg, meeting him for the first time; and great has been my regret that I did not make his acquaintance earlier. With very great kindness he laboriously read my work, so far as it was then printed, with the same indulgent result as that reached by the others. I fear the lay-world have been much imposed upon by Haug's most culpable attack upon Professors Spiegel and Justi. Spiegel's extensive services speak for themselves, bringing over the whole subject from France, editing and translating the Avesta, and editing Pahlavi texts, and Neriosangh, etc. He is properly the father of German Zoroastrianism. As to Professor Justi's dictionary, notwithstanding the necessary blemishes of a pioneer work, every Zend specialist knows its great worth. Prof. von Roth (see the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländ. Gesellschaft*, Vol. XXV, page 1) speaks of it as "Justi's musterhaft zweckmässig eingerichtetes Handbuch."<sup>1</sup> Having said this much, I will not be misunderstood when I acknowledge that, on some great questions, I belong rather to the school of Haug, or at present of Roth. Having done what I could to exhaust our Asiatic predecessors, I feel that I have now the right to compare the Vedas freely, with the language of which I bring the Gâthâs into the closest connection. For my views as to the age of the Gâthâs, and the place of their origin, see the remarks of Professor Luquiens in the Proceedings of the American Oriental Society held in Boston of this year, p. xl, l. 37. With these I closely concur. Professor von Roth has done great service in insisting upon the reconstruction of defective texts. Too many passages of the very highest interest are marred by some impossible grammatical forms at their close or beginning. As the ancient sage and his followers most certainly did not write nonsense, these sentences must be restored

<sup>1</sup> That a Zend dictionary should need to be rewritten after twenty years, surprises no specialist. It is only wonderful that Justi's results are so lasting (compare the errors of Haug). Justi's grammar alone would have made the reputation of some of his successors, and some of the finest original distinctions which have been advanced are to be found in his dictionary. It seems to me particularly contemptible that tyros should be taught to have their fling at Prof. Justi, when from the extraordinary difficulties and uncertainties of the Zend, no other person could have done better.

the best way that is possible. I may here express my great indebtedness to this eminent scholar for continual kindnesses which I have been receiving from him for some months past, and from his able pupil, Dr. Geldner. If I am forced to render the Gâthâs somewhat more according to the hints of the Asiatics than Prof. Roth does, it must at the same time be acknowledged that it is wholesome for the science to have renderings first from one standpoint and then from the other. Possibly some successor may construct a conclusive translation out of our materials. If the eminent Professor Roth can say that a translation which he makes 'is only a beginning,' how much more should the rest of us be modest. To rescue my labors from insignificance I am obliged to give them the following somewhat lengthy description. The Gâthic text is given in the original character and in transliteration, with a word-for-word Latin translation under the text, and opposite, a free metrical one in English; the Pahlavi text is then added, as for the first time edited with collation of MSS, and for the first time translated in its entirety into a European language; then Nériosangh's Sanskrit text, with a first translation; then the Persian translation contained in Codex 12 b of Haug's Munich MSS, edited with commentary to all, and Sanskrit, Pahlavi and Persian glossaries. I also hope to add the Pahlavi in the original character. When the second volume will be actually ready for circulation it is difficult to say. Some of the items above-mentioned involve an enlargement of plan. I have often assured myself that only mechanical drudgery remains, but mechanical drudgery, which no pupil can relieve, involves a great consumption of time. I believe that I have devoted as much labor to this one particular subject as any one now living, but it becomes a person pretending to write upon the Gâthâs, and as yet uninitiated by any work on the subject, to proceed with caution.

L. H. MILLS.

TÜBINGEN, October, 188a.

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The Gebrüder Henninger of Heilbronn, a house conspicuous for its publications in modern philology, announce for Easter next the first volume of *Κρητάρια*, recueil de documents pour servir à l'étude des traditions populaires. Orders must be sent to the publishers themselves.

The appearance of the seventh edition of Liddell and Scott's Greek Lexicon (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1883) is worthy of special mention. In the preface the editors say that the whole work has been thoroughly revised and large additions made. Another edition is not likely to appear in the lifetime of the editors, as they say not without a touch of pathos, and it is especially important that the thoroughness of the revision be put to the test and errors recorded. Communications to the Journal on this subject will be considered. In any case the book is indispensable for present use and for the construction of the Greek-English Lexicon of the future. As one of the American contributors, the editor of this Journal has elsewhere protested against the unfair and inconsiderate manner in which his work has been treated, and he does not desire to introduce the subject into these pages, from which everything purely personal should be excluded. One mistake, however, which the editors have made under *εστε* (p. 587, col. 2, l. 16), one of the American articles, is so flagrant that it is especially undesirable to have it set down to American account. L. and S. have: 'd. with aor. inf. in oratio obliqua and the like for opt., *εστε αὐτὴν νέμεσθαι Κρήτας* = *εστε αὐτὴν νέμειντο Κρήτες*, Hdt. 7, 171; often in later writers.' Of course one part of this statement corrects itself: *νέμεσθαι* is not an aorist inf. But apart from this, no indicative temporal clause can be turned into the optative of oratio obliqua, and *νέμεσθαι* here represents the indicative (comp. Philostr. Apoll. Vit. 3, 14, p. 70: *εστε — ἐπιμελεῖσθαι*). The passage is interesting as showing the power of association. 'Eote of time up to which

W. 1880.  
new  
27  
1

ve tenses, but ἐρημωθείσης precedes  
sads: ἀντὶ τούτων δὲ σφι ἀπονοστήσασι ἐκ  
αὐτοῖσι καὶ τοῖς προβάτοισι, ἔστε τὸ δεύτερον  
ολοίπων τρίτους αὐτὴν νῦν ν ἐ μ ε σ θ α ι Κρήτας.  
sion of νῦν gives a twist to the whole passage.  
erf. indic. in the sense of 'until' in Soph. Antig.  
e: ἔστ' ἐν αἰθέρι... μέσφ' κατέστη λαμπρὸς ἥλιος κύκλος  
ν is used with ἀγειν, A 98, but δόμεναι precedes. So  
μή ποτε | χώρας φυγόντες τῆσδ' ἐπέχωνται θεοὶς the  
the demand for the aorist, and the present subj. may be  
class of phenomena is much larger than might be supposed,  
a more careful treatment than it has yet received.

## ERRATA.

Pp. 47, 49, 51, head-line, read THE CHANGE OF p.

P. 83, l. 8 from top, for "often" read "offer."

P. 198, l. 20 from top, read "Mem. 2, 1, 8."

P. 198, l. 27 from top, read "ἀμα."

P. 228, l. 19 from bottom, for "Thuk. 5, 7" read "5, 65."

P. 317, l. 17 from top, read "28 May-9 June."

P. 318, l. 11, read ἐναλλάξ φορ[μῆ]δ[ν]. See Fabricius, Hermes XVII 4, 563.

It is due to Prof. M. W. Humphreys to say that in a private letter to the editor he suggested φορμῆδόν without knowing that, according to Fabricius, the φ is plainly to be read in the photograph.

P. 319, l. 10 from top, for "δνο-ιν" read "δνο-ιν."

P. 333, l. 15 from top, for "fem. suffix γα" read "fem. suffix γα." A similar misprint occurs p. 336, note, where read "χορ-γ-αδ-ς."

On p. 441, note.—After I had printed my article, I found that Mr. Monro had not altogether disregarded the examples of ὡς δτ' ἄν as one would have been led to suppose by his unqualified statement (p. 51) that "the use of δτ' ἄν in a simile is not Homeric," for on p. 209 he quotes a few instances of ὡς δ' δτ' ἄν, and conjectures that the word was ἀνά in a sufficient number of places to form a type and to lead to confusion between an original δτ' ἄν and the ordinary δτ' ἄν. Surely this looks like a desperate effort to save the statement on p. 51, and, if Mr. Monro had entertained this view when he wrote p. 51, he ought not to have kept it back.

The editor of this Journal has too much respect for Cobet to venture upon doctoring anything he writes. His spelling and his grammar are scrupulously preserved. If any one asks about 'nedum narravit' and 'γαρσυνλέκτριαν inepetum' he must quarrel with Mnemosyne or Mnemosyne's proof-readers.

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# NEW TESTAMENT AUTOGRAPHS

BY

J. RENDEL HARRIS

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# ΙΩΑΝΟΥ Β

ΠΕΡΙΠΑΤΩΜΕΝ ΚΑΤΑ  
ΤΑ ΕΝ ΤΟΛΑ ΣΑΥΤΟΥ  
ΑΥΤΗΣ ΕΝ ΤΟΛΗΣ ΤΙΝ  
ΚΑΘΩΣ ΗΚΟΥΣΑΤΕ ΑΠ  
ΑΡΧΗΣ ΙΝΑ ΕΝ ΑΥΤΗ  
ΠΕΡΙΠΑΤΗΤΕ ΟΤΙ ΠΟΛ  
ΛΟΙ ΠΛΑΝΟΙ ΕΞΗΛΘΟΝ  
ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΚΟΣΜΟΝ ΟΙ ΜΗ  
ΟΜΟΛΟΓΟΥΝΤΕΣ ΙΝ ΧΥΝ  
ΕΡΧΟΜΕΝΟΝ ΕΝ ΣΑΡΚΙ  
ΟΥΤΟΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ Ο ΠΛΑΝΟΣ  
ΚΑΙ Ο ΑΝΤΙΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ  
ΒΛΕΠΕΤΕ ΕΑΥΤΟΥΣ Ι  
ΝΑ ΜΗ ΑΠΟΛΕΣΗΤΕ ΑΝΗΡ

## PREFACE.

A few words of introduction are necessary to the investigations contained in the following pages, in order to remove some of the perplexity which may hang around the enunciation of the theory which they contain.

In the course of an examination of the columnar arrangement of the text of the oldest MS of the New Testament, my attention was drawn to a remarkable numerical peculiarity in the arrangement of the lines and columns of the several books, and from this my mind was forced to the conclusion that the scribes of the New Testament produced epistles more uniformly written and at the closing page more frequently filled than is the custom at the present day; and that it was, in fact, possible to reproduce the original pages by a simple process of numerical subdivision, if only the MS had preserved the lines of the original writing. Further study of the Vatican Codex showed that a large number of the books of the New Testament were capable of this subdivision (by the very simple process of dividing the column of the MS into three equal parts), and that the pages resulting from the subdivision were very closely related to the original pages.

Perhaps this will become easier to apprehend by a simple variation of the statement. Imagine a printed book, in which there are, let us say, ten equal pages, of thirty lines to each page, printed uniformly. If a reprint be made of this book in any other form, *i. e.* on pages and with lines of a different size to the copy, it is evident that the original arrangement of the book will be lost, and it is very unlikely that the last page of the new book will be a complete one. If, however, the printer adheres to the original lines, no matter how he may change his pages or his type, we shall always be able to restore the book to its original shape by simple

subdivision of its 300 lines into ten pages, although, of course, the subdivision may not be easy to detect, nor to demonstrate. This is what has happened in the Vatican MS; the scribe has retained the original line, and in a certain sense has preserved the original page also, since he made his column (as the investigation will show) by placing three of the original pages in a vertical line. This fundamental fact is the key to the method of textual criticism to which these pages form an introduction.

## NEW TESTAMENT AUTOGRAPHS.

A. 1. In the course of the first lecture, which I had the honor of delivering in this University, on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament, I pointed out that the material of the second and third Epistles of St. John was probably a sheet or series of sheets of papyrus ; and not only so, but that in the two documents mentioned, the sheet of paper was of a given size, capable of holding a given quantity of uncials. The first of these statements was based upon the allusion which the writer makes to paper, pen, and ink (*διὰ χάρτον καὶ μέλανος*, II John. 12 ; *διὰ μέλανος καὶ καλάμου*, III John. 13) ; while the second statement was an inference from the equality in the contents of the two Epistles, which in Westcott and Hort's edition of the New Testament occupy twenty-nine lines of type apiece, and from the evidence that in each case the writer had completely filled the sheet on which he was writing, since he complains of the insufficiency of his writing materials (*πολλὰ ἔχων ὑμῖν γράφειν, πολλὰ εἶχον γράψαι σοι*). From this point we are led to the enquiry as to the usual size of the sheets of paper employed in the New Testament documents, and the number employed in the autographs of the several books.

2. In order to make the enquiry carefully, we will first tabulate the number of columns and lines occupied by the uncial letters of the separate texts, as they are presented in the oldest known manuscripts. We begin, then, with the Vatican Codex, B. This manuscript is written in columns, three to the page, and each column contains 42 lines of uncial writing. Omitting the Epistle to the Hebrews, the latter part of which is in a later cursive hand, and the Apocalypse which is also supplied in cursive character,<sup>1</sup> we construct the following table :

<sup>1</sup> Scrivener adds the Pastoral Epistles (Introduction, p. 96), apparently following Cardinal Mai, but I can find no trace of them in the Roman edition. The Palaeographical Society, in the description accompanying their facsimile, follow Scrivener.

TABLE I.

	<i>Columns</i>	<i>Lines</i>	<i>Total Lines</i>
Matthew	127	9	5343
Mark	77	31	3265
Luke	136	41	5753
John	97	6	4080
Acts	130	3	5463
Romans	49	16	2074
I Corinthians	46	6	1938
II Corinthians	31	28	1330
Galatians	15	27	657
Ephesians	16	22	694
Philippians	11	0	462
Colossians	11	15	477
I Thessalonians	10	28	448
II Thessalonians	5	34	244
James	12	26	530
I Peter	12	30	534
II Peter	8	32	368
I John	13	27	573
II John	1	27	69
III John	1	27	69
Jude	3	27	153

The first thing that strikes us on examining this table is that the compositions do not end, as one might suppose, at different points of the page according to random distribution, but they show a preference for ending at particular points, and especially at the 27th line. Out of the 21 documents cited, five end on the 27th line of the page, two on the 28th and one on the 26th. This is very remarkable.

3. If the compositions were of arbitrary length, the probability that five out of the twenty-one should end on the same particular line is small indeed. Unless I am mistaken, it would be represented by the fraction

$$\frac{21 \cdot 20 \cdot 19 \cdot 18 \cdot 17}{1 \cdot 2 \cdot 3 \cdot 4 \cdot 5} \cdot \left(\frac{1}{42}\right)^5 \cdot \left(\frac{41}{42}\right)^{16}$$

which is evidently much less than  $\frac{1}{1 \cdot 2 \cdot 3 \cdot 4 \cdot 5} \cdot \frac{1}{42}$  or  $\frac{1}{840}$ . We may be sure then that the odds are at least four thousand to one against such a conjunction of endings being the work of *chance*.



It is evident that the eight compositions alluded to, viz. II Corinthians, Galatians, I Thessalonians, James, the three Epistles of John, and Jude, are each written on an integral number of sheets of a given size; and further, this sheet of given size must bear a peculiar relation both to the whole column of the Vatican Codex consisting of 42 lines, and to the fractional column of 27 lines; for, otherwise, it would not be possible for documents of different length, even though written on sheets of given size, to end at the same place on the Vatican page. If we allow a line for the subscription of those Epistles which end at the 27th line, we have to seek a submultiple of 28 and 42; and we at once see that 14 lines of the Vatican Codex bears some multiple proportion to the size of a page of the original writing, and in all probability, in the cases referred to, we may say that 14 lines of the Vatican Codex represents exactly the page of the autograph, the only submultiples of 14 being 7 and 2. This provides us with a unit upon which to base our calculations, which for convenience we will denominate a V-page.

4. We see, then, that of the Epistles especially referred to,

II Corinthians	= 95 V-pages exactly.
Galatians	= 47 V-pages, wanting one line.
I Thessalonians	= 32 V-pages exactly.
James	= 38 V-pages, wanting two lines.
I John	= 41 V-pages, wanting one line.
II John } each	= 5 V-pages, wanting one line.
III John }	
Jude	= 11 V-pages, wanting one line.

With regard to these conclusions, the single line left blank in the letter is probably left for subscription; in the case of the Epistle to the Galatians we have the additional explanation that there was a sentence in it written in large letters by the Apostle Paul's own hand, and when this sentence is copied there is a slight contraction in the copy as compared with the original.

With regard to St. James, we find two lines wanting; either, therefore, his handwriting is larger than ordinary, or we may assume that he actually left a somewhat larger blank space than was usual with the other writers, who evidently economized every inch of paper. The sheet of paper, too, is noticeably a small one; it is only capable of containing 14 lines of average length, about 17 letters each: this also is explicable by the supposition of economy, for the cost of a sheet of papyrus increases with the size of a sheet, but

in a much greater ratio than the sheet, on account of the difficulty of finding plants or reeds of a very great length and section. We can see, then, that the cheapest paper is used, and no space spared.

Now turn to the table again, and observing that our manuscript-unit is fourteen lines of the Vatican Codex, we see that in the autograph

Philippians = 33 V-pages exactly.

We come, then, to a group of three Epistles which run slightly over an exact number of pages ; thus :

Romans occupies	148 V-pages and two lines.
Colossians	33 V-pages and one line.
I Peter	38 V-pages and two lines.

With regard to the Epistle to the Romans, it is not inconceivable that in 148 pages the copy should have gained two lines on the autograph ; the study of the Epistle is, however, complicated by the existence of important various readings, and by the doubtful character of its concluding portion, which seems rather to be addressed to an Ephesian than a Roman community, and by the questionable authenticity of its doxologies. We content ourselves, for the present, by saying that the Epistle, as it stands in Codex B, probably represents 148 pages of the autograph.

With regard to the Epistle to the Colossians the question is more simple, as the document is shorter. Four lines of this Epistle, at least, are from the hand of Paul himself, and would therefore be in larger characters than usual ; this would make the original document longer than 33 V-pages and one line. Either, therefore, the greater part of a page was left blank, which is unlikely ; or Codex B has inserted words in the text, or the amanuensis of Paul (Tychicus, Onesimus ?) must have written a smaller hand than was normal.

We leave the matter for the present undecided.

Similar remarks will apply to the 1st Epistle of Peter.

We annex the 2d Epistle of John, as we imagine it to have stood on the original sheets.

When we turn to the Gospels we have a much more difficult question to examine, on account of the multitude of various readings. We shall simply remark that the Gospel of Luke, in Codex B, is within a line of the end of a column, so that

Luke = 411 V-pages, wanting a single line.

In the Gospel of St. John, if we omit the last verse, we find ourselves at the end of a page, and

John = 291 V-pages exactly.

It will have been noticed that the number of V-pages occupied by the documents discussed is more often odd than even, which is more consistent with the hypothesis of papyrus sheets written on one side only, than with the supposition of a material capable of being written on both sides.<sup>1</sup>

5. We shall now turn our attention to the Sinaitic Codex, which is written in columns, four to each page, and in lines, 48 to each column.<sup>2</sup> The difficulty in this case will arise from the fact that the lines of the text are not nearly so uniform as in the Codex Vaticanus, and in the first two Gospels in particular the text is broken up into paragraphs, and the recurrence of short lines, unless it be a genealogical feature of the successive MS, will prevent us from tracing the structure of the original documents. We proceed, however, to form our second table, constructed in the same way as the previous one, and containing a larger collection of books. The lines in this manuscript are shorter than in B, by several letters.

<sup>1</sup> The more delicate papyri are quite unsuited to the reception of writing on both sides: that species, in particular, which was held in the highest Roman estimation, and honored with the name of Augustus, was so fine as to be almost transparent, so that its extreme tenuity came to be regarded as a defect.

For a document to be written on both sides seems to be a mark of the poverty of the writer or the over-productiveness of his brain: thus we find in Juvenal I 5:

"Summa pleni jam margine libri  
Scriptus et in tergo, necdum finitus Orestes."

Lucian, Vit. Auct. 9, represents Diogenes as saying *ἡ πῆρα δὲ σοι θέρων ἔστω μεστὴ καὶ ἀπισθογραφῶν βιβλίων*.

Scripture students will call to mind an illustration of a similar kind in the Apocalypse, where the plenitude of coming judgments and tribulations is represented by a book or paper-roll written both outside and inside (Rev. V 1):

<sup>2</sup> This is not always true; in the Catholic epistles the scribe has frequently contented himself with a column of 47 lines. I do not know whether this peculiarity has ever been noted. Scrivener, in his collation of the Sinaitic MS, does not seem to allude to it. Our results, as given in the table, must be corrected for the aberration of the scribe, when we come to analyse the documents more closely.

TABLE II.

	<i>Columns</i>	<i>Lines</i>	<i>Total Lines</i>
Matthew	139	1	6672
Three letters only in the residual line.			
Mark	85	4	4084
Luke	149	24	7176
John	107	35	5171
Acts	146	10	7018
Romans	53	6	2550
I Corinthians	51	12	2460
II Corinthians	35	6	1686
Galatians	16	45	813
Ephesians	18	5	869
Philippians	12	9	585
Colossians	12	13	589
I Thessalonians	11	21	549
II Thessalonians	6	3	291
Hebrews	40	24	1944
I Timothy	13	40	664
II Timothy	10	3	483
Titus	5	37	277
Philemon	2	24	120
James	13	33	657
I Peter	14	9	681
II Peter	9	24	456
I John	15	12	732
II John	1	39	87
III John	1	39	87
Jude	4	6	198
Revelation	68	12	3276
Barnabas	53	18	2562

The first thing we notice is that the distribution of the concluding lines of the books is much more varied and irregular. The only thing that is remarkable is the recurrence of the multiples of twelve; three books end at the twelfth line, viz. I Corinthians, I John, Revelation; four end on the 24th line: Luke, Hebrews, Philemon, and II Peter; the Gospel of John ends on the 35th line, which may practically be counted as the 36th.<sup>1</sup> This, again, can hardly be

<sup>1</sup> It may be asked why, in discussing this table, we pay no attention to the repetition of the sixth line as an ending of three books, nor to the double recurrence of the number three. I have no theoretical objection to urge

accidental; we may assume that in the cases alluded to, with the exception of the 1st Epistle of John, which, on account of the irregular length of the columns, furnishes an accidental coincidence, there is a unit sheet of paper employed, capable of containing 12 lines of the Sinaitic Codex; we shall therefore have a new leaf of paper, (for reference to which we adopt the expression S-page, in order to distinguish it from the previous V-page), by means of which to measure our documents.

With regard to the comparative sizes of the two pages, it is evident at a glance that the S-page is smaller than the V-page, for it contains twelve lines where the other has fourteen, and has a smaller number of letters to the line.

6. We thus get the key to the method by which the text of the papyrus leaves was reduced into the shape in which we find it in the oldest manuscripts. Codex B selects the larger type of page, and arranges them nine on a page, or three in a side; while the Sinaitic Codex selects the smaller leaf, and arranges them sixteen on a page,

against either of these numbers, seeing that they are both submultiples of the whole column of 48 lines; but practically they are too small subdivisions, and their recurrence is accidental. The probability that out of 28 books, one number should recur in the line-endings three times (I do not say this time a particular number) is represented by

$$48 \cdot \frac{28 \cdot 27 \cdot 26}{1 \cdot 2 \cdot 3} \cdot \left(\frac{1}{48}\right)^3 \cdot \left(\frac{47}{48}\right)^{25}$$

whose value is nearly  $\frac{2}{3}$ .

It is almost certain, then, that such an event as the recurrence alluded to will be found in our table. Those who are interested in observing these recurrences may study the following table from the Codex Sinaiticus:

Tobit	ends on line	3	Jonah	ends on line	45
Judith	" "	23	Nahum	" "	15
Macc. I	" "	38	Habakkuk	" "	21
Macc. IV	" "	37	Zephaniah	" "	16
Isaiah	" "	14	Haggai	" "	3
Joel	" "	19	Zachariah	" "	38
Obadiah	" "	28	Malachi	" "	20

Here every ending is formed by random distribution (unless we except the book of Judith and the Maccabees), for the works referred to are translations, and have therefore no pattern; yet there is a double recurrence of the 3, and of the 38 with its submultiple 19. These are, of course, purely accidental. The recurrence would have to be more frequent before we should notice it, or look for any concealed cause at work to produce such a result.

four in a side. And it is this arrangement which Eusebius<sup>1</sup> describes when he says that the accurate MSS, prepared by order of Constantine, were written *τρισὰ καὶ τετρασὰ*; i. e. as we should say, in a square whose side is three, or in a square whose side is four. The V-pages, then, are arranged *τρισὰ*, and the S-pages *τετρασὰ*.

7. Now, examining our second table, we see at once that the Sinaitic Codex gives

Gospel of Matthew	=	556 S-pages, and three letters.
Gospel of Luke	=	598 S-pages.
I Corinthians	=	205 S-pages exactly.
Hebrews	=	162 " "
Philemon	=	10 " "
II Peter	=	38 " "
Revelation	=	273 " "

We may perhaps conjecture that Titus should be added to the list, as containing 23 S-pages and one line; while the Epistle to the Colossians is again doubtful, comprising 49 leaves and one line. We have thus deduced the type of almost all the Epistles, some of them with great exactness; and we observe that they fall into two groups, with the exception of some four or five Epistles, which either are not written so as to fill the paper, or are written on paper of a different size to the two sorts we have been considering, or on a different pattern.

8. When we turn to the Gospels we have a harder problem to solve, but I think we may say that if the two principal types of the early MSS are those indicated as *τρισὰ* and *τετρασὰ*, then it is far more likely that those types were found in the Gospels than that they were merely adopted from the Epistles. We may therefore expect to find some of the Gospels written *τρισὰ* and some *τετρασὰ*, or rather some on the V-page and some on the S-page. The question is, how shall we determine the type of the autograph for any particular Gospel? And here an important remark must be made. I am aware that every one of these results and suggestions is subject to a disturbing factor of the greatest moment, viz. the question of various readings in the text, and of accidental omissions or insertions of passages or lines in the great Codices. The disturbance will be most to be apprehended in the case of the longer compositions, and with regard to these all our results must be looked upon at first as

<sup>1</sup> Eusebius, Vit. Const. IV 37.

tentative. But in the smaller writings the various readings are generally so few and unimportant that the majority of our results may be regarded as unaffected by them. We will, however, examine the effect of these various readings in each of the separate books. It is the more important to do this carefully, because the Sinaitic and Vatican Codices are known to contain a number of apparent insertions and omissions and repetitions, which have been held up by a certain school as convincing proof of their unreliable character as witnesses to the text of the New Testament.

Dr. Dobbin gave in the Dublin University Magazine for November, 1859, a calculation of the omissions of Codex B in the different books of the New Testament, in which we find for

Matthew	330	omissions.	Jude	11	omissions.
Mark	365	"	Romans	106	"
Luke	439	"	I Cor.	146	"
John	357	"	II Cor.	74	"
Acts	384	"	Gal.	37	"
James	41	"	Eph.	53	"
I Peter	46	"	Philip.	21	"
II Peter	20	"	Coloss.	36	"
I John	16	"	I Thess.	21	"
II John	3	"	II Thess.	10	"
III John	2	"			

An appalling table, certainly, and one which, if we did not remember that the figures are the result of a collation with the Textus Receptus, and that the majority of them refer to wholly insignificant readings, would almost make us despair of finding in the Vatican or Sinaitic MSS any traces of the original style and size of the books of the New Testament. We will, however, discuss any important readings that may occur, and after having first carefully dissected the text of St. John, and examined the bearing of our investigation upon the stichometry of the New Testament, we will proceed to the Epistles, beginning with the smaller ones, and so working up to the longer Epistles, the Acts and the Gospels. And no result of the previous tentative examination is to be allowed to pass unchallenged or unverified.

9. We begin with the Gospel according to John. In the Vatican Codex this occupies 97 columns and six lines. In the Sinaitic Codex it occupies 107 columns and 35 lines. At first sight, therefore, it seems that the Gospel is written on the S-page, with only a

deficiency of one line from a total of 431 S-pages. But here comes in the question of the last verse of the Gospel, which Tischendorf observed to be written in the Sinaitic MSS by a different hand, and many scholia to different MSS affirm to be an addition. Removing this verse, eight lines of the Codex, the S-page is of course no longer apparent. But strange to say, when the verse is also removed from Codex B, in which it occupies six lines at the top of a page, we are left with a Gospel terminating at the end of a page, and in our notation occupying exactly 291 V-pages. The Gospel of John is, therefore, probably written on the V-page, and the apparent contradiction of this statement by the Sinaitic Codex may be due to the fact that in the type of MSS which that Codex has been following some one has utilized part of the blank space at the latter half of a column for the insertion of a sentence as to the number of books that might have been written. The addition must have been earlier than the age of vellum MSS, and may have arisen in the transcription of the Gospel of John from the larger-sized paper to the smaller, since it nearly fills the blank in a smaller sheet, and that sheet not the lowest in a Sinaitic column.

10. This conclusion with regard to the autograph of St. John leads to very important consequences with regard to the celebrated pericope of the woman taken in adultery. An examination of this passage shows that there are 908 letters either inserted in the text or dropped from it. Now the average number of letters to the line in St. John's Gospel in the Codex Vaticanus is 16.4, from whence we conclude that the passage in question is equivalent to about 56 lines of Codex B, *i. e.* to four V-pages exactly. Now it is obvious that four such pages could not by any possibility have been excised from a document in which the V-pages are arranged nine in a square. They must, therefore, have been lost from the original document before it came into the shape represented by Codex B. Their reinsertion has been characterized by great awkwardness in later manuscripts, and breaks the continuity of the narrative. They have been, in fact, restored to a place which they did not previously occupy.

Before going further we insert a reproduction of the four pages which we have reason to believe the lost passage to have occupied.

As a restoration of the text of B, it is not quite a successful effort. I have not, I find, done justice to the syllabic division followed by the scribe, who has a distinct custom in ending his lines and dividing his words, and prefers, if possible, to write a seven-syllabled line.



ΠΕΡΙ  
ΜΟΙΧΑΛΙΔΟΣ  
ΠΕΡΙΚΟΠ



Moreover, some of the most capriciously concluded lines are meant to be syllabically divided, such as those which end with *ου* and leave the *κ* of the *οὐκ* to be carried to the next line. This division occurs so frequently that it is evident that the scribe, in writing such words as *οὐκ ἔστιν*, really regards the *κ* as a sort of prefix to the verb.

We may now proceed to determine the place where the celebrated pericope should be reinserted. Turning to the end of the fifth chapter, we find that it closes with the words: "There is one that accuseth you, even Moses on whom ye trust. For if ye had believed Moses, ye would have believed me; but if ye do not believe his writings, how can ye believe my words?" The scene then changes abruptly to Galilee: "After these things Jesus departed to the other side of the sea of Galilee from Tiberias." It is between these chapters that I would locate the pericope. The fifth chapter narrates how Jesus found in the temple the man whom he had healed at the pool of Bethesda: it describes the long subsequent discussion with the Pharisees, which must have taken nearly all day, after which they depart, each man to his own house, but Jesus to the Mount of Olives. Appropriately the Pharisees bring him next morning the woman for judgment, with the remark that "Moses in the law said . . . but what sayest thou?" Codex D, which gives the pericope in somewhat shorter form, is even more forcible, *τί δὲ νῦν λέγεις*; we conclude, then, that this is a far more likely place to locate the pericope than at the end of the seventh chapter.

This readjustment of the text at once removes many of the objections urged against its authenticity, and it also helps to fill up that unsightly chasm at the close of the fifth chapter. It is unnecessary to discuss in detail the objections which had been raised by critics to the passage as it originally stood, but we will quote a single one out of many difficulties urged, as given by Davidson in his Introduction to the New Testament, I 363. He says: "The greatest perplexity connected with the passage lies in the reason for bringing the case before Jesus. No adequate motive appears to induce the Scribes and Pharisees to employ this woman for the purpose of embarrassing the Redeemer, and thence extracting a ground of accusation against him. It is evident that they wished to entrap him; the narrative itself states that they tempted him in order to procure a tangible charge, but how they expected to do so by means of the adulteress is exceedingly obscure." I hope the obscurity disappears in the new arrangement of the text, and

that the passage is more harmoniously placed with regard to the context than previously.

Moreover there is this difficulty, that in the ordinary supposition these lost V-pages would begin four lines from the top of the page, and we should have to assume that Codex B had either added four lines to the autograph, or lost ten lines in the first seven chapters, before we could rectify the pages so as to reintroduce the lost columns of the papyrus. Neither of these suppositions seems likely, as the text of John in these chapters is remarkably good, and the text of B is more likely to be marked by omissions than insertions.

On our hypothesis they begin on the last line of the left-hand column of the page, and we have only to assume that a single line has been lost from Codex B in the first five chapters. We proceed to go in search of this lost line. The Gospel of John in B has comparatively few various readings in the shape of insertions or omissions. The majority of them consist of transpositions and changes of merely verbal importance. We proceed to tabulate those of them which affect our enquiry, from the principal editors and MSS.

		Letters	Text.	Rec.	κ	B.	W. H.	T.	Tr.
I 5.	τῶν ἀνθρώπων	11	+	+	—	+	+	+	+
I 13.	οὐδὲ ἐκ θελήματος ἀνδρὸς	21	+	+	—	+	+	+	+
I 27.	ὃς ἔμπροσθεν . . .	21	+	—	—	—	—	—	—
II 2.	A long variant in the Sinaitic, but very doubtful.								
III 13.	ὁ ὢν ἐν τῇ οὐρανῷ	13	+	+	—	—	+	+	+
III 31.	ἐπάνω πάντων ἐστίν	16	+	—	+	+	—	+	+
IV 9.	οὐ γὰρ συνχρῶνται . . .	34	+	—	+	+	+	+	+
IV 14.	οὐ' μὴ διψήσῃ . . .	40	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
V 12.	τὸν κράβαττόν σου	15	+	+	—	—	—	[+]	+
V 16.	καὶ ἐξήτουν . . .	25	+	—	—	—	—	—	—
V 45.	πρὸς τὸν πατέρα repeated	13	—	—	+	—	—	—	—

Reviewing the variants of the text of B thus far, we find four cases of probable omission, and two of insertion. If we allow that B is right in omitting τὸν κράβαττόν σου, the result is a balance of a line to be added, which suits our case exactly.

11. We must now examine the remainder of the Gospel in the same manner.

VI 11.	τοῖς μαθηταῖς . . .	23	+	—	—	—	—	—	—
VI 22.	ἐκεῖνο εἰς ὃ . . .	27	+	+	—	—	—	—	—
VII 30.	ἀγιον δεδομένον	14	+	—	—	—	—	[+]	+
VII 46.	ὡς οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος	16	+	+	—	—	+	[+]	+

VIII 52.	B reads incorrectly, but the passage is of the same length as the ordinary reading.								
VIII 59.	διελθών . . .	34	+	—	—	—	—	—	—
IX 7.	B has dropped a line by ὁμοιοτέλετον.								
IX 36.	ἀπεκρίθη . . .	23	+	+	—	[+]	+	+	
X 13.	τὰ πρόβατα . . .	26	+	—	—	—	—	—	—
X 26.	καθὼς εἶπον ἑμῖν	14	+	—	—	—	—	—	—
XI 40.	οὗ ἦν ὁ τεθηγκὼς	21	+	—	—	—	—	—	—
XIII 10.	εἰ μὴ τοὺς πόδας	13	+	—	+	[+]	—	+	
XIII 14.	B repeats two lines and a half.								
XIII 24.	B has a slightly longer reading.								
XIII 32.	εἰ ὁ θεὸς . . .	21	+	—	—	—	+	[+]	
XIV 4.	καὶ οἰδατε	9	+	—	—	—	—	—	—
XIV 5.	δυνάμεθα	8	+	+	—	—	—	—	—
XVI 16.	ὅτι ὑπάγω . . .	21	+	—	—	—	—	—	—
XVII 15.	(κ)όσμου ἀλλὰ...omitted	35	+	+	—	+	+	+	
XVII 18.	ἐγὼ ἀπέστειλα repeated	31	—	—	+	—	—	—	—

The total result of our examination of this passage is that perhaps one or two lines might be added to the text of B, but the text has repeated more than five lines and dropped only three, so the total result is hardly affected.

It will be seen that we have made no allusion to the account of the troubling of the waters at Bethesda, which does not occupy a distinct number of V-pages.

But we must not altogether pass the passage by, for it enables us to see why the pericope *de adultera* came to be inserted in the wrong place. There is no doubt whatever that the gloss in question is very early, seeing that we find a striking reference to it in Tertullian, *De Baptism.* 9. Written on the V-pattern, the passage John V 3, 4 would occupy about 10 lines of manuscript. Bearing in mind that the passage to which the pericope *de adultera* has been wrongly restored is four lines from the beginning of a column, and adding the gloss on the Troubling of the Water to the fifth chapter, we have now moved the inserted pericope to the beginning of a V-page. Each of the three errors, viz. the omission of the pericope, its reinsertion, and the insertion of the gloss in chapter V, is therefore anterior to the age of vellum manuscripts, and we can even arrange the errors in their proper chronological order. Perhaps we ought to have added that in the same interval of time a balance of a single line was lost from the first five chapters of B.

The majority of the errors are of the V-type, that is, there are more V-lines than S-lines inserted or omitted. And this is just what we should expect, if the MSS were originally of the V-pattern; and we may lay down the following general principle: *A manuscript originally written on a certain pattern will generally show a majority of errors of the pattern on which it is written.* The advantage of this proposition is that it will help us to determine the original character of a MS, whether the MS occupy an exact number of pages of its pattern or not. We are now in the position to print the Gospel of John, approximately, from the original sheets.

No one can study the Gospel carefully without noticing the discontinuity of many of its sequences. The probability is that some passages are still lost from the 500 original sheets of the Gospel.

12. Now let us turn to the close of the Gospel and examine the endings of the 20th and 21st chapters: the similarity of the 30th verse of the 20th chapter to the last verse of the 21st chapter is unmistakable. The Gospel has apparently two endings. And here comes in the remarkable fact that Tertullian calls the 30th verse of the 20th chapter the close of the Gospel, although he quotes from the 21st chapter in at least two places: "*Ipsa quoque clausula Evangelii propter quid consignat haec scripta, nisi, ut credatis, inquit Iesum Christum filium Dei?*"<sup>1</sup> The proper place for the two closing verses of the 20th chapter is most likely at the end of the 21st chapter.

For the expression that there were "many other signs not recorded which Jesus wrought" implies (just as the expression "I had many things to write to you" in the II and III of John) an insufficiency of writing material; we are close to the end of the roll of paper.

In the next place, the restoration of the closing verses of the 20th chapter to the end of the 21st is strikingly harmonious with the introduction of the Gospel, to which it returns as a keynote, and with the 24th verse of the 21st chapter which precedes it.

And thirdly there is room for a single conjectural emendation which adds vividness to the narrative. In XXI 30, after ἐνώπιον τῶν μαθητῶν, many important MSS, especially those which exhibit a Western text, insert αὐτοῦ. It is a lawful suggestion that the original reading was simply ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ, which was altered as soon as the verse had become severed from its proper connection.

<sup>1</sup> Tertullian, Adv. Praxeas, 25.

The Gospel now closes as follows :

οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ μαθητὴς ὁ μαρτυρῶν περὶ τούτων  
καὶ ὁ γράψας ταῦτα, καὶ οἶδαμεν ὅτι ἀληθὴς  
αὐτοῦ ἡ μαρτυρία ἐστίν· πολλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλα  
σημεῖα ἐποίησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ ἃ οὐκ  
ἔστιν γεγραμμένα ἐν τῇ βιβλίῳ τούτῳ· ταῦτα δὲ  
γέγραπται ἵνα πιστεύητε ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ Χριστὸς  
ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ἵνα πιστεύοντες ζωῇ  
ἔχητε ἐν τῇ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ.

13. We now proceed to state the further results at which we have arrived for the several books of the New Testament, postponing the critical details to a subsequent page. It will be convenient to tabulate, as far as possible, the whole of the results in a form suitable to a critical comparison.

TABLE III.

	SINAITIC.			VATICAN.			S or V.	Probable number of S-pages.	Probable number of V-pages.	Probable number of sheets bought.	Ratio of V-line to S-line, uncorrected for omissions, etc.	Average Letters to the line.	
	Col.	Line	Total	Col.	Line	Total						S	V
Matthew	139	1	6672	127	9	5343					1.249	13.24	16.8
Mark	85	4	4084	77	31	3265					1.250	13.04	16.4
Luke	149	24	7176	136	41	5753	S	600		600	1.247	13.6	16.5
John	107	35	5171	97	6	4080	V		295	300	1.267	13.3	16.7
Acts	146	10	7018	130	3	5463	S	578		600	1.284		
I Thess.	11	21	549	10	28	448	SV	46	32	50	1.225		
II Thess.	6	3	291	5	34	244	S		24		1.192		
I Corinthians	51	12	2460	46	6	1938	S	205			1.269		
II Corinthians	35	6	1686	31	28	1330	V		95	100	1.267		
Galatians	16	45	813	15	27	657	V		47	50	1.236		
Romans	53	6	2550	49	16	2074	V		147	150	1.229		
Ephesians	18	5	869	16	22	694	S	73			1.252		
Philippians	12	9	585	11	0	462	SV	49	33	50	1.266		
Colossians	12	13	589	11	15	477	S	49		50	1.232		
Philemon	2	24	120				S	10					
I Tim.	13	40	664										
II Tim.	10	3	483										
Titus	5	37	277										
Hebrews	40	24	1944										
James	13	33	657	12	26	530	V		38	40	1.237	17.2	
I Peter	14	9	681	12	30	534	S	57		60	1.275		
II Peter	9	24	456	8	32	368	S	38		40	1.239		
I John	15	12	732	13	27	573	V		41		1.277	16.4	
II John	1	39	87	1	27	69	V		5		1.260	16.5	
III John	1	39	87	1	27	69	V		5		1.260	15.2	
Jude	4	6	198	3	27	153	V		11		1.294		
Revelation	68	12	3276				S?	273					

We have, on the basis of the previous investigation, constructed a column in the table showing the ratio of the V-line to the S-line for different books.

If a book contain  $m$  lines in the Sinaitic and  $n$  in the Vatican Codex, we have, other things being equal,  $mS = nV$ , or

$$\frac{V}{S} = \frac{m}{n}$$

where V and S represent the V- and S-line respectively. But this ratio must be corrected for omissions and insertions; if, for example, B omits  $q$  lines of the original, the ratio ought to be  $\frac{m}{n+q}$ , or it is diminished in the ratio  $n:n+q$ , or giving  $p$  either sign, and reserving the  $+$  sign for omissions, the ratio is altered by the fraction  $\frac{n}{n \pm q}$ . Similarly, if the Sinaitic Codex omits  $p$  lines, the ratio is altered by  $\frac{m \pm p}{m}$ . Change in the style of a writer will also affect the number of lines, etc., but at any rate we can see that, as a general rule, *books written in the same style and by the same author will be similarly affected by the processes of transcription.*

Referring to our table we have ratios as follows:

John 1.267	I John 1.277
II John 1.260	III John 1.260

results so nearly coincident that they suggest the same hand in the original documents.

But this remark must not be unduly pressed; for, strictly speaking, if any book is written out on the same two given patterns, the ratio of the lines is fixed, for V and S are fixed, and  $\frac{m}{n} = \frac{V}{S}$ .

Hence, when the text has been corrected, the column of ratios ought to be the same for all books. And the normal value of the ratio, if we allow 36 letters to the V-type for 28 to the S-type, is  $\frac{9}{7}$ , or 1.285. The first use of this table is to show, or rather suggest, omissions or insertions in a codex. When these are corrected for, there remains a residual effect upon the ratio produced by the variation in the hand of a scribe, induced by his copy being somewhat different from his normal style. And this residual effect may perhaps help us to classify the scribes of the different books.

We have grouped the Pauline Epistles in chronological order, and it is interesting to observe that those Epistles written at the



same time show traces of being written in the same manner. Thus Galatians and Romans are both written on the V-page; between them they occupy 200 sheets of paper.

Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and Philemon are all written on the S-page (unless we must except Philippians). And the four Epistles together occupy 200 sheets of paper. The three pastoral Epistles show traces of being written in the same style, but we have not been able to identify it. The two Epistles of Peter agree in this, that they are both written on the S-page.

B. 1. The resolution of the books of the New Testament into two main groups, characterized as the S-type and V-type respectively, has an important bearing upon the stichometry of the New Testament.

Professor Gildersleeve has drawn my attention to the analysis by which M. Ch. Graux showed in the *Revue de Philologie* for April, 1878, that the *στίχος*, both in sacred and profane writers, represented not a verse, nor a clause, nor sentence, *but a fixed quantity of writing*. Evidence is offered in this article that copyists were paid at a fixed legal rate per 100 lines. Such a law would have been vain and illusory if early and constant tradition had not established what was to be understood by the length of the line. M. Graux estimates as nearly as possible the number of letters contained in a given work of some sacred or profane author, and divides this number by the number of *στίχοι* which the manuscript of the work declares it to contain. The results at which he arrives are very remarkable, being almost all of them included between 35 and 38 letters to the *στίχος*. From 50 consecutive lines in the *Iliad* opened at random, he deduces that the average Homeric line contains 37.7 letters.

The significance of these results can hardly be mistaken: they imply that the *στίχος* is equivalent to the Homeric line. Now if we apply this result of M. Graux to the case of the Codex Vaticanus, it is almost impossible to resist the conclusion that two lines of the Codex Vaticanus are meant to represent the same quantity; we have found by selecting 25 lines at random in Codex B that the average for a single line is nearly 17 letters; two such lines come very near to the average obtained by M. Graux. But if this be correct, what shall we say of the much shorter lines of the Sinaitic Codex? We are inclined to believe that they represent the half of an iambic line. Taking the average of 25 lines from

the Medea of Euripides, we have 29.96 letters; but we have already found for the Codex Sinaiticus the number of letters to be nearly 14, which is not far from the half of the iambic line. These must therefore be two of the principal types of writing employed both before and after the time of the composition of the books of the New Testament: and these are the two principal types employed in the New Testament. The origin of what we have called the S-page and V-page respectively is therefore to be found in the iambic and hexameter lines.

These results admit of a very simple test. In the Epistle of James, I 17, we have an almost perfect hexameter:

*πᾶσα δόσις ἀγαθὴ καὶ πᾶν δῶρημα τέλειον.*

Now this occupies exactly two lines in Codex B, as the following transcript will show:

ΠΑΣΑΔΟ  
ΣΙΣΑΓΑΘΗΚΑΙΠΑΝΔΟ  
ΦΗΜΑΤΕΛΕΙΟΝΑΝΩΘΕΝ

In the same way the iambic which St. Paul quotes in I Cor. XV 34 from Menander:

*φθείρουσιν ἡβὴ χρηστὰ ὁμιλίας κακάς,*

is exactly two lines in the Sinaitic Codex.

It will be noticed that our lines, as a general rule, fall a little short of the average hexameter and iambic. The reason for this lies in the fact that a scribe paid at so much a hundred lines, when copying some other work than Homer, selected a short line of Homer for his pattern. By this means the conventional *στίχος* is a little smaller. These *στίχοι* must not be confounded with the divisions of the text made by Euthalius, an Alexandrian deacon, in the fifth century, which does not proceed by letters, but apparently by words and sentences.

2. The allusion which we have made to the existence of an iambic *στίχος* explains a difficulty in Josephus. At the close of the Jewish Antiquities the writer says, 'Ἐπὶ τούτοις τε καταπύσω τὴν ἀρχαιολογίαν, βιβλοῖς μὲν ἑκοσι περιειλημμένην, ἐξ δὲ μυριάσι στίχων. M. Graux remarks on this that if we were to take the assertion of Josephus literally, that his work contained 60,000 *στίχοι*, we should find for the value of the *στίχος* the inadmissible quantity 28 or 29 letters. He therefore proceeds to explain away the statement of Josephus, as being a rough expansion of the assertion that each of the twenty books of the Antiquities contained 2000 to 3000 *στίχοι*.

Birt, on the other hand (Buchwesen, p. 204), attempts to evade the difficulty by changing *ἐξ δὲ μυριάσι* into *εἰ δὲ μυριάσι*, by means of which he deduces the Josephus-line to be 34.2 letters.

We have only to assume, however, that Josephus employs the iambic verse as his model, and the result arrived at by M. Graux needs no further explanation.

A singular corroboration of this assumption will be found by examining the lengths of some of Josephus' own letters as given by himself. I will here only briefly allude to one result out of many. If we examine the six letters contained in the life of Josephus, we shall find that the

Letter of Jonathan to Josephus (Vita 44) contains 26 S-lines.

" Josephus to Jonathan (Vita 44)	" 33 "
" Jonathan to Josephus (Vita 45)	" 12 "
" Josephus to Jonathan (Vita 45)	" 12 . "
" Agrippa to Josephus (Vita 65)	" 12 "
" Agrippa to Josephus (Vita 65)	" 12 "

The recurrence of the number 12 is very remarkable, and four out of the six letters reduce at once to the S-pattern, while one of the remaining letters is only two lines in excess.

A similar remark will possibly apply to one or two other results of M. Graux. In calculating the value of the *στίχος* for the Epistles of Clement, as given in Gebhardt's editio minor, by means of the data supplied by Nicephorus and Anastasius, he comes to the conclusion that the *στίχος* is 29 letters to which he affixes the mark of doubtfulness. We need only assume that the writing is based on the iambic *στίχος* and all is clear. M. Graux appears to accept as the mean result for the *στίχος* based on the Homeric line, a number of letters between 34 and 38 as limits, and with 36 for the normal type. If we allow the same latitude of limits, say take the normal iambic *στίχος* at 28 or 29 letters and allow limits 27 to 31 letters, we can at once explain several other results which were rather rejected by M. Graux as inconsistent with his theory, or were marked by him with a query.

3. But now let us return for a moment to M. Graux's estimate of 36 letters to the *στίχος*. The following passage from Eustathius, Bishop of Antioch in the fourth century, will perhaps be a good test as far as the New Testament is concerned. In his treatise *De Engastrimutho*<sup>1</sup> we read as follows: *ἦραν οὖν λίθους ἵνα βάλωσιν ἐπ'*

<sup>1</sup> Migne, Patrol. XVIII 657.

αὐτὸν· ὡς δὲ ταῦτα προεγραψεν ἐν τῷ μεταξύ πέντε που καὶ τριάκοντα πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατὸν στίχοις ὑπερβάς ἐπιφέρει προσθεῖς· ἐβάστασαν οὖν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι λίθους ἵνα λιθάσωσιν αὐτὸν, that is to say, between two given passages of the Gospel of John, VIII 59 and X 30, Eustathius reckons about 135 στίχοι. Now if we count these intervening lines in Codex B we have 326 lines, which is more than twice 135, and in the Sinaitic Codex the passage occupies 414 lines. If, however, we count the actual letters in the passage, we find from the Sinaitic Codex 5375 letters, which when divided by 135 gives us 39.9 letters to the στίχος, a result somewhat too large, but still confirmatory of M. Graux's conclusion. It will be noticed that Eustathius is approximate.<sup>1</sup> Probably he mistook 135 for 145. The number of intervening στίχοι is really nearer to 150, and at 36 letters to the στίχος is almost exactly 149. From this last result it will be easy to express any book in the New Testament in στίχοι, for we may say approximately:

$$\begin{aligned} 326 \text{ Vatican lines} &= 414 \text{ Sinaitic lines} \\ &= 149 \text{ στίχοι of 36 letters each.} \end{aligned}$$

The calculations are given in a subsequent table, and are compared with estimates derived from various codices.

4. The same supposition of a normal iambic στίχος explains the statement of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (on the superiority of the elocution of Demosthenes) that Demosthenes' works contain 50,000 or 60,000 στίχοι. M. Graux dismisses this statement with the words, 'on voit que Denys ne tenait pas à l'exactitude absolue des chiffres.' But even if we admit the estimate to be a rough one, we have a right to assume that the accurate number of στίχοι should fall *between* the assigned limits. That it does not so fall is pointed out by W. Christ in his *Atticusaufgabe des Demosthenes*, in which he calculates from the stichometric indications of certain manuscripts of Demosthenes that the whole number of στίχοι is not much above 42,000. The conclusion drawn by the writer (as given by M. Weil in the *Revue Critique* for Nov. 27, 1882) is that the exemplar on which the reckoning is based is one of shorter lines than is usual.

But the question immediately arises whether this case is not explicable by the hypothesis of the iambic line: increasing the

<sup>1</sup> This supposition is unnecessary. Very interesting cases can be given, especially from Galen, of hexameter lines measured at over 40 letters.

estimated 42,000 *στίχοι* in the proportion of 7 to 9, which we have seen to be the ratio of the normal tragic verse to the heroic, we have 54,000 *στίχοι*, which falls nearly half-way between the limits suggested by Dionysius of Halicarnassus. We may study these stichometric indications in the important Munich MS of Demosthenes, known as Bavaricus, where the *στίχοι* are marked by hundreds on the margin by the letters A, B, etc. They are given by Reiske in his edition of Demosthenes, and we have only to take the average *στίχος* from the space intervening between two successive letters.

It is necessary to show that these stichometric marks do actually refer to a line measured by the longer model. As I have not been able to obtain a copy of M. Christ's work, I have calculated the *στίχος* from the data given by Reiske, where the marks are given at p. xcii of the preface, with the lines to which they refer. It would be difficult to mark the stichometric intervals even if the series were perfect (which is not the case by any means), for, first, we cannot tell to what part of Reiske's line the indication applies, neither can we be sure that Reiske knew to what part of the line of the MS they applied. Thus there is a chance of error four times repeated, twice for the beginning of the stichometric interval, and twice for its close.

As an example, let us take the oration against Timocrates. Reiske gives the following references to his pages and lines for the stichometric marks: 703, 17 A; 705, 17 B; 711, pen. Γ; 715, 10 Δ; 722, 14 Z; 725, 19 H; 728, 22 Θ; 731, 26 I; 738, 18 Δ; 741, 26 M; 744, 1 N; 746, 18 Z; 752, 8 O; 755, 13 Π; 761, 22 Σ; 764, 25 T. Here the second Δ should be Λ, and the second Z should be Ζ. From these, by means of Reiske's 29-lined page, we at once get intervals 58, 185, 98, 207, 92, 90, 91, 193, 95, 62, 75, 184, 92, 183, 90 lines. Of these fifteen results, the first, fourth, tenth, and eleventh are clearly not a multiple of the stichometric interval, either because Reiske's text is not the text to which the marks can properly apply, or because the marks are wrongly placed. From the remaining results we get the value of the interval, the second being clearly the double of such an interval, and the mean of the results is 92.4 Reiske-lines. But the average Reiske-line is 40.2 letters; the stichometric interval is therefore 3714.48 letters, from which it at once appears that the marks are meant to represent the successive hundreds of hexameter lines, each line being 37 letters. This establishes the nature of the stichometry of Bavaricus.

5. It is from the edict of Diocletian, *de pretiis venalium*, that M. Graux derived the statement as to the pay of the scribe by the given amount of writing. We proceed to examine the edict more closely. It is given in many exemplars, more or less complete, in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Vol. III, S. 800, the most important being an inscription from Stratonice. The following are the lines that affect our enquiry :

Membranario in [qua] t[r]endone pedali pergamena.	[xl denarii]
Scriptori in scriptura optima versus n° centum.	[xxv]
Se[quent]is scripturae versuum n° centum.	[xx]
Tabellanioni in scriptura libelli bel tabular[um] in versibus n° centum.	[x]

The prices are wanting in the inscription from Stratonice, but they are supplied from a Phrygian inscription marked H in the *Corpus*.<sup>1</sup>

The first thing to observe is the existence of two distinct types of writing, denoted respectively *optima* and *sequens*. These are, as we should say, large and small size; a study of the whole inscription gives many instances of this. Take for example the price of apples in the edict :

Mala optima Mattiana sive Saligniani	n° decem	* quattuor.
Sequentia	n° viginti	* quattuor.
Mala minora	n° quadraginta	* quattuor.

This establishes the use of the words *optimus* and *sequens* as relating to the *res venales*. Next observe that the prices of the two styles of writing are in the ratio of 25 to 20 or 5:4. Now the ratio of the heroic verse to the iambic is, as we have shown, very nearly 36:28 or 9:7, which is a very close approximation to the previous ratio. *The two types of writing of the Diocletian edict are therefore our two standard verses.*<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> M. Graux gives the prices differently, quoting apparently from Waddington, and is followed by Birt (*Buchwesen*, p. 208). They write as follows :

Scriptori in scriptura optima versuum No. centum . . .	
Sequentis scripturae	XL
Tabellanioni, etc.	XXV

Birt also seems to assume that "sequens" refers to quality rather than quantity: "das Monument unterscheidet hier wie überall nur zwei Sorten und bezeichnet die schlechtere als *sequens*."

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Bloomfield furnishes me with the following note :

In India, MSS are now copied and paid for by *çlokas* or *granthas*. The *çloka* is an iambic meter consisting of four times eight syllables, and any MS, whether

6. We observe that this table enables us to determine, to a close degree of approximation, the cost of the original transcription of the Codex Sinaiticus. Each page contains 96 iambic στίχοι, or almost the legal hundred; the cost is therefore 20 denarii a page: allowing  $345\frac{1}{2}$  leaves to the manuscript, the expense is  $345\frac{1}{2} \times 40$  denarii, or 13,820 denarii. And the date of the edict of Diocletian is so little anterior to the production of the MS that we cannot be far wrong in our estimate. But here we have only taken account of the actually existing portion of the MS, and have left out of the reckoning those portions of the Old Testament which are lost, and the 43 leaves of the Cod. Friderico-Augustanus.

Scrivener estimates the total number of leaves of the MS down to the place where Hermas breaks off at 724 at the outside: and admitting this estimate, we should have 28,960 denarii for cost of transcription.

Then comes the question of the cost of the vellum, and here again the Diocletian edict helps us to an estimate. According to the first of our quoted lines, a quaternion of four sheets or eight leaves of parchment, a foot in length, was to be sold for 40 denarii; now the Codex Sinaiticus is just over the foot in length (the Roman foot being taken to be 11.69 inches): and the vellum is of very fine quality. Allowing, then, 90 quaternions to the complete work, we put at least 3600 denarii for the material, which added to our previous reckoning gives 32,560 denarii for the complete work. If, however, we only regard the portion properly known as the Codex Sinaiticus, we have to add 1720 denarii to 13,820, giving a total of 15,540 denarii.

We conclude that the cost of a complete Bible must have been about 30,000 denarii; and Constantine's fifty Bibles for the churches of Constantinople must have been produced at an expense not very different from 1,500,000 denarii. To represent this in modern

prose or poetry, is now generally copied upon this basis of count. I received, myself, about a month ago two texts of the *Kāṇḍika-sūtra*, a ritualistic work written in short condensed sentences, and in prose. These sentences contain mnemonic rules for the conduct of sacrifices and sacraments, and are in form and context as far removed from poetry as possible. One of the MSS was estimated at 1700 *śloka*s, the other at 1750. The difference in the number is due to actual differences in the text, and to the fact that the count is made in round numbers.

A similar statement will be found in Gardthausen: Griech. Paläographie, p. 132.

money is more difficult; perhaps we shall not be far wrong in taking the estimate of M. Waddington, that the denarius = .062 francs.

Birt (*Antikes Buchwesen*, p. 209) sets the denarius down at .024 marks of modern money. This would make the scribe's pay, for 100 lines of hexameter size, .96 mark, sufficiently small to be a correct estimate of scrivener's pay; for the shorter pattern, .6 mark per hundred; while the cost of production of a complete Sinaitic Codex stands at 720 marks or thereabouts. It is not a little curious that the estimate which we have made of the cost of production of the books ordered by Constantine should approach so nearly to the price set by Tischendorf on the splendid edition of Sinaiticus produced by order of the Emperor Alexander II of Russia.

7. There remains one line of our edict to discuss. The notary (observe the curious form *tabellario* for *tabellio*) or writer of the small book (*libellus*) or of tablets, is paid at a lower rate. According to the edict, he is paid only 10 denarii per 100 verses. We cannot be far wrong in assuming his lines to be half as short as the previous type; in other words, his lines are sensibly the same as the Sinaitic line, two of which go to the iambic *στίχος*. Now it is not unworthy of note that we find not a few manuscripts of the New Testament written on a model very little different from the Sinaitic Codex. They are a little shorter, averaging 11 letters to the line, and indicate an original written on very narrow strips of paper. To this type belong the MSS known as I, N, Γ (which are, perhaps, fragments of the same original); they are written in double columns, 16 lines to the page, and eleven letters to the line. Codex W is, perhaps, a little longer, 12 letters to the line, and in double columns, of 23 lines to the column.

8. The table which contains our calculation of the *στίχοι* for the separate books is deserving of a careful study. The first column is taken from Scrivener, p. 63 of Introduction to N. T. Criticism. He states that for the Gospels his figures are taken from Codd. G. S. and 27 Cursives named by Scholz. It will be observed that as a general rule the results of the second column exceed those of the third. But in the case of the Acts the order is nearly reversed. Probably the explanation is that the Acts is written more closely in Codex B than any other book, and so we have a smaller number of lines from which to calculate our *στίχοι*. The first column is at the beginning much



in excess of the second and third, probably in consequence of interpolations in the Gospels followed by Codices G. S, etc., or omissions in the great uncials. For the succeeding Epistles the second and third columns give as a rule results slightly in excess of the first, except for the Hebrews, where the Sinaitic Codex has some omissions to account for, and in James and I John.

We may actually test the results in the case of such short compositions as Philemon and the two shorter Epistles of John. By actual reckoning then on the II and III Epistles of John as given in Westcott and Hort's edition, we find 30 and 31 *στίχοι* respectively. The abbreviated forms are taken for *θεοῦ, ἰησοῦ, χριστοῦ*, but these abbreviations will not affect the result arrived at. For Philemon the same text gives 42 *στίχοι*; but if we do not abbreviate we must add nearly sixty letters; the last *στίχος* numbered 15 letters; and we have therefore to add about 39 letters or just over a verse, which brings the result very close to the calculation from the Sinaitic, or the estimate of M. Graux.

The result arrived at by M. Graux, and confirmed by our own researches, is in the first instance deduced from the fact that the average value of the *στίχος*, as calculated, fluctuates between very narrow limits. And I can imagine some one objecting that such a result would be a thing that any one might anticipate, and that we might just as well calculate the average length of a verse in the English Bible, and then draw the inference that these verses were constructed according to a pattern, which can hardly be believed in any strict sense. To reply to this objection, perhaps the simplest counter-argument would be to observe that, if there were really an average number of letters to the verse, fluctuating between limits as narrow in proportion as in the case of the number of letters to the *στίχος*, there ought to be an approximately uniform ratio between the number of *στίχοι* and the number of verses in the separate books; for if  $\frac{m}{p}$  is approximately constant, where  $m$  is the whole number of letters in a book, and  $p$  the number of *στίχοι*, and if  $\frac{m}{q}$  is also approximately constant, where  $q$  is the number of verses, then  $p:q$  is approximately a constant ratio. We can at once test this point by taking the number of *στίχοι* and verses as given by Scrivener, Introduction to N. T., p. 63. The result of the enquiry is as follows:

	<i>στίχοι.</i>	<i>Modern Verses.</i>	<i>Ratio.</i>
Matthew	2560	1071	2.390
Mark	1616	678	2.383
Luke	2740	1151	2.380
John	2024	880	2.300
Acts	2524	1007	2.506
James	242	108	2.240
I Peter	236	105	2.247
II Peter	154	61	2.524
I John	274	105	2.514
II John	36	13	2.307
III John	32	15	2.133
Jude	68	25	2.720
Romans	920	433	2.124
I Cor.	870	437	1.990
II Cor.	590	256	2.304
Galat.	293	149	1.966
Ephesians	312	155	2.013
Philipp.	208	104	2.000
Coloss.	208	95	2.189
I Thess.	193	89	2.168
II Thess.	106	47	2.255
I Tim.	230	113	2.035
II Tim.	172	83	2.072
Titus	98	46	2.130
Philemon	38	25	1.520
Hebrews	703	303	2.320
Revelation	1800	405	4.444

That is (leaving out the case of Revelation, where the number of *στίχοι* is obviously apocryphal), the ratio varies between 1.52 and 2.72, which is more divergent than 3 to 5. In the longer compositions the ratio tends to uniformity, as we should expect. It is clear, then, that the average of M. Graux's results is something more than a mere numerical average, and implies the existence of an underlying type.

9. It is important that we should grasp the bearing of the previous researches upon the antiquity of the texts contained in the two great Uncials. Scrivener, in his collation of the Codex Sinaiticus, draws attention to the remarkable resemblance of the writing to that of the Herculanean papyri, none of which, as he ingeniously remarks, can be dated below A. D. 79. He draws a similar com-

parison with regard to the almost entire absence of marks of punctuation.<sup>1</sup> "The two manuscripts are near akin. In the Hyperides papyri are no stops at all, in the Herculean very few."<sup>2</sup> With regard to the columnar arrangement his remarks are even more suggestive. "Still more striking is the likeness which Cod. Sinaiticus bears to these records of the first century in respect to its outward form and arrangement. The latter are composed of narrow slips of the papyrus, the writing on which is seldom more than 2 or 2½ inches broad, glued together in parallel columns, and kept in scrolls which were unrolled at one end for the purpose of reading, and when read rolled up at the other . . . the appearance of the Sinai manuscript, with its eight narrow columns (seldom exceeding two inches in breadth, exhibited on each open leaf, suggests at once the notion that it was transcribed line for line from some primitive papyrus, whether written in Egypt or elsewhere."\*

The main point to be noted is that the papyri from which our great manuscripts are transcribed must have been closely related, almost line for line, to the *original* papyri of the Gospels and Epistles, *or it is extremely unlikely that they would end in any other way on the pages than by random distribution.* And thus our investigation constitutes the proof of the important statement of Westcott and Hort, that "the ancestries of these two manuscripts diverged from a point near the autographs." They might almost have said "from the autographs." But when we establish this result, we reserve the important qualification, that these MSS are not exempt from occasional errors of omission or insertion of whole sheets and lines; nor are they entirely free from that error which arises from a derangement of the order of the sheets of which the original document was composed. The latter I believe to be peculiarly the case with the Gospel of John. How far such omissions and excisions are wilful, it is impossible to say; it is to such a case that the remark of Tertullian applies when he accuses Marcion of using not the pen, but the knife in his dealing with documents. He probably means to imply that whole strips of papyrus had disappeared from the rolls. But I think it will be found upon a closer examination of this difficult point, that the character of Marcion has been unnecessarily blackened, and that in many respects he will turn out to be almost a champion of textual purity. It became the fashion to brand every omission from

<sup>1</sup> Scrivener, Collation of Codex Sinaiticus, p. xiv.

<sup>2</sup> P. xxviii.

\* P. xxx.

the ordinary Church MSS with the name of Marcion. We find this charge made even by so noble a spirit as Origen with regard to the concluding verses of the Epistle to the Romans.

We now annex the table which gives the comparison between the number of *στίχοι* as quoted from early codices, and the number as calculated from the lines enumerated in tables I and II for the several books of the New Testament, on the basis of a number of lines in St. John's Gospel actually measured into *στίχοι*. Since we find our results frequently in coincidence or near it, and seldom differing from one another more than 5 per cent., the result is confirmatory of the previous statements made as to the fixed length of the *στίχος*. When allowance has been made for the omissions and insertions in the MSS, we may perhaps find it useful to recalculate the figures given.

TABLE IV.

$\frac{1}{2}$ V. line $\frac{149}{326}$ <i>στίχοι</i> . $\frac{1}{2}$ S. line $\frac{149}{414}$ <i>στίχοι</i> . $\log 326 - \log 149$ $= .3400313$ $\log 414 - \log 149$ $= .4438140$ <i>στίχοι</i> from Scri- ver's Intro- duction.		<i>στίχοι</i> estimated for Vatican Codex.	<i>στίχοι</i> estimated for Sinaitic Codex.	<i>στίχοι</i> from the second hand of Sinaitic Codex.	M. Graux's pro- bable number.
Matthew	2560	2442	2401		2560
Mark	1616	1492	1470		1616
Luke	2740	2629	2583		2750
John .	2024	1865	1861		2024
Acts	2524	2497	2526		2556
Romans	920	944	918		920
I Cor.	870	886	885		870
II Cor.	590	608	607	612	590
Galatians	293	293	293	312	293
Ephesians	312	317	313	312	312
Philippians	208	216	210	200	208
Colossians	208	219	212	300	208
I Thess.	193	205	198		193
II Thess.	106	112	105	180	106
I Tim.	230		239	250 ?	230
II Tim.	172		174	180	199
Titus	98		100	96	97
Philemon	38		43		42
Hebrews	703		670	750	703
James	242	242	236		242
I Peter	236	244	245		236
II Peter	154	168	164		
I John	274	262	263		274
II John	30	31	31		32
III John	32	31	31		31
Jude	68	70	71		68
Revelation	1800		1179		

C. 1. When we proceed to examine in detail the various readings and errors of the principal manuscripts in the Catholic Epistles, we come to the conclusion that there is nothing to affect our results in the two smaller Epistles of John, nor in the Epistle of James. With regard to the first Epistle of John, the only passage where we can regard the text of B as uncertain is in IV 3, where the words *χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα* are omitted, the length of the omission being a V-line, and the passage being retained by the Sinaitic Codex; and at IV 21 there is a line omitted by B. Then we come to the question of the celebrated passage I John V 7, or the "Three Heavenly Witnesses"; the text of this would occupy about five V-lines. Our method of investigation agrees with every other applied critical test in rejecting the words. The abnormal excess of the number of *στίχοι* noted in some early codices of St. John over the number as calculated by ourselves, leads to the suspicion that there may have been Greek codices, now lost, in which the words occurred. The defenders of the passage, if there are any left, can actually count the *στίχοι* in the first Epistle of John and compare their results with the number as given by Scrivener. The disputed passage is a matter of 3 *στίχοι*.

2. The Epistle of Jude is an interesting study from our point of view. There are no various readings that are likely to affect the arrangement of the Epistle; in the 15th verse the text of the Sinaitic is perplexing, and in the 25th verse both the oldest codices agree in the addition of two V-lines to the ordinary text. But the significant feature of the examination of the text is the discovery that the scribe of the Sinaitic Codex has in v. 12 mistaken the *οὗτοί εἰσιν* of the verse for the same words in v. 16, and has consequently interpolated four lines from that verse before detecting his error and returning to the proper passage. His eye has, *apparently*, wandered from the top of a column nearly to the bottom in search of the words which he had either recently transcribed or was proposing to transcribe. We need scarcely say that such a supposition is extremely unlikely. When, however, we restore the pages to the S-form, as they may be easily exhibited, we see that the scribe's eye has really only wandered from the first line of the column he was transcribing to the first line of a column not very remote from it, and commencing with the very same words. And this is so thoroughly likely that it must be regarded as no slight confirmation of our theory of the subdivision of the columns.

It is not to be necessarily inferred that the Epistle was originally written on the S-page; we have already seen reason to assume the opposite type (unless, indeed, the doxology should be shown not to be genuine); but the point that we press is the fact of the reduction of smaller pages into the form given in the Sinaitic Codex. From the same enquiry another result follows: the ratio of the S-lines to the V-lines for this Epistle was abnormally high, but when we proceed to subtract the four lines inserted by the Sinaitic, and recalculate the ratio, we find 1.268 instead of 1.293.

3. We proceed to examine the text of the first Epistle of Peter, which we do more in detail in order to illustrate the methods by which we restore the text, prior to dividing it into the smaller pages.

## I Peter.

	Letters.	Text Rec.	℞	B.	W. H.	Tr.
I 22. διὰ πνεύματος	12	+	—	—	—	—
I 23. εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα	11	+	—	—	—	—
III 5. ἐκόσμουν ἐαυτάς	14	+	—	+	+	+
III 7. κατὰ γνώσιν	10	+	—	+	+	+
IV 5. ἀποδώσουσιν λόγον	16	+	—	+	+	+
III 16. ὑμῶν ὡς κακοποιῶν	15	+	+	—	—	[—]
IV 14. καὶ δυνάμει	11	—	+	—	—	—
IV 14. κατὰ μὲν αὐτοὺς βλασφη- μεῖται κατὰ δὲ ὑμᾶς δοξά- ζεται	44	+	—	—	—	—
V 2. ἐπισκοποῦντες	13	+	—	—	—	+
V 5. ὑποτασσόμενοι	13	+	—	—	—	—
V 10. θεμελιώσαι	10	+	+	—	—	—

In addition B omits the whole of V 3, containing 58 letters, *i. e.* between 3 and 4 Vatican lines, which will certainly make the text eight Vatican columns, and 36 lines, but it does not fill the page. In the Sinaitic we have, besides the variants noted, and some smaller ones, six short columns, so that in S-pages we have 14 columns and one or two lines, which seems to indicate 56 S-pages. The letters missed or inserted look like complete Sinaitic lines, which again confirms our opinion that the original form of the document is the S-page.

When we add the missing lines to the texts and calculate afresh the ratio of the V-line to the S-line, we have 1.250.

Another remarkable confirmation of our subdivision of the Sinaitic pages is found at II 12 of this Epistle. The scribe left his work at the beginning of the 21st S-page, where he was about to transcribe the words *δοξάσωσι τὸν θεόν*. These words stand at present at the second line of the page. But, in returning to his task, he opened at the second Epistle of Peter by mistake, and here at the 11th verse of the second chapter he found the key-word *δόξας* and began to write *δόξας οὐ τρέμουν*, thus transcribing what would be the first line of the 19th S-page in the second Epistle of Peter. The traces of the error still remain. *And it is impossible to give a rational explanation of the aberration of the scribe unless we subdivide the pages in the manner we have indicated.*

3. In the 2d Epistle of Peter we rectify the text in a similar manner, the two most important phenomena being that the Sinaitic scribe has in I 12, 13, omitted 8 lines, from *διὸ μελλήσω* to *διεγείρειν*, and that the error is almost balanced by the existence of nine short columns.

More important still is the light which the rectification of the pages throws on a very difficult passage in III 10, where the reading adopted by Westcott and Hort is a source of immense merri-ment to Dr. Burgon. The ordinary reading in this passage is

*καὶ γῆ καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ ἔργα κατακαήσεται.*

For *κατακαήσεται* (which is the reading of A, L, the Clementine Vulgate, the Memphitic, and some other versions) the two earliest MSS read *εὐρεθήσεται*, and are supported by sundry versions and by Codex K. Codex C suggests *ἀφανισθήσονται*.

Tregelles and Westcott and Hort import the utterly meaningless *εὐρεθήσεται* into the text, apparently on the ground that it is safe to follow ten times in succession a group of manuscripts which is demonstrated to be reliable in nine cases out of ten.

Burgon, on the other hand, will have the ordinary reading to be correct, and affirms the reading of Codices x to B to be a rude attempt of some Western scribe to translate or transliterate the Latin word *urentur*! More strangely still, so judicious a critic as Farrar is found supporting this peculiar suggestion, and even claims the paternity of the monster. Thus he remarks: "It had occurred to me, before I saw it remarked elsewhere, that it might be some accidental confusion with the Latin *urentur*" (Early days of Christianity, p. 121).

We now turn to the Sinaitic Codex, and observe that exactly 24 lines beyond the disputed passage lie the words *αὐτῶ εὐρεθῆ | και ἐν*

ἐλρήνη. Moreover, the passage in dispute occurs within a line of the bottom of one of the Sinaitic columns, and, in all probability, when the passage is rectified, the words are either the highest or the lowest line of an S-page. The scribe's eye, therefore, wanders laterally two columns, and hence the word εὑρεθήσεται. This explains the origin of the variant. We infer also from the discrepancy of later copies that we have here a case in which the original reading is entirely lost and the text has been restored by a conjectural emendation.

Further, since the error took place in a MS of the S-type, it follows that that type is nearer to the autograph of the Epistle than any other, which is exactly in accordance with our previous enquiry; for, otherwise, some manuscript would, doubtless, have conserved the original reading. The conjectural restoration made by the early MSS is not based upon any critical study of the text; and in order to fill the blank left by the removal of εὑρέθη, we must endeavor to determine the causes which led to the error. These are (1) the similarity of αὐτῇ in v. 10 to αὐτῇ in v. 14; (2) the similarity either to eye or ear of the words which have become confounded.

A reading which would satisfy both conditions would be ἐκρηθήσεται, which Professor Gildersleeve suggests.<sup>1</sup> We find a similar word ἀπορηθήσεται in some MSS of Barnabas c. 11, the passage being really a quotation from the first Psalm; and ἐξερύμειν is the word used for the fading leaf in Isaiah 64, 5. This exactly expresses the idea of the writer.

4. We now turn to the Pauline Epistles, in which we return to our first approximation to the number of the original pages of the autographs, and examine the manner in which the results are affected by the principal errors, reserving all our conclusions for a closer scrutiny in connexion with the original documents at some later time. It is extremely unfortunate that there is no critical apparatus to the New Testament except Scrivener's collation of the Sinaitic, which records the accidental omissions or repetitions of the great uncials; we are, therefore, obliged to collate for ourselves the text of every book, in order to see that no lines are dropped or repeated. And this, in spite of the compensations arising from a close study of the early arrangement of the text, is somewhat tedious and demands a great deal of time.

<sup>1</sup> I see that Westcott & Hort make a similar suggestion in their introduction, and disown the very reading which they adopt.



## I Thessalonians.

		Letters.	Text Rec.	κ	B.	W. H.	Tr.
I	1. ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ	?24	+	+	—	—	—
II	16. τὰς ἀμαρτίας	11	+	+	—	+	+
III	2. καὶ συνεργὸν ἡμῶν	15	+	—	[+]	—	—
V	8. καὶ ἀγάπης	9	+	—	+	—	—

These are the only three readings of any importance. The Epistle is written on the V-page to the full, and will not bear any additions; we agree with the editors in rejecting the first reading. The second reading is remarkable, as there has been a conflation by the Textus Receptus and late copies of the two simple readings καὶ διάκονον τοῦ θεοῦ and καὶ συνεργὸν ἡμῶν. Either of the alternative readings may be taken, and the length of the Epistle is not affected by our choice, provided we do not make the error of conflation and take them both.

The third reading is an omission on the part of the Sinaitic. At II 13 the Sinaitic has repeated 10 lines by ὁμοιοτέλετον of the letters *ωντουθεν*. We have thus to reduce the estimate made for the Sinaitic Codex by 11 lines, and leaves us with 11 columns and 10 lines, or very nearly 45 S-pages.

But now the question arises, why should the scribe have wandered back 10 lines in search of τοῦ θεοῦ? The interval is a very improbable one as the MS is written, but when the pages are rectified it will be found that the aberration of the scribe's eye is almost entirely lateral, and does not amount to a couple of lines vertically.

5. II Thessalonians: Here we have both codices ending unevenly, the Sinaitic at the third line, and the Vatican at the 34th line. The text, moreover, is extremely exact. Marcion is said to have omitted in I 8 ἐν φλογὶ πυρός, 13 letters; in II 4 the Sinaitic omits καὶ ὑπεραιρόμενος, 16 letters; and in II 15 it omits ὁ ἀγαπήσας ἡμᾶς, 12 letters. In III 4 the Vatican text has inserted καὶ ἐποιήσατε, 12 letters. These seem to be all the readings of any importance.

A reference to the Codex Sinaiticus shows us the following peculiarity: it has twice made a single line of the two letters *χῡ*, and twice made a single line of *ιῡ χῡ*; the four instances are as follows:

I 2. *ιῡ χῡ* a fresh line, probably rendered necessary by the insertion of the word ἡμῶν.

I 8. *ευαγγελι | ω του κῡ ημων ιῡ | χῡ*, where the word *χῡ* is rejected by all the editors.

I 12. *κατα την χάριν του* | *θῦ ημων και κυ ιυ* | *χυ*, where the word seems genuine.

II 14. *περιποιησιν δο* | *ξης του κυ ημων* | *ιυ χυ*, where the last line is genuine.

There are one or two other very short lines. It is probably in these short lines that the explanation is to be sought of the three extra lines above pattern in the Sinaitic Codex. It will be observed that the errors of the Epistle are mainly S-errors. We conclude that the Epistle is probably represented by 24 S-pages. The result is confirmed by observing that in III 4, B has conflated the two readings *ποιείτε και ποιήσετε, ἐποιήσατε και ποιείτε* into *ἐποιήσατε και ποιείτε και ποιήσατε*. It seems unlikely that this would happen if the text of B in this Epistle were modelled on the original tradition.

6. I Corinthians: The text is very good. At the beginning of c. XIII the scribe of the Sinaitic has dropped 134 letters, from *γέγονα χαλκός* to *ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω*. The error, which is almost exactly 10 S-lines, was due to the fact that a previous sentence ended also with *μὴ ἔχω*. Moreover, the error is facilitated, as in the case mentioned above, by the existence of the smaller pages, which bring the two similar passages into contiguity. Other errors are the repetition of four lines in I 8, the omission of four lines in II 15, the omission of a line in X 19; of two lines in XV 13, and of four lines in XV 26, 27.

		Letters.	Text Rec.	Σ	B.	W. H.	Tr.
I 27.	<i>ἵνα τοὺς σοφοὺς . . . ἐξελέξατο ὁ θεὸς</i>	54	+	+	+	+	+
III 3.	<i>και διχοστασίαι</i>	14	+	—	—	—	—
VII 5.	<i>τῇ νηστείᾳ και</i>	12	+	—	—	—	—
XI 24.	<i>λάβετε φάγετε</i>	12	+	—	—	—	—

Our table must now be corrected so as to make the epistle 206 S-pages and several lines.

7. II Corinthians: The principal errors are as follows:

		Letters.	Text. Rec.	Σ	B.	W. H.	Tr.
VIII 4.	<i>δέξασθαι ἡμᾶς</i>	12	+	—	—	—	—
IX 4.	<i>της καυχήσεως</i>	12	+	—	—	—	—
XII 7.	<i>ἵνα μὴ ὑπεραίρωμαι</i>	16	+	—	+	+	[—]
XII 11.	<i>καυχώμενος</i>	10	+	—	—	—	—

Here the errors, though few, are chiefly of the S-type; from the readings given we might perhaps add 16 letters to the Sinaitic text. But this would still leave a large blank in a sheet. On the other hand,

the V-pages fit exactly, only we must allow for the omission by B of a line in I 13 and the repetition of four lines in III 16.

8. The Epistle to the Romans does not seem to conform, as yet, very closely to any type.

Perhaps the explanation of this fact may be in the repetition by Codex B of four lines at IV 4, from ὁ μισθὸς to ἐργαζομένῳ. This would make the Epistle 148 V-pages.

There is a further difficulty about the concluding salutations and doxology, the consideration of which is very important, because in the first place Origen<sup>1</sup> distinctly charges Marcion with having excised them; secondly, we find them inserted in some codices at the end of the fourteenth chapter; thirdly, some codices, notably Codex A, which can hardly ever resist an opportunity of conflation of documents, have retained the doxology in both places; fourthly, Marcion is also charged with the excision of the remainder of the Epistle from the end of the fourteenth chapter. It becomes interesting to examine the length of this portion in Vatican type. At present it does not look as if Marcion had done anything of the kind attributed to him.

The doxology starts at the top of a column, ΤΩΔΕΔΥΝΑΜΕΝΩΥΜΑΣ, and occupies in the manuscript 16 lines and 4 letters. Moreover, the portion from Rom. XVI 1 to the end which contains all those very doubtful salutations to people whom one can hardly believe to have been at Rome, contains very nearly 10 V-pages with the doxology; or nearly 9 V-pages without it. We may conjecture that these 9 V-pages are really a part of the subscription to another Epistle. It is not, however, a point material to our hypothesis, viz. that the Epistle to the Romans was written on the V-page.

In Romans the text is very exact.

			Letters.	Text.	Rec.	κ	B.	W. H.	Tr <sup>r</sup>
VIII	1.	μη̄ κατὰ σάρκα . . . κατὰ πνεῦμα	37	+	—	—	—	—	—
IX	28.	ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ . . . συντετηγμένον	33	+	—	—	—	—	—
X	15.	τῶν εὐαγγ. εἰρήνην	25	+	—	—	—	—	—
XI	6.	εἰ δὲ ἐξ ἔργων . . . οὐκ ἔτι ἐστὶν ἔργον	53	+	—	[+]	—	—	—
XII	17.	ἐνώπιον τοῦ θυ καὶ	15	+	—	—	—	—	—
XIII	9.	οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις	18	+	+	—	—	—	—
XIV	6.	καὶ ὁ μὴ φρονῶν . . . οὐ φρονεῖ	31	+	—	—	—	—	—
XIV	21.	ἢ σκανδαλίζεται ἡ ἀσθενεῖ	22	+	—	+	—	—	+
XV	13.	εἰς τὸ περισσεύειν ὑμᾶς	20	+	+	—	+	+	+
XV	32.	καὶ συναναπαύσωμαι ὑμῖν	21	+	+	—	+	+	+
XVI	12.	ἀσπάσασθε Περσίδα κ. τ. λ.	49	+	+	+	+	+	+
XVI	24.	ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυ κ. τ. λ.	39	+	—	—	—	—	—

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Int. IV 687.

The majority of these readings are of the V-type, and the text can now be easily rectified. The question of the salutations is more difficult; as already stated, we conjecture that they are a separate document, really intended as a codicil to the Ephesian Epistle; but, having been written on the V-type, a mistake easily arose in reducing the documents, and finding an Epistle of the S-type carrying final leaves of the V-pattern.

9. Galatians: The only reading of any importance is in III 1:

	<i>Letters.</i>	<i>Text. Rec.</i>	<i>κ</i>	<i>B.</i>	<i>W. H.</i>	<i>Tr.</i>
τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μὴ πείθεσθαι	20	+	—	—	—	—

We can, at the most, add one line to the Vatican text; but this we must not do, first, because of the consensus of authorities and editors against the reading; and, secondly, because the large writing of St. Paul in the close of the Epistle would run over into another page if the reading were admitted, a most improbable event. On the other hand, B has repeated a line in I 11.

There is no reasonable conclusion other than that the Epistle to the Galatians was written on 47 V-pages. The single reading quoted seems to be of the V-type.

10. Ephesians: At first sight this Epistle seems not to be written on full sheets; or, if so, not on sheets of the V- and S-type. In one Codex, B, it occupies 16 columns and 22 lines, *i. e.* six lines less than 50 V-pages; and in the other it occupies 18 columns and five lines, *i. e.* seven lines less than 73 S-pages. We proceed to examine the codices, and to discuss those variations of the text which may affect seriously the space that it occupies.

And first of all we find that the scribe of κ has omitted the seventh verse of the second chapter, which has been inserted in a footnote. The reason of this error lies in the fact that both the sixth and seventh verses close with the words *εν χω ὡ*, and probably at the same part of the Sinaitic line. The 101 letters of this verse show that it would occupy about seven or eight lines of Sinaitic type. Adding them we correct our table, which now states that Ephesians in the Sinaitic Codex occupies 73 S-pages and one line. Further, he has repeated three lines in VI 3, in the words *ὡς εἰ σοι | γενῆται καὶ εἰς | μακροχρονίῳς | ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*. At III 18 he has again repeated a line. This makes the Epistle 73 S-pages, all but three lines.

We now proceed to discuss the various readings.

		Letters.	Text. Rec.	Σ	B.	W. H.	Tr.
I	1. ἐν ἐφέσω	7	+	—	[+]	[+]	+
I	3. καὶ σωτήρος	10	—	+	—	—	—
I	15. τὴν ἀγάπην	9	+	—	—	—	+
III	14. τοῦ κυ̅ ἡμῶν κυ̅ ιϋ̅	13	+	—	—	—	—
V	22. ὑποτάσσεσθε	11	+	—	—	—	—
	οἱ ὑποτασσέσθωσαν	14	—	+	—	—	+
V	30. ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὀστέων αὐτοῦ	35	+	—	—	—	—
VI	12. τοῦ αἵματος	9	+	—	—	—	—
VI	20. τοῦ εὐαγγελίου	13	+	+	—	[+]	+

These are the principal passages, and we see that on the most extreme methods of criticism it would be possible to add five to seven lines to the Sinaitic Codex, or in the opposite direction to remove two lines. But it is evident that there are really only two passages to discuss, the one a question of adding a line to the Sinaitic text, the other of subtracting two lines. These readings can hardly affect our result, which gives us 73 S-pages. This Epistle is a good illustration of the rule that a document originally written on the V- or S-pattern will show a majority of V- or S-errors, as the case may be.

11. Philipians: Here there are only two important readings:

		Letters.	Text. Rec.	Σ	B.	W. H.	Tr.
III	16. κανόνι, τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν	19	+	—	—	—	—
III	21. εἰς τὸ γενέσθαι αὐτὸ	17	+	—	—	—	—

Its errors are both of the V-type. The Codex B shows us 33 V-pages in the Epistle, which will not, therefore, admit of an extra line being inserted. But in noticing this apparent leaning to the V-type, we must not forget that the Epistle is only three lines short of a page in the S-type, which allows us, if we think proper, to admit one or both of the longer readings. Moreover Σ has dropped a line at II 18.

12. Colossians: Here we had 11 columns and 15 lines in Codex B.

12 " 13 " Sinaitic.

In either case just over the page, which is the most improbable thing that can happen.

The principal readings are :

		Letters.	Text.	Rec.	Σ	B.	W. H.	Tr.
I	2. καὶ τοῦ κῦ χῦ ιῦ	9	+	+	—	—	—	—
I	6. καὶ αὐξανόμενον	14	—	+	+	+	+	+
I	14. διὰ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ	15	+	—	—	—	—	—
I	25. ἐγὼ Παῦλος διὰ	12	—	+	—	—	—	—
II	2. καὶ πατὴρ καὶ τοῦ	15	+	[+]	—	—	—	—
II	11. τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν	11	+	—	—	—	—	—
III	6. ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῆς ἀπειθείας	24	+	+	—	—	—	—

Of these readings I 2 is an exact line in the Sinaitic, it is probably an addition. I 6 is also an exact line, and has been dropped by a few codices. I 14 is generally admitted to be an interpolation. At I 23 and at I 25 a line has been added by Σ. II 2 is very doubtful. II 11 is probably an addition. III 6, the passage is rejected by B only, and perhaps D; it is very likely genuine. We infer that of three places where the Sinaitic contradicts the Vatican, it is incorrect in two of them. The Epistle is now one or two lines short of 49 pages of the S-type. The errors are about evenly divided between the two types. The result is confirmed by observing that in I 12, Cod. B has been guilty of conflation of the two readings *ικανώσονται* and *καλέσονται*, so as to make *καλέσονται καὶ ικανώσονται*; it seems hardly likely, then, that B contains the original type of the text of Colossians.

13. Philemon is, as already shown, 10 S-pages exactly.

14. Now let us examine the arrangement of the Gospel of Luke. Our enumeration of columns and lines gives us for the Gospel 401 V-pages or 598 S-pages. But neither of these results can be accepted, on account of the numerous and important variants which have to be considered. It is interesting to notice that the two results are very nearly in the ratio of 2 : 3. This would be exactly the case if two codices were written, one on a 12-lined page and with 14 letters to the line, and the other on a 14-lined page and with 18 letters to the line, for  $12 \times 14 : 14 \times 18 = 2 : 3$ . Now the two great MSS very nearly fulfil this condition; it does not, therefore, surprise us if, when one codex suggests 400 V-pages, the other suggests 600 S-pages.

Now, turning to the Gospel of Luke, we notice in the first place that the passage containing the account of the Agony in the Garden has been excised from or is wanting in the chief exemplars. The Vatican Codex omits, the Sinaitic brackets it. I pointed out in my recent lectures that it was conceivable, as Epiphanius states, that



καὶ ἐκλαύσε  
ὡφθη δ' αὐτῶα γ  
γελοῖα τοῦ ὕρανοῦ  
ἐν ἰσχύϊ αὐτοῦ  
καὶ γενομένου σε  
ναγωνία ἐκτενε  
στερόν τε προσηύ  
χετο καὶ ἐγενέτο  
ἰδρῶσ' αὐτοῦ ὡς  
θρομβοὶ αἱμάτων  
καταβαίνοντες  
ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν



the passage was excised for doctrinal reasons, and that there were probably other words, *καὶ ἔκλαυσε*, which had never found their way back into the text.<sup>1</sup> Counting the letters of the doubtful passage, and adding, if it be thought necessary, 10 letters for *καὶ ἔκλαυσε*, we have 155 letters, or almost exactly an S-page. Here we have a strong intimation that the Gospel was originally written on the S-page, and that the account of the Agony is an authentic part of the text, easily lost or excised.

Turning to the Sinaitic Codex we find that the passage occupies eleven lines exactly, without the words added by us, and is evidently easily detached from the main body of the text. In the plate annexed the passage is completed, and given as a specimen of the S-page.

Assuming for the present that the S-page is the original form of Luke, we examine the next important passage, bracketed by Westcott and Hort, Luke XXII 19, 20 from *τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον . . . τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον*. At first sight it seems that the omission of this passage by the Western text might be due to *ὁμοιοτέλετον*, but a closer examination shows that it contains 152 letters, or almost exactly an S-page; in the Sinaitic Codex it occupies 12 lines and 7 letters, but one of the lines is a very short one and has only three letters. It looks again as if an S-page had been either omitted or inserted; if both the passages which we have discussed were actual pages of the original document, the intervening space ought to be an exact number of S-pages, *i. e.* the space between the *ἐκχυννόμενον* of the second passage and the commencement of the account of the agony in the garden. Examination of the MS shows the intervening space to be a column and 33 lines, or within three lines of being 7 S-pages. It is doubtful, therefore, whether this passage be an integral part of the original document; and bearing in mind the suspicious resemblance to a passage in I Cor., we leave the matter in suspense until we have examined the remaining variants. If we see reason to conclude that it is really a part of the text, we shall most probably find that there has been some displacement of the text in the neighborhood. Before passing we observe that the 34th verse of the XXIII chapter, which Westcott and Hort bracket, is also marked with suspicion in the Sinaitic and occupies four lines of the text.

The doubtful 12th verse of chap. XXIV in the Sinaitic Codex begins a line, and occupies 8 lines all but four letters; moreover, the passage has dropped four letters from the text en route in the word *μόνα* after *ὀνόμα*.

<sup>1</sup> Epiph. Ancor. xxxi.

We now proceed to examine the text in detail, much in the same way as we discussed the Gospel of John; the list of variants is very long, as the text is many times more corrupt than that of John, and we therefore content ourselves with giving approximate results, deduced from a long array of doubtful passages.

The first thing that strikes us in studying the portentous list of various readings is that the greater part of the book is marked by omissions, but when we come to the last two chapters we find a large number of suspicious additions, contradicted by the Western text. It looks painfully like as if the space lost by omissions in the early parts of the book had been utilized in the latter part for some additional matter. Examining the cases where the Sinaitic text is erroneous, or probably erroneous, we have on the whole, up to XXII 25, forty-six lines to add, the criticism of the text being comparatively easy. Now the doubtful passage contained in XXII 43, 44 begins on the tenth line from the bottom of a column, but when the forty-six lines are added it falls at once into the proper place, the last section of a column. This would leave the Gospel, if undisturbed, to finish on the 23d line of a column; but now the criticism becomes extremely difficult.

- In XXII 31. The MS is probably correct.  
 XXII 64. " "  
 XXII 68. " "  
 XXII 62. Two lines have perhaps been added.  
 XXIII 17. Three lines must be removed.  
 XXIII 38. Correct.  
 XXIII 34. Probably four lines have been inserted, but the passage is very difficult.  
 XXIV 12. Eight lines perhaps added.  
 XXIV 31. A line lost.  
 XXIV 4. A line probably added.  
 XXIV 6. Two lines probably added.  
 XXIV 40. Four lines perhaps added.  
 XXIV 36. Two " "  
 XXIV 46. } Text correct.  
 49. }  
 XXIV 51. Text probably correct.  
 XXIV 52. Probably two lines added.  
 XXIV 53. Text probably correct.

The result being that 23 lines have been probably added, if we retain the passage XXIII 34 as probably authentic. That is to

say, 2 S-pages, all but a line, have now to be removed. But we added previously 4 S-pages, all but a line (if we reckon *καὶ ἔκλανε* in XXII 43); we have therefore on the whole added two S-pages, together with a lost page. Our original estimate was 598 S-pages, it is now 601 S-pages. Nothing can be more significant than this number of the fact that an S-page too many has crept in, and it can hardly be any other than the passage which we were in doubt about in XXII 19; we therefore finally decide to remove it.

The analysis has been extremely suggestive to our own mind; we started out with the prospect of reinserting the majority of the passages usually reckoned as doubtful, but the singular predominance of additions in the closing chapters over omissions has finally led us to reject those passages, or the majority of them, in accordance with the Western text; and we have finally ended with a book of 600 pages almost exactly, which we are now prepared to print on what we believe will represent, *quam proxime*, the original sheets of uncial writing. It will be observed that the frequency of errors of the S-type in the analysis of this Gospel confirms our supposition that this is the original form of the Gospel.

15. The Acts of the Apostles is one of the books which we have indicated to ourselves as likely, from its abrupt conclusion, to be written on full sheets. When we proceed to examine the principal doubtful passages, we shall find that the majority of the errors are of the S-type. There are nearly fifty passages that have to be examined, and from these, by the use of the best critical apparatus, we proceed to correct the text of the Sinaitic Codex, in which the S-type, if it exists, is preserved.

The following are the passages requiring change:

- II 9. + *καὶ ἐλαμίται.*
- II 20. + *καὶ ἐπιφανῇ.*
- II 21. A whole verse has been omitted, 4 S-lines.
- II 43. A sentence has been inserted, 38 letters: *ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ φόβος τε ἦν μέγας ἐπὶ πάντας καὶ.*
- VII 60. + *φωνῇ μεγάλῃ.*
- IX 12. + *ἐν ὁράματι.*
- XIII 23. + *ἀπὸ τοῦ σπέρματος.*
- XIV 20, 21. Two verses omitted, 66 letters, 5 S-lines.
- XV 32. + *καὶ ἐπιστήριξαν.*
- XXI 13. + *κλαίοντες καὶ.*
- XXI 22. — *δεῖ πλῆθος συνελθεῖν.*
- XXVIII 27. + *καὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ συνῶσιν.*

This leaves us on the whole with about 14 lines to add to the Sinaitic text, which now occupies (a result by no means aimed at, and scarcely anticipated) 144 columns and 24 lines, or 578 S-pages. I do not however regard this result as more than a rough preliminary examination.

I am inclined to believe that a number of pages have been lost from the conclusion of the book. The celebrated passage VIII 37 consists of about 96 letters, perhaps 8 S-lines; so it cannot be restored, on the ground of a page having been lost from the original document. It is not unworthy of note that we have seen reason to refer the Gospel of Luke to the same type and to an original document of about 600 unit sheets.

16. We shall now defer the examination of the remaining books, reserving the discussion of them, together with the important question of the closing verses of St. Mark, and some other points of interest, for another occasion; and we shall conclude this present article by a brief examination of one or two early uncial texts by the light of the results already obtained, and by indicating a more general method of determining the autograph forms of any given collection of letters.

D 1. Codex Alexandrinus is written in tolerably uniform lines, and in double columns. The number of lines to the page is normally 50, but sometimes 51, and in one or two instances we note 49. In other words, the normal size of the page copied has been affected by omissions and additions, but principally the latter. The table for this codex is as follows:

	<i>Columns</i>	<i>Lines</i>
Matthew begins at c. XXV 6	?	6
Mark	50	17
Luke	86	20
John	53	48
or counting the two leaves lost VI 50 to VIII 52	61	48
Acts	80	7
James	7	48
I Peter	7	47
II Peter	5	11
I John	10	26
II John		49
III John		51
Jude	2	6
Romans	28	32

	<i>Columns</i>	<i>Lines</i>
I Cor.	28	21
II Cor.	19	38
Galatians	9	39
Ephesians	10	39
Philippians	6	48
Colossians	6	48
I Thessalonians	6	27
II Thessalonians	3	23
Hebrews	23	16
I Tim.	7	31
II Tim.	6	14
Titus	3	19
Philemon	1	18
Revelation	34	28

It will be observed that II John and III John no longer agree in the number of lines, the column on which the second Epistle is written being wider than that on which the third Epistle is written; this latter column has been narrowed in order to make room for a much wider column in the Epistle of Jude, which sometimes contains as many as 29 letters to the line.

In this MS the books do not begin uniformly at the top of the page, which shows that the orderly arrangement of the original matter is disappearing. Thus, I John does not begin at the head of a page; we have first 29 lines, then 9 columns, then 47 lines, and so we end near the foot of a column. II Cor. begins in the middle of a page; we have 21 lines, then a column of 49 lines only, then 18 more columns counting the three lost leaves, and then 18 lines. One thing, however, is very remarkable in the table, and that is the way in which the concluding lines group themselves around the numbers which are multiples of ten. It will be worth while examining this point.

Theoretically, the terminal digits of the lines 1, 2, 3, . . . 0 ought to be tolerably evenly distributed, but when we examine we find

0 occurs once.	5 occurs not at all.
1 " 4 times.	6 " 4 times.
2 " once.	7 " 4 times.
3 " once.	8 " 8 times.
4 " once.	9 " 4 times.

Now this extraordinary preference for the numbers 1, 6, 7, 8, 9 is not accidental, but is a survival of the original methods of arranging the documents.

The fact is that this document was probably originally reduced from documents of which one page is equivalent to the fifth part of the Alexandrian column; and the matter of the original documents was so arranged that the final page was more than half filled. This explains the preference for the endings which occupy the latter halves of the decades. The question arises, was this arrangement of the matter arbitrary, or are there any residual traces of the original pages?

An examination of this point will, I think, show that there was a time when the fifth of the column of Codex A was a V-page, but the traces have almost disappeared. This may be seen to be roughly the case by calculating the letters for 10 Alexandrian lines, which amount to something over 230, not far from the average letters of a V-page. And the suspicion is confirmed by remarking that the II and III of John, which are a column in A, are 5 V-pages. The arrangement would be suggested by the fact that the number of pages in so many of the different Epistles is a multiple of five or near it. We may detect the residual traces of the primitive form by taking some portion of an Epistle and examining its texts side by side for the two codices. Let us take the beautifully uniform writing of Codex B as our measuring line; and begin with one of the shortest Epistles, say the II John. By hypothesis 10 lines of A ought to be one V-page. Actually the first ten lines of A have lost two letters from the first fourteen lines of B. The scribe crowds the next line with five or six extra letters, and by the end of his 20th line is two letters ahead of the pattern. By the 30th line he is 6 or 7 letters ahead, and by the 40th line he is 12 letters ahead, thus enabling him to finish the epistle in nine more lines.

Next, let us try the first Epistle of John. The 10th line of A does not agree with the 14th of B in its ending, but we note a coincidence in ending of the

11 of A and the 14 of B

and the following successive coincidences at ending—

23 of A and the 31 of B	60 of A and the 76 of B
33 "                      44 "	62 "                      79 "
48 "                      64 "	65 "                      83 "

These give us the following and other relations between the A and B line :

$$\begin{aligned} A &= \frac{11}{4} B \\ A &= \frac{4}{3} B \\ A &= \frac{11}{8} B \\ A &= \frac{4}{3} B \\ A &= \frac{4}{3} B \\ A &= \frac{4}{3} B \\ \text{so } A &= \frac{11}{8} B, \text{ and so on,} \end{aligned}$$

the variety of which is striking; and the results vary much from our hypothesis  $A = \frac{4}{3} B$ .

The same irregularity in the text of A may be illustrated by studying the Epistle to the Galatians. The first 10 lines are exactly a V-page. The next 11 lines are a V-page and 8 letters. The next 10 lines bring us into agreement with the foot of the Vatican column all but a single letter; so that in these three V-pages Codex A has gained a line on its normal type. Or take the Gospel of John: The first 11 lines of A contain the V-page and 2 letters. The first 22 lines contain exactly the two V-pages. The next twelve lines contain a V-page and 2 letters. The next eleven lines end five lines in advance of the V-page; and finally the scribe succeeds in ending his page exactly with the 8th line of a V-page. So that A is exactly six lines behind time on its first column.

It is a wonder, when we examine the irregular writing of A, that we were able to find any trace at all of its original pattern, if indeed we have found it correctly.

2. The following table, in which, by the hypothesis, the pages of Codex A are approximately reduced to V-pages and compared with the Vatican Codex, will be useful :

	<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>
Mark	251	232
Luke	432	411
John	310	292
Acts	401	391
James	40	38
I Peter	40	38
II Peter	26	26 or 27
I John	52 or 53	51
II John	5	5

	<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>
III John	5	5
Jude	11	11
Romans	194	148
I Corinthians	132?	139
II Corinthians	99	95
Galatians	49	47
Ephesians	54	49
Philippians	35	33
Colossians	35	34
I Thessalonians	33	32
II Thessalonians	18	18

It will be seen that the type has almost disappeared except from the shorter writings. Codex A, then, is a document degenerate in type, but bearing traces of a distant genealogical relation to MSS of the pattern conserved by B.

3. If we take another instance, say Codex Augiensis, a bilingual codex collated by Scrivener, we have a tolerably even Greek text, containing 27 or 28 lines to the column, but the number of letters to the line fluctuates between wider limits than in previous cases. We may put—

	<i>Columns.</i>	<i>Lines.</i>
Romans	—	15
I Corinthians	50	27
II Corinthians	34	27
Galatians	17	15
Ephesians	18	9
Philippians	12	22
Colossians	13	6
I Thessalonians	11	17
II Thessalonians	5	25
I Timothy	13	18
II Timothy	10	2
Titus	6	6
Philemon	2	16

Here all trace of the ancient endings has disappeared, and the only thing noticeable in the endings is an accidental recurrence of multiples of 9.

E. 1. Leaving for a while the criticism of the New Testament, we now proceed to discuss and apply the general method of determining the forms of autographs of any series of letters.



If there were but a single size of letter-paper in use, and a single model to intimate the breadth and number of the lines which ought normally to be found upon each separate sheet, the following phenomena would present themselves in the study of any given collection of letters :

First, there would be a very great scarcity of letters ending at the first few lines of a page ; and secondly, as we move down the length of the page, we should find a greater number of letters ending at the successive places in the page. Let us call the number of epistles which occupy approximately any given space (the space itself being measured either by the lines of the paper or in any other way) the frequency for the space. Then we say that for letters occupying between  $n$  and  $n+1$  standard pages, the frequency would be a maximum somewhere near the close of the  $n+1$ th page, because there is a tendency, other things being equal, to end one's epistles rather at the bottom of a page than near the top.

For convenience, we shall now change slightly our method of statement ; we reserve the word *letter* for printed or written type, and use *epistle* for the document ; this will save confusion ; and we define as follows :

2. If  $x$  be the size of an epistle, expressed in lines of some standard length, or in actual letters, then the number of epistles in a given collection which occupy sizes between  $x \pm \epsilon$  where  $\epsilon$  is some small arbitrary quantity, is called the frequency for that size, and is denoted by  $f(x)$ . We construct the curve of frequency in the usual manner, and according to our reasoning it runs in the manner expressed by the small curve in the corner of the annexed plate. The meaning of this curve is simply this, that if any length  $ON$  be taken representing the length of a given epistle, then  $PN$  represents the frequency of epistles of that size.

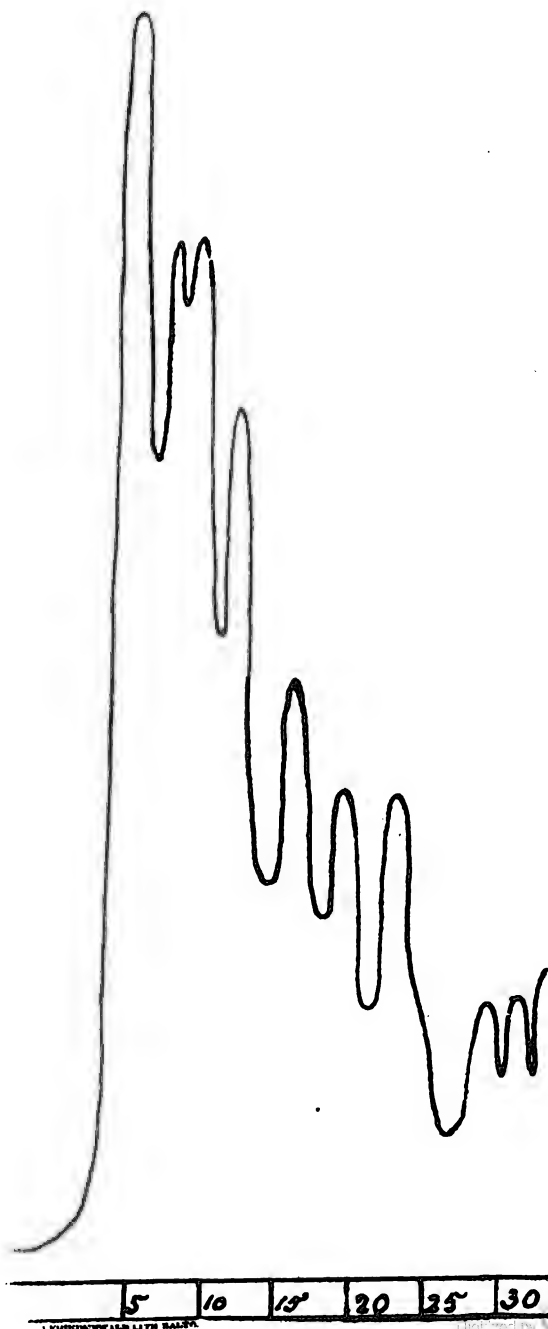
In our figure  $OA$  is a single page,  $OB$  two pages, and so on ; and the curve intimates that the frequency is a maximum just before we reach  $OA$ ,  $OB$ ,  $OC$ , etc., and that the frequency diminishes precipitately when we pass the points  $A$ ,  $B$ ,  $C$ , etc.

If now we assume a second size of paper and corresponding pattern, we should simply have to trace a second curve with its series of maxima over the first, and the complete system would represent the frequency. And the same would be the case if there were three, four or more patterns.

3. Conversely, if the curve were traced for us we ought to be able to determine very closely the normal sizes of the patterns of original writing. And it is to this problem that we address ourselves, since we have not a few collections of such ancient writings, and have strong evidence that the writers of those epistles used fixed models by which to write. Not to spend time in giving well-known quotations, we simply refer to Isidore, Orig. VI 12: "Quaedam genera librorum certis modulis conficiebantur; breviori forma carmina atque epistolae"; and observe with Birt, *Das Antike Buchwesen*, p. 288, and Reifferscheid, that the expression of Isidore is really taken from Suetonius. We will now commence to analyse the epistles of Pliny and to determine their modulus or pattern.

4. The table which follows will express the size of the different epistles as nearly as possible in terms of the number of lines which they occupy in the Teubner edition. Then from the complete tabulated results we will construct our curve, roughly to scale, and deduce the size of the normal Pliny epistle in terms of the Teubner line.

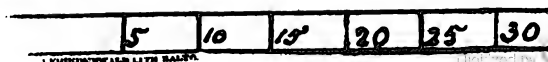
<i>No. of Teubner Lines.</i>	<i>Book I.</i>	<i>Book II.</i>	<i>Book III.</i>	<i>Book IV.</i>	<i>Book V.</i>	<i>Book VI.</i>	<i>Book VII.</i>	<i>Book VIII.</i>	<i>Book IX.</i>	<i>Book X.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
1											
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5					1		1		2	10	14
6	3	1			1	2		1	2	18	28
7					1	1	3	1	3	7	16
8			1	2			2	1	1	13	20
9				3		2	2	1	3	8	19
10		2		1		1	4	2	3	7	20
11			1	1		1	1	1	7	8	20
12	2			1	1	2		1		4	11
13	3	1		2	2	2	2			4	16
14	1			1		1	1	1	1	4	10
15						2		1	2	2	7
16			4	2		2	1			1	10
17						2	2		4		8
18	1	1					1	1	2		6
19	1			2	1	1	1	1			6
20		1		1		1			2	2	8
21				2		1		1			4
22	1			1		1	1			2	6



Book X.

Total.

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I	7
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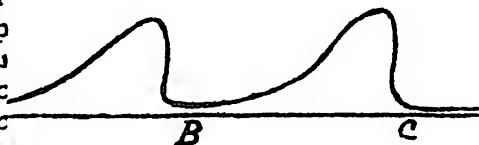


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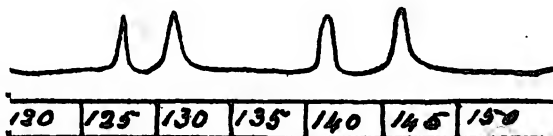


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<i>Textus Lini.</i>	<i>Book I.</i>	<i>Book II.</i>	<i>Book III.</i>	<i>Book IV.</i>	<i>Book V.</i>	<i>Book VI.</i>	<i>Book VII.</i>	<i>Book VIII.</i>	<i>Book IX.</i>	<i>Book X.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
23	3	1	1	1	1				1		8
24	1	1	2				1		1	1	7
25		1			1	1	1			1	5
26				1		1					2
27				1				1			2
28					1		1			1	3
29		1	1	2							4
30					1			2			3
31			1					1	1	1	4
32	1				2						3
33			1		1	1		1		1	5
34		1	1			1			1		4
35				1							1
36		1					2	1			4
37					1						1
38						1	1				2
39			1			1					2
40	1						1				2
41			1			1					2
42		1									1
43		1		1							2
44	1	1									2
45	1							2			3
46			1		1						2
47			2	1	2	1					6
48		1	1						1		3
49											0
50										1	1
51		1									1
52						1					1
53	1				1						2
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67											0
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77											0
78											0
79	1					1			1		3
80											0
81											0
82											0
83											0
84											0
85											0
86											0
87				1		1					2
88											0
89											0
90											0
91											0
92											0
93											0
94											0
95								1			1
96											0
97	1										1
98											0
99											0
100											0
101											0
102											0
103											0
104											0
105	1										1
106											0
107											0
108											0
109											0
110											0

<i>No. of Teubner Lines.</i>	<i>Book I.</i>	<i>Book II.</i>	<i>Book III.</i>	<i>Book IV.</i>	<i>Book V.</i>	<i>Book VI.</i>	<i>Book VII.</i>	<i>Book VIII.</i>	<i>Book IX.</i>	<i>Book X.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
111											0
112											0
113											0
114											0
115											0
116											0
117											0
118									1		1
119											0
120											0
121											0
122											0
123											0
124											0
125											0
126											0
127											0
128		1									1
129											0
130											0
131								1			1
132											0
133											0
134											0
135											0
136											0
137											0
138											0
139											0
140											0
141					1						1
142											0
143											0
144											0
145											0
146			1								1

5. The curve is now approximately constructed, and is given in the annexed plate.

From the arrangement of the maxima in the curve of frequency we have now to deduce the normal form.

Our largest epistle is 146 lines of Teubner type; now we have Pliny's own statement that there are never more than twenty sheets

to a scapus or roll, and although this statement is not strictly accurate, we have a right to assume it to be so for Pliny himself. Suppose then that this 146 lines is just under 20 sheets, this would make the single sheets just over 7.3 lines; and we should expect to find successive maxima near the points  $x = 7.3$ ,  $x = 14.6$ ,  $x = 21.9$ ,  $x = 29.2$ , and so on; or, beginning with the figures in reverse order, we look for maxima at the points 139.7, 132.4, 125.1, 117.8, 110.5, 103.2, 95.9, 88.6, 81.3, 74, 66.7, 59.4, 52.1, 44.8 and so on. This is found to be almost exactly the case for many of the places indicated. The higher maxima above  $x = 50$  are at once seen to be parts of the same system; but the lower numbers of the system seem to be a little too small.

The single sheet estimated at 7.3 Teubner lines is a little wrong in its decimal place, and probably should be 7.5 or 7.6. For it is evident that the 20th page of the letter in question (III 9) was not quite filled. He says, "*Hic erit epistolae finis, re vera finis; litteram non addam.*" Taking the latter estimate, and observing that the average Teubner line may be put at 50 letters (which is very nearly the case), we have 380 letters to the Pliny-page, which is just over 10 average hexameters; in all probability, then, the majority of the Pliny epistles, especially the longer ones, are written on a 20-lined page of half-hexameters. Whether in the smaller epistles a smaller pattern is sometimes used does not at present appear; but certainly almost all the long ones are very nearly of the pattern indicated.<sup>1</sup>

6. We are able to apply our result to one interesting example.

In Pliny IV 11 we have an epistle of about 61 Teubner lines, in which the writer concludes by demanding an equally long reply, and threatens to count not only the pages of the answer, but the lines and syllables. "*Ego non paginas tantum sed versus etiam syllabasque numerabo.*" From the fact that the epistle is not quite 61 Teubner lines, and since  $8 \times 7.6 = 60.8$ , we infer that he actually finished the last sheet very closely. The allusion, then, to counting lines and syllables does not refer, as one might have at first supposed, to a superfluous page, but to his purpose not to be satisfied with an eight-paged epistle in reply unless the pages contain 20 good lines to the page, and each line of a proper length.

<sup>1</sup> For instance, if the normal page were 7.4 lines, there would not be more than about 3 out of the 20 longest epistles in which the concluding page was not more than half filled.



Birt (*Das Antike Buchwesen*, p. 161) has curiously underestimated the length of this epistle; he describes it as a long epistle, which must have occupied over *two* pages, and infers that the desired reply is to have at least *three* pages, the third of which is to carry ten additional lines, together with a half line of ten syllables.

It may be interesting to note that the celebrated letter of Pliny to Trajan (X 96) is written on a roll of seven sheets, wanting a couple of lines or thereabouts. The answer occupies about a sheet and a half of the same style of writing.

There are traces of the use of a smaller page of 20 half-iambics, or about 5.7 Teubner lines. Perhaps it is to this model and a roll of 5 sheets that Pliny refers, when he says (III 14), about the 22d line, "*Charta adhuc superest.*" The whole letter is not 30 lines. But it may almost as well be taken as a 4-paged letter of the larger size.

We can now print the Pliny letters from their autographs approximately.

7. It will be observed that the previous investigation enables us at once to fix a superior limit to the number of pages in the separate books to which the letters are reduced. A full page of the Teubner edition is 38 lines or 5 Pliny pages. The first book cannot therefore contain more than 105 Pliny pages. The second book gives precisely the same estimate, so does the third, and the fourth, and the fifth; the sixth gives 120 as the superior limit, the seventh 110, the eighth 105, the ninth 120, the tenth 150. *Could we have a more forcible suggestion that, in the majority of cases, the letters were actually reduced into rolls of 100 sheets apiece when they came to be edited?*

8. A precisely similar analysis applied to the Tauchnitz text of Josephus enables us to determine the original form of many of the documents embedded in his writings. We have extracted between 60 and 70 letters and decrees from the *Life* and the *Antiquities*.

The results arrange themselves as follows:

<i>Tauchnitz</i> lines.	<i>No. of Epistles</i> <i>of that length.</i>	<i>Tauchnitz</i> lines.	<i>No. of Epistles</i> <i>of that length.</i>
3	1	8	5
4	7	9	2
5	0	10	1
6	1	11	5
7	6	12	5

<i>Tauchnitz lines.</i>	<i>No. of Epistles of that length.</i>	<i>Tauchnitz lines.</i>	<i>No. of Epistles of that length.</i>
13	1	27	1
14	2	28	1
15	2	29	0
16	1	30	2
17	3	31	0
18	1	32	0
19	0	33	0
20	4	34	1
21	1	35	1
22	1	37	1
23	2	43	2
24	3	54	1
25	1	60	1
26	0		

Here we are at once struck with the recurrence of the multiples of four, and examination at once shows that four lines of Tauchnitz type in Josephus are 12 half-iambics or an S-page very exactly. Similar examination will show that a page of 20 half-iambics is 6.6 Tauchnitz lines, and a page of 20 half-hexameters is 11.6 lines. From these results the majority of the writings indicated are at once reduced to their original patterns. The recurrence of the S-type simply means that Josephus has manufactured not a few of them, as letters would have been written by his own hand, for we have already determined, from the stichometry of the Antiquities, and confirmed the result by the examination of certain letters, that Josephus uses the iambic verse as his model.

## ERRATA.

P. 3, lines 10 and 11 from bottom, read *passage* for "sentence."

P. 7, line 22 from top, read *is roughly represented by* for "is represented by."

P. 19, last line, read *Engastrimytho* for "Engastrimutho."

P. 22, line 21 from top, read *Saligniana* for "Saligniani."

P. 24, lines 16 and 15 from bottom, read *To this type belong the MSS formerly known as I, N, Γ (which are fragments of the same original);*

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